

**An Unholy Rebellion: Political Ideology and Insurrection in the Mayan *Popul Vuh* and
the Andean *Huarochiri Manuscript***

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Abstract of the Dissertation

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When the great Peruvian writer Jose Maria Arguedas observed that *the Huarochiri Manuscript* was a sort of *Popul Vuh* of Peruvian antiquity, he may or may not have perceived, (he does not elaborate) that the similarity was based on an extraordinary cynicism that pervaded both of these Native American manuscripts in the context of Spanish colonial America. The cynicism was directed at the “Divine,” at colonial-style Catholicism but not only; Native American (Mayan and Andean) religion came in for a drubbing as well. Whatever the differences extant between Mayan and non-Incan Andean cosmologies, there is an undeniable narrative parallelism between the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, arising from the political fragmentation and cultural heterogeneity that characterize Andean and Mayan regions to this day. This confusing but intellectually rich state of affairs led to a questioning of authority per se, and this dissertation explores this factious attitude, and its historical roots, in these seminal literary works of Colonial Native America.

The oral and later written Andean literature, and the written (and following the 1562 ecclesiastical burning of the Yucatan codices) later oral Mayan literature is inseparable from a re-reading of the Hispanic colonial sources. Taken together, they paint a provocative picture of cultural/indigenous resistance in the colonial world. But the situation cannot be reduced to a simple black-white equation. Women and children complicate this equation, assuming leadership capacities that contradict all the cultures in question. What makes the epics of the *Huarochiri Manuscript* and the *Popul Vuh* extraordinary is their rejection of Native American forms of empire as much as the European variants. This work investigates the roots of that insubordination, applying a multidisciplinary approach that utilizes history, literature, archaeology, and anthropology in equal measure. Why did the Mayans and the non-Incan Andeans fight on, long after the larger and more centralized Aztec and Incan empires had disappeared? Important hints lie in these literary epics, later substantiated by the historical and archaeological investigation that forms the backdrop of this dissertation.

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Introduction: Cosmologies in Collision: Ideology and Historical Background of the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*

I. Subversive Bibles

In 1966, Jose Maria Arguedas observed that the *Huarochiri Manuscript* was “a sort of *Popul Vuh* of Peruvian antiquity; a small regional Bible...” (Arguedas 1966, 9). The author referred to the irony of quintessentially indigenous texts written in a Latin alphabet. There is another similarity that Arguedas did not explore: indigenous subversion against their own gods, and divinity itself. Philosophically, the text of the *Popul Vuh*,¹ compiled in Quetzaltenango (Chichicastenango) Guatemala in Quiche Maya during the mid-16th century and disseminated two centuries later, and the text of the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, compiled in Quechua at the close of the 16th century in the coastal highlands near Lima and disseminated in incomplete form beginning in the late 19th century, maintain combative relationships with any and all deities.

Their respective plots project cynicism towards the divine, despite retelling histories of their gods. They are sacred narratives that challenge the sacral. But like the Bible minus its awe, both epics reveal multiple chronological, historical and ideological layers, obliging the reader of the *Popul Vuh* (*PV*) and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* (*HM*) to engage in archaeological research clarifying the texts’ themes. Varied stratigraphy of history, thought, and conflict unfold, illustrating cosmologies that distrust their Creators. For Mayan and Andean spirituality, supernatural powers are neither always wise nor good. Their religions lack the resignation

¹ Translation: “book of the counsel mat” in Soustelle’s *Los Mayas* 1992, 148.

displayed by Aztecs and monotheists towards God(s)'mysterious whims. In fact, their documents offer detailed instructions for jousting with celestial evil.

In this thesis I will compare the structural, historical, and ideological elements uniting the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri Manuscript*. This structuralism has its weak points, particularly the imposition of synchronic space over cultures diverging in outlook, context, and historical development. Therefore, I will harmonize structural analysis with anthropological and historical contextualization of Amerindian colonial literature. Archaeology and anthropology are key intellectual tools that illuminate the Native American thought first truncated and then transformed by the Conquest.

