

UCLA Journal of Religion

Volume no. 5 (2021)

“Andean Messianism and the Resurgence of Earth-Based Religions.”

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ABSTRACT

The arrival of Indigenous movements to government in the Andes is not purely a political process. Figures like Evo Morales in Bolivia reignited the symbols of the Inca and other Andean messiah figures whose mission is the end of colonial governance as well as the harkening of Indigenous sovereignty over their own lands. A principle of this sovereignty is the return to traditional Indigenous religions and conception of the land and nature not only as collective resources but as political actors in Andean history. By studying the history of Andean messianism as metaphysics-turned-politics since the conquest of the Inca Empire by the Spaniards in the 15th century to Evo Morales’s rise to the presidency in the 21st century, this paper shows the extent to which Andean politics cannot be separated from post-Incan Indigenous world views.

Keywords: Evo Morales, Pachakuti, Buen Vivir, Messianism, Andes, Inca, Fausto Reinaga.

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INTRODUCTION

This essay will investigate the prophetic themes within Andean Messianism and how they are founded on the religio-historical concept of *pachakuti*, or space-time reversal, and the return of Earth-based religions in the Andes as well as the Americas. It will analyze temporality and history in the Andean worldview and how this worldview is driven by myth. One of the main drivers is the concept of *pachakuti*, a contraction of the words *Pacha* {space-time, world, cosmos}¹ and *Kuti* {turn, reversal, (re)volution}. This circular metaphor for Andean history shows time as cyclical by which *pachakuti* is the process of the death and rebirth into a new cycle where the natural order is said to return. Though the word *pachakuti* has many different translations, it is presently used as a call for the return Earth-Based religions that care for *Pachamama*, the earth/cosmic mother goddess of the Andean pantheon, and decolonization of traditionally indigenous² lands.

This paper will analyze multiple myths of either the rise of an indigenous messiah or the will of the Andean gods and how these myths reveal vital historical moments that could have constituted a (re)turn in Andean space-time, or *pachakuti*. The three examples of Andean

¹ Items in {} will denote the author’s translations of Quechua and Spanish terminology and sources.

² The words “Indigenous”, “Indians”, and “Natives” are used interchangeably in this essay to reference the Indigenous peoples of North and South America. Regarding the term “Indian” (Spanish: “Indio”), it is still used by the Indianistas, Native activists in Bolivia, who deem Indigenous to be the colonial term rather than Indian. For the purposes of the essay, each term is to be considered equivalent. For the Indianista perspective, see Reinaga 2014, specifically *La Revolución India*.

messianism will be (1) the *Inkarrí* myth, the myth of the return of the Inka king who will reinstate cosmic order, (2) the *Taki Onqoy* revolt, where the mountain gods called for the expulsion of the Spaniards, and (3) the Eagle and Condor Prophecy, the contemporary prophecy that sees the return of Earth-based religions in the Americas occurring now in the 21st century.

Finally, the last section will concern itself with the specific vision of the world following the *pachakuti*. These include the return of Earth-based philosophies, such as the *Buen Vivir* ideology, where humanity is defined as living with nature and technology to live well and not to indefinitely accumulate material wealth to live better, and *Pachamamismo*, the re-enchantment with the Earth as mother-goddess.

PACHAKUTI AS A WORLD-HISTORICAL PROCESS

In December 2005, Bolivia elected its first Indian president, Evo Morales Ayma. As an Aymara peasant and syndicate leader, he ran on a platform of nationalizing natural resources, consolidating national sovereignty, creating a socialist economy, and recognizing indigenous rights and political autonomy.³ In his inaugural address, he paid his respects to “our [Bolivian] ancestors” ranging from the 16th century Inka emperor Manco Inca to the 20th century Bolivian socialist leader Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, putting himself as part of a long tradition of indigenous and anti-colonial struggle.⁴ In 2009, the nation supported Evo’s referendum to write a new national constitution, inaugurating Bolivia as a pluri-national state⁵ and grounding the nation-state on the indigenous principles of cultural pluralism, ecological care, and political autonomy.⁶ In a nation with a majority indigenous population the election of a radical Indian

³ Benjamin Dangl, *The Price of Fire* (Los Angeles: AK Press, 2007).