If we downplay archaeological and historical correlation with colonial indigenous literature, we de-emphasize the indigenous literary imagination, and wrongly attribute its inventions to European colonial models. This common error, intentional or not, arises from ignorance of Mesoamerican and Andean archaeology. Specialists in those fields, such as Tatiana Proskouriakoff and Julio Tello, have legitimated beyond all doubt the pre-colonial antiquity of Andean and Mayan legends in the *HM* and the *PV*.² Europe is not the sole paragon.

In essays on the nature of mythology, Claude Levy Strauss highlights the nexus binding the non-temporal structure of legends with the legends' connection to the events of human history: "What gives the myth an operative value is that.....it explains the present and the past as well as the future. This can be made clear through a comparison between myth and what [...]"

² Rene Acuna's *Temas del Popul Vuh* (1998), whose Eurocentrism subjugated Mayan to European Renaissance discourse, showed an alarming level of ignorance of Mayan sources. Recently, archaeologists and art historians such as Ricardo Agurcia and Justin Kerr proved via painted, hieroglyphic, and sculpted evidence that the themes of the *Popul Vuh* existed 2,000 years before European presence. The Denver Art Museum retains a collection of jars from the Mayan Classic period, 200 to 900 ACE, that visually recount the *Popul Vuh*'s epic; from the same period, in Northern Coastal Peru, near Sipan, images of cannibal gods and birdmen foreshadow episodes of *Huarochiri*.

replaced it in modern societies, namely, politics” (Levy Strauss. “The Structural Study of Myth” 187). The *PV* and the *HM* are inherently subversive, and their narratives deride obedience.

Given this connection between politics and myth, I will analyze the epics as a verbal staging of the ideas and values of two societies: the Mayan and the Andean poured into the colonial Mestizo matrix. Both Native American epics assumed, due to Colonial strictures, the very Western materialization of the book. In other words, the *PV* and the *HM* exemplify Mayan and Andean intellectual perspectives, combative and skeptical, evolving through the Conquest. The imperial element, be it Aztec, Inca, or Spanish, was interpolated into the praxis of older indigenous universes. In essence, indigenous literature decolonized the Native American mindset by touting its obstreperous voice within the framework of the Colony.

The internal conflicts of the Yuncas and Yauyos, whose societies predated and outlasted the Incas, form the backdrop of *Huarochiri*.³ Their ambivalent rejection of the Inca expansion of the 15th century dominates six chapters of the *Manuscript*: 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23. Their geographical location, which made Yuncas and Yauyos fair game for coastal and highland conquerors, forced them to develop survival techniques of circumlocution: when the empire was too big to oppose, skirt around it. At the same time the discontent and factionalism of the Mayan populations—the Quiche, the Kekchi, so recalcitrant that the Crown called their territory “lands of war” and forbade the entry of Spanish nationals therein. Earlier Mayan groups, the Yucatec, and the Cakchiquel, had revolted against Aztec overlords and butchered their own priests/gods, simultaneously. In the third division of the *Popul Vuh*, from Chapter 25 through

³ Frank Salomon confirmed ethnic and economic divisions among these groups, as reflected in the composition of the text: “The predominant tellers of the Huarochiri myths, the Checa, thought the ancient founders of their leading kindred were not Yauyo, but Yunca.” Archaeological evidence from Huarochiri suggested the Yauyos “had won dominion over the Yuncas and the right to aggregate Yunca huacas into their religion, while their compatriots still wandered the heights in mono-ethnic pastoral groups” (Salomon and Urioste 7). Colonial chronicler Cieza de Leon also demarcates Yunca and Yauyo cultures clearly, though both diverged much more from the Incas than each other.

45, Tohil, the High Priest, is a trickster who impersonates a deity in order to implement human sacrifice.

For all their supernatural accoutrements, the core of both texts is frankly political. Levy-Strauss perceived that politics had replaced the role of myth in modern society; the *PV* and the *HM* incarnate the roots of this transition/substitution process. Their myths shake the Worlds Above and Below, as well as the liminal space in between, which we inhabit and where the stories in large part transpire.

While inserted in colonial reality, the *HM* and the *PV* narrate older histories that enshrined a type of rebelliousness at odds with Spanish Counter-Reformation Catholicism. Before the Incas subjugated the Andean world in the 14th-15th century, and before the Aztecs attempted to crush the Mayan kingdoms in the early 16th, the protagonists who enliven the pages of the *PV* and the *HM* had been painted and sculpted and invoked throughout the sacred geography of Mesoamerica and the Andes. Following the collapse of Aztec and Inca might, older indigenous identities, the Maya, the Yuncas and Yauyos, reaffirm themselves in the chaos engendered by the Spanish Conquest. The *PV* and the *HM* express this reaffirmation. In a sense, the *PV* and the *HM* are self-referential, living political theatre. This literature is comprised of concepts shared by the Native American audiences and later by their mestizo descendants. It may have begun orally, as did the epics of medieval Castile. In Old and New Worlds, popular entertainment was later consecrated in written, or painted and sculpted form. The Spanish Conquest is interwoven into both texts, but it does not dominate either of them. Different world-views are clearly visible: Mayan, Yunca/Yauyo, Spanish, and mestizo. These oppositions are never resolved, and their contradictions constitute the richest and most profound well-spring of colonial Native American literature.

The texts are at once part of a shamanic ancient American continuum and of the agonic dialogue initiated by the Conquest. The *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* are products of adverse and impossible conditions, where tensions created literature in a state of complex transition. This is the literature of war, and war brings out the worst in most, and heroism in only a few. Small wonder that Mayan and Andean (non-Incan) perspectives distrusted gods and men equally.

Doubtless the disseminators of the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*, Father Francisco Jiménez and Father Francisco de Avila, would have been loath to approach such sacrilege⁴; this literature, in which the philosophy of the indigenous peoples predominated, was viewed as proof of their heretical nature. The *PV* and the *HM* were not destined for general publication, but for theological, evangelical, and above all, punitive use against Mayan and Andean recidivists. Both texts question the order of the universe, which can be altered for the better; and both question the blind submission to authority as such. They bounce back and forth from irreverence to blasphemy, whether it is the Hero Twins of the *Popul Vuh* sending a mosquito to literally pique the Underworld gods; or whether it is the little, impertinent fox mocking the amorous pretensions of the venerated creator god, in the second chapter of *Huarochiri*.

II. *The Progression from Myth to History*

Authority in Mayab and in the Andes was stubbornly multi-polar; even at the height of their empire, Inca royalty remained divided. Mayan centers of political organization multiplied frenetically from the Guatemalan Pacific Highlands, site of the *PV*'s foundational myths, to the

⁴ Later in Chapter One, we will discuss in more detail the presence of these two priests, whose mediation, censure, and interpretation imposed itself on the first translations of the works into Western languages. Their insufficient knowledge of Quiche Maya and the Quechua of Huarochiri (which was the language of the *Manuscript* but not the mother tongue of the Yunca/Yaayo informants), and their religious fundamentalism obstructed textual comprehension even while, ironically, it transmitted the texts and preserved them.

Yucatec Atlantic coast, where a military elite arose that challenged the earlier Maya powers. Beginning in the first century ACE, small-scale civil war predominated. Tikal (Guatemala) fought Calakmul (Yucatan-Campeche), accelerating their mutual declines in the eighth century. Palenque attempted to remain autonomous, but fell under Tikal's sway, exciting Calakmul's ire. Chichen Itza (1100-1400 ACE), Mayapan (1200-1500), and Tayasal (1500-1697) formed and un-formed confederations that never outlasted the 300-year mark. Mayans lived in a state of unremitting political tension, a tension which insinuates itself into the portrait of human-divine relations in the *Popul Vuh*. Mayans were not naturally compliant, as the Conquistadors found; but why submit to European gods when you had no history of obedience, (as the Aztecs and Europeans had), to your own?

Turning to the Andes, the armies that attempted to unify its vast and awe-inspiring terrain, the Wari in the twelfth century and the Incas 200 years later could only establish uniform systems of tribute. But the Andean cultural mosaic never became homogenized. By the early 16th century, the Inca Empire had bifurcated formally, with Quito usurping the founding dynasties of Cuzco. The twenty-third chapter of the *HM*, in which Inca emperor Tupac Yupanqui (1471-1493) succumbs to a temper tantrum when his gods fail to come to his aid, satirizes the young prince named sovereign at the age of fifteen, as much as it demonstrates the disdain that his subjects in Huarochiri's Lurin Valley felt towards Inca rule.

Although Inca hegemony had imploded before the compilation of the *Huarochiri* text, (1598-1609), the cultural memory of the *HM* (Salomon and Urioste, 1-3) reflected the historical attitudes of its indigenous, non-Incan, population. This occurred as well in Central America, where the third chapter of the *Popul Vuh* recorded the ever-splintering state of Mayan clans and city-states. (In later mestizo society, the Native American texts assume a wider importance in

the Spanish language and Amerindian world-view, re: Arguedas and Valcarcel in Peru, Mediz Bolio in Yucatan, and Miguel Asturias in Guatemala).

The hecatomb of Aztec and Inca empires (1521 and 1534-1572, respectively), encouraged the antipathy Mayans and Yuncas and Yauyos had always felt towards the more centralized Nahua and Incan states. This antipathy grew exponentially following Spain's invasions, when the venerated Nahua and Incan empires failed, the Aztecs miserably and the Incas nobly, in their confrontation with the Conquistador. Mayan and Andean cases signal a pattern characterizing the entire Colonial period. Other less "centralized" groups, such as the Mapuches of the Argentine and Chilean pampa and the Apaches of the Mexican northwest, also continued resisting the Spanish crown. The collapse of imperial Native American ideologies led to a resurgence of pre-imperial Native American cosmologies, and de-centralized cosmologies challenged European imperialism more successfully.

The *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri* share a long-rooted hatred of Native and/or foreign structures of centralized authority, so Conquistadors were fought as Aztecs and Incas had been. Mayan and Andean lack of internal cohesion helped in sustaining resistance to Spain, as it was not so easy to cut off the head of an empire if the empire had no head. The Inca Empire, less monolithic than the Aztec, subsisted with two heads that constantly battled each other, evoking, and perhaps inspiring, the petroglyphs of the bi-cephalous Andean chimera, Amaru. Unlike the fatalistic Aztecs, Mayans and Andeans saw nothing unitary, or inevitable, about Empire.

Due to Colonial censorship, the *PV* and the *HM* share a superficial acceptance of Christian dominance, which does not interfere with their original belief systems. Both books begin and end in the Spanish colony, a fact recognized overtly in the narratives. This notwithstanding, the *PV* and the *HM* recognize non-Christian religion not as a remnant or fossil,

but as the vigorous counterpart of the Evangelization. They commemorate and transmit the ups and downs of their gods and heroes and also their villains, silenced but not annihilated by the Conquest. They come to life on the page, incorrigible and factious. The first chapter of the *Popul Vuh* juxtaposes the order imposed by the Conquest with the Mayan faith: “We will paint what happened before God’s word, before Christianity; we will reproduce it here because we no longer have the vision of the Book of Counsel, the vision of dawn, the vision that came from beside the sea, of our life in the shadow and of the dawn of life” (*Popul Vuh* Raynaud, Asturias and Mendoza 2). Centuries of Conquest and colonization in Mayan gave rise to a kaleidoscopic and fragmentary outlook. The *Popul Vuh* collected those fragments from before and after the Spanish Conquest, without welding the fragments together. Its narration emphasized the unsettling otherness of its brilliant and disjointed components, in an unresolvable duet. This non-Christian dawn of life was immortalized by one of the components of Spanish power: the phonetic writing that had forcibly replaced Mayan syllabic hieroglyphs.

Now the Mayan scribes used what the Conquest had imposed in order to perpetuate and adapt pre-Conquest content. For its part, the *Huarochiri Manuscript* testified to the continuation of pre-Christian ceremonies, skillfully adapted to and concealed from the brutal extirpations of Andean idolatry, existing in a “grey zone” between Spanish Catholicism and the persecuted Andean religions. Rituals were transmitted in code, using the same strategies of cultural resistance displayed by Crypto-Jews and Muslims in post-1492 Spanish territory⁵. Unobtrusive little guinea pigs were substituted by Andeans for llamas in ceremonies that honored the

⁵ Vicente Santuc, in his introduction to the 2009 re-edition of Arguedas’ edition of *Huarochiri*, remarks that that manuscript makes use of a “testimonial subject using a discourse of resistance in opposition to the Crown and its policies of forced conversion” (*Manuscrito de los hombres y dioses de Huarochiri* 2009 X).

huacas, the sacred ancestor-stones, of the lake of Allauca. The guinea pig would draw less attention from than the more obtrusive llama⁶...it was hoped.

The anti-authoritarianism of Mayan and Andean culture, and their discomfort with earthly and supernatural dictates, is patent in pre-Columbian times. Sylvanus Morley, excavating in Central America during the first half of the 20th century, observed that the Maya had little patience for the inefficiency of their own leaders, even during the more hierarchical Classic period, at the height of the militarized city-states (100-900 ACE). “Needless to say, sudden catastrophes, like the capture of a ruler by a rival entity, or disasters of a more lasting nature, such as bad consecutive harvests.....could shatter, and did so frequently, faith in the potentate’s powers, throwing the entire system into doubt” (Robert Sharer. *La Civilización Maya* 80). [My translation].

The Mayas’ Andean counterparts were afflicted by-or blessed with-the same tendency towards insubordination. In the Andes too there were constant internal uprisings, whatever the dominant empire of the moment. Yuncas and Yauyos had fought without success against the troops of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui during the 15th century. A century later, their defiance and factiousness were noted by Spanish chronicler Cieza de Leon. In 1553, he wrote in Chapter XLIV of his *Cronicas de Incas* that the Pax Incaica offered by Tupac Yupanqui to the Huancas and the Yauyos was followed by the use of force when these inhabitants of the Lurin Valley decided to refuse the Inca’s “friendship” (Cieza de Leon. *Cronicas* 147). In his chapter LVIII, Leon remarks that the Yunca god Pachacamac was left alone by the Inca Conquistador, who desisted from his idea of destroying Pachacamac’s altar and erecting one to the Inca Sun god,

⁶ Salomon and Urioste, in their edition of *Huarochiri* (Section 387, Chapter 30) refer to the use of guinea pigs, and of ticti, a food made from ritual corn beer, in Allauca ceremonies enacted three generations after the Conquest.

Inti (Cieza. 169)⁷. Centuries afterwards, in 1750, it was again the inhabitants of Huarochiri who revolted against the exploitation of the Spanish colonial factories, the “obrajes” (O’Phelan Godoy. *La Gran Rebelion en los Andes: De Tupac Amaru a Tupac Catari* 188). And Huarochiri’s Indian inhabitants joined again in the second Tupac Amaru’s 1783 rebellion.

Incessant fragmentation enabled Mayan and Andean polities to hold their own against European incursions. For the former cultures, no apocalypse was definitive. Rather, the *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* proposed cycles of cataclysms and rebirths. In this cycle, the Man, (and Man’s four-legged brothers), may confabulate together, or not, against gods and kings. In the twenty-first chapter of the *Popul Vuh* Hunahpu, (One Hunter), Twin player of the infernal ball game, is beheaded by, literally, a “bat out of hell.” This is the animal the Maya call “tzotz,” denizen of the Underworld, Xibalba. Fortunately, Hunahpu revives with the aid of his Twin Ixbalaamque, whose name means either stag or female, (*ix*) and “jaguar” (*balaam*). Ixbalaamque summons the turtle’s assistance, and his shell is temporarily substituted for Hunahpu’s head. Animals may help or hinder, and assuming their characteristics denotes a hero’s valor. Listening to animals denotes a human’s intelligence, as the third chapter of Huarochiri makes clear: those who survive the deluge are those who heed the llama’s warning. Insubordination in these epics is universal, encompassing the entire planet’s species.

Levy-Strauss’ maxim equating mythology and politics is undeniable. All mythological epics, including the Bible and the Koran, reflect the political postures of the time in which they were composed. The *Popul Vuh* and the *Huarochiri Manuscript* reflect the insurgent mentalities of those who composed them; like the Bible and the Koran, they can be interpreted beyond their

⁷ Cieza also notes that the eleventh Inca emperor, Huayna Capac, used to send separate ambassadors to the Yuncas and the Yauyos (Cieza, 183) confirming the autonomous cultural and political spheres of the peoples of Huarochiri.

chronological context. But comprehension of Mayan and Andean beliefs is a sine qua non for understanding these texts, which recognize colonial reality but are not shaped by it.

Villcapampa⁸ arose as a rebel stronghold, following the beheading of Atahualpa in 1534, uniting Incas with their erstwhile disdained subordinates, the peoples of the Amazon. (Contemporary Peruvian archaeologists, such as Luis Jaime Castillo, suggest that the origins of Inca culture may indeed lie in the Amazon and not in Titicaca). That stronghold was crushed in 1572, but it was the trigger for other Andean rebellions that lasted well over 200 years. These uprisings embraced a gamut of political stances, from the more populist Aymara cacique Tupac Catari (d.1781) who preached a pan-Indian cause, to the mestizo land-owner Gabriel Condorcanqui (d. 1781) better known as Tupac Amaru II, whose platform evoked the resurgent Incan aristocracy of his time. Elitism and populism alternated in Andean insubordination.

Like Peru, the Mayan territories symbolized irredentist positions vis-à-vis the Spanish crown. When one city-state was laid waste, another one recouped. This process endured until the subjugation of Tayasal, the last independent Mayan city state, an island in Guatemala's Petén region that retained Mayan religion and written language till 1697. But even Tayasal's defeat was not definitive. The 18th century in Mayab ushered in another series of political explosions, most importantly that of the mestizo Jacinto Can Ek in 1761, against the plantation owners of Campeche. According to John Lloyd Stephens, the Can Ek clan was believed to have been among the last high-priests of Tayasal, (Bonor-Villarejo. *Viaje a Yucatan* Chap. XI, 152). Whatever the truth regarding Jacinto's lineage, the use of ancient Mayan symbols, the star (*ek*) in conjunction with the celestial serpent (*can*) evoking the Milky Way, symbol of the Mayan World Tree Axis, provided the insurrection with unifying slogans. Like Tupac Amaru II, Jacinto

⁸ The name may be spelled either Villcabamba or Villcapampa, depending on the variant of Quechua spoken, and is comprised of two words: "villca" meaning spirit and "pampa" meaning a wide plain, as per the Pampa in Argentina.

Can Ek represented a mestizo identity which, while speaking Spanish, identified with the Native cultures. Both Tupac and Jacinto Can Ek adapted a pre-Conquest iconography and utilized it to end colonial rule.

Monolithic states/confederations were easier to supplant, and this is how the Conquest simply swallowed the Aztec mother goddess Tonantzin in the matrix of the Virgin Mary. To Imperial Spain's chagrin, the Aztec collapse did not replicate itself in Mayab or the Andes. Where factionalism held sway, the Conquest succumbed to the reigning political chaos. The conquest was also culturally redefined, and in Peru and Mayab, as opposed to the Mexican Valley, the indigenous element alternated with the European in terms of societal dominance.

In contrast with the Aztecs, the *PV* and the *HM* present us with recalcitrant deities who will not be subsumed into the Catholic pantheon. *Huarochiri* exalted the sexually insatiable Chaupi Namca, the five-winged or five-armed goddess, whose metamorphosis in votive idol turned upside-down flaunted her sexual organs for all to see. And the *Popul Vuh* lauded the renegade and incorrigible Ixq'iq, who ridiculed her father, an underworld deity of Xibalba, by tricking him with the resin of the dragon-blood tree. She substitutes fake sacrificial blood: a dishonest and intelligent ruse. Neither one of these goddesses, neither the virago nor the upstart, could fuse with the solicitous Virgin Mary, as the more docile and accommodating Tonantzin had done. What allowed Maya and Andean non-Incan peoples to survive intellectually was precisely this lack of submissiveness, in tandem with the lack of political centralization evident in the *Popul Vuh* and *Huarochiri*. The supposed colonial "synthesis," which apologists for the Conquest are so fond of citing, and imagining, is unresolved in the Andes and Mayab. Their literature perpetuates indigenous cosmologies. Further on, when Mayan and Andean cosmogonies Americanized and absorbed Christianity, they adjusted Christianity to their needs,

instead of tailoring it to the Colonial Church. The “talking crosses” of the 19th century War of the Castes in Yucatan incited peasants’ unrest, whereas the Guadalupe of the Mexican Valley promised the peasants justice only after death. In Andean space, Christianity shared Andean altars, as it still does in pilgrimages to the glacier Coyllor Ritti, but it does not displace them: Christ and Inti are invoked together, twin facets of the same natural forces of snow and water.

III. Synthesis and Cultural Confrontation in the Texts

The *PV* and the *HM* reflect the socio-political order of the Colony, with white Europeans occupying the uppermost rungs. Although the white, Hispanic element wends its way into the indigenous/American matrix, it remains a disparate factor within indigenous narration. Hispanic time schemes are looked at by Mayan and Andean eyes with ambiguity, and subsequently incorporated into indigenous cycles. In Chapter Three of my thesis I will underline the points of convergence and divergence in the time-space schemes of Andeans, Mayans and Christians, which clash more than intersect.

The act of transcribing Mayan and Andean cosmologies in the Latin alphabet implied a metamorphosis on the external level of form, which in no way twisted or even influenced the axiological and etiological, Mayan and Andean, content of *Huarochiri* and the *Popul Vuh*. In the writing of the epics, the words “Indian,” “Spaniard,” “Maya” and “Yauyo” refer to categories that had undergone colonial modification, but still alluded to recognizably separate peoples. The primary difference between the two books resides in the more splintered character of Maya society and the slightly better co-existence between Yuncas and Yauyos in the *HM*. The term “Maya-Quiche” and their riotous cousins, the “Cakchiquel” I have taken

directly from the *Popul Vuh*: that book is written in the language of the Quiche Maya. At present 6,000,000 Maya, including the Quiche and the Cakchiquel, speak, read, and write their languages. The term “Andeans,” is a neologism that I use to refer to the hybrid nature of Yunca and Yauyo culture, chafing under Inca Quechua control, in *Huarochiri*. That last point has led to confusion. The Quechua tongue was imposed by Incan armies in the late 15th century as a lingua franca in the zone of Huarochiri, among Yunca and Yauyo peoples whose language bears more relation with the Moche of the Peruvian north. Yet even the eminent Gordon Brotherston wrongly referred to *Huarochiri* as an “Incan text” (*La America Indigena en su Literatura* 71-72). Despite writing in Quechua, neither the Yunca/Yauyo authors of the *HM* would have referred to themselves as “Incas” nor been flattered by the term. Tupac Yupanqui’s conquest of Huarochiri was viewed by them in the same light as the Inquisition’s subsequent persecution (documented so well by Karen Spalding) of Huarochiri’s native religion.

Andeans, Mayans, and the Spaniards of the 16th century lived in worlds that were ethnically heterogeneous and politically violent. In the volatile aftermath of the Spanish Conquest, the *PV* and the *HM* convey discord, and question, justifiably, any moral rectitude in the universe. Is there any evidence to suggest God/the gods are good? In this polyphony of colonial voices, one element stands clear: Divine plans are not to be accepted. They can be wrong. Mayan and Andean cultures as they evolved before the Conquest and beyond are often angry and unsatisfied, and understanding them is a key for the comprehension of these texts.

The close of the 15th century marked the height of Inca military expansion from Northwest Argentina to the southern highlands of Colombia. Archaeologists Walter Alva and Maria Longhena note that “the empire was not unified but rather a vast confederation of ethnic groups with their own cultural and linguistic characteristics, only tied to Cuzco by treaties and

alliances...”(*The Incas and Other Andean Civilizations*, 58). The Incas had not created an “Andean consciousness” nor had they been the first to unify that huge territory running from Bolivia’s highland plateaus to Ecuador’s’ peaks. That honor belonged to the Wari, denizens of the Tiahuanaco area, who from the 8th to the 12th centuries forged a system of military crossroads that outshone Rome’s, traversing the extremes of sea, desert, and mountain. Commencing in the 14th century, the Incas improved upon the Wari’s vial masterpiece, and the Huarochiri/Lurin Valley region began to occupy a seminal position on Inca military and trade routes.

The myths of the *Huarochiri Manuscript* were told many centuries before the Incas by the Yunca and Yauyo peoples. Whatever their internal bickering, they preserved their mutual traditions during four centuries of Wari dominance. They did so too under the shorter, but more absolutist, period of Inca dominance. Yuncas and Yauyos witnessed dynastic Inca wars, initiated by Pachacutec and his sibling rival Urco in the 15th century, and culminating with the civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar in 1532-4. Additional civil wars between the Conquistadors, between Pizarristas and Almagristas, between the acolytes of Gonzalo Pizarro and those of Vice Roy Pedro de la Gasca, appeared to be more of the same. What set Spanish imperialism so much apart from Inca imperialism was the lack of the system of “ayni” (reciprocal labor, in Quechua) and “mita” (obligatory service, in Aymara) that had sweetened the bitter Inca pill. Within the configurations of “ayni” and “mita” that bound all Andean communities, even the Inca overlord was subject to a network of alliances and complementary exchanges that bound him to provide services as much as to demand it. Colonial tribute subverted the traditional Andean system of mutual obligation; Vice-regents did not insure their subjects’ well-being. The *Huarochiri Manuscript* was compiled in that interval when Yuncas

and Yauyos were still bound in memory to Cuzco, although the new center of tribute, built by Pizarro on an older Ychma Indian settlement, was Lima.

At the start of the 16th century, the epicenter of Mayan power had moved to Yucatan from the Guatemalan highlands, where it had taken over from the city-states that collapsed around 900 ACE. The extremely unpopular Xiuh family held the reins. Rumored to be of Aztec origin, they had not shown themselves to be loyal to the Maya cause. However, the Chontal Maya, of indubitable Aztec origin, had turned out to be the Mayas greatest defenders against encroaching Aztec forays. The Xiuh clan was in league with the Nahuatl-speaking merchants, the *pochteca* who diplomatically preceded the Aztec hordes: “The Totol Xiuh, governors of Mani⁹ were descendants of a Nahuatl lineage which came to Yucatan by way of Tabasco. It is probable that the first Xiuh settled in Uxmal, around the time that the Nahuatl-speaking Aztecs/Toltecs arrived in Mayan speaking Yucatan, and they married and intermingled with the original Mayan inhabitants” (Bracamonte y Sosa. *Los mayas y la tierra* 36-7). Whatever the background of the reviled Totol Xiuh clan, their links with the expansionist Aztec confederation added to their notoriety. Unlike the aforementioned Chontal, whose Nahuatl origin was no secret, but whose loyalty to the Maya was unquestionable, the Totol Xiuh were a political wild card. Recent (2013-2014) excavations in Mayapan (1441), the last Yucatec Maya confederation, point to Maya defacement of Nahuatl-styled edifices which housed the merchants who had traded with the Maya since the late 14th century. Nahuatl artistic motifs were a ready target for Maya political ire, as art historians have noted (Milbrath “Last Great Capital of the Maya” 62-5). Perhaps to ward off Mayan suspicions of them as “fifth column,” the Xiuh clan actually sponsored the destruction of Aztec art in Mayapan.

⁹ Bracamonte and Sosa cite the *Tratado de Mani* (1557). The presence of the Totol Xiuh, first collaborators with the Aztecs and then collaborators of the Conquistadors, is noteworthy here, since Bishop Diego de Landa found Mani to be a propitious site for his mass bonfire of the Mayan codices in 1562.