⁴ Evo Morales Ayma, *Discurso Inaugural del Presidente Evo Morales Ayma* (La Paz: Publicaciones Cancillería, 2006).

⁵ For more on Plurinationalism and the history of colonial nation-state formation in Latin America, see Macas Ambuludí (2011) and Natividad Chong (2012).

⁶ Waskar Ari, *Earth Politics: Religion, Decolonization, and Bolivia’s Indigenous Intellectuals* (Durham: Duke University press, 2014).

president marked a change in what had been a 500 year national history of colonialism and racism whereby national policy and identity are now to be grounded in its indigenous worldviews. For the Quechuas and Aymaras of Bolivia the election of Evo marked a *pachakuti*,⁷ or “revolution” as it is used in contemporary Andean political discourse.⁸ This political usage, however, is only a working definition and does not go into its full complexity within the religious Andean conceptions of time, which will be explained in a later section. What this definition does show is that Evo’s election is not one merely founded on simple reforms to the state, but a transformation of the state itself with its source of legitimacy now founded on indigenous epistemologies in direct opposition to colonial values: a state working towards decolonization.

This process of *pachakuti* is not isolated to the context of the Andes, but has expanded and become a central driver for decolonization in pan-Indian movements across the American hemisphere. In the manifesto released by the “Third Continental Summit of Indigenous Nations and Pueblos of Abya Yala”⁹ in Guatemala, a group of indigenous peoples from across the continent convened to declare the new resurgence of indigenous movements and their values of “complementarity, reciprocity, and duality, as well as the struggle for our territories in order to preserve our Mother Nature and the autonomy and self-determination of our Indigenous Peoples.”¹⁰ Of these demands, the Indigenous congregation claimed they would be met because they aligned with traditional forms of time saying “[w]e announce the continental resurgence of

⁷ *Pachakuti* – The spelling of *Pachakuti* differs in writing as Quechua is predominantly oral and its written form has changed since its introduction in the colonial period in the 16th century to the 21st century. For the accepted contemporary spelling and the history of writing in Quechua see Laime Ajacopa (2007) and Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua (2005).

⁸ Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar, *Rhythms of the Pachakuti*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

⁹ Third Continental Summit of Indigenous Nations and Pueblos of Abya Yala, “Back to Iximché” (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 541.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

the Pachacutic (the return) along with the closure of Oxlajuj Baq'tun (long count of 5,200 years) and as we approach the door of the new Baq'tun, we journey together to make of Abya Yala¹¹ a 'land full of life.'"¹²

The context that *pachakuti* as a concept is used, among other American-Indian concepts, shows it not only to be relevant within Bolivia, or the Andes in general. Rather, it has world historical significance as it sees indigenous control over their lands and the decolonization from Canada to Argentina as an inevitable act of cosmic realignment. In the end of the manifesto, they include this line meant to reverse the Western conception of anthropocentric-guided time and history: "we have dreamt our past and we remember our future."¹³

The driving force of world history put forth by these Native American activists puts the linear-future conception of history on its head by putting forth a model of history that is cyclical and past-oriented. This conception of *pachakuti* cannot follow the Hegelian conception of revolution where humans must progressively move forwards towards a utopia, driven solely by reason.¹⁴ The Third Continental Summit's manifesto and Evo Morales's presidency are centered, rather, on millenarian history which has precedence in Andean forms of logic and history that have driven Indigenous movements since before the Spanish conquest.

However, before we can look at the myths proper within Andean history, it is important to have an overview of the framework of Andean temporality as experienced through the languages of Indigenous Andeans: Quechua and Aymara.

¹¹ *Abya Yala* means "land in its full maturity" in the Kuna language of Panama. Indigenous Latin Americans commonly refer to the Western Hemisphere as "Abya Yala" as an alternative to "América" from Spanish.

¹² Third Continental Summit of Indigenous Nations and Pueblos of Abya Yala, "Back to Iximché", 541-2.

¹³ *Ibid*, 544.

¹⁴ Fausto Reinaga, *La Razon y El Indio* (La Paz: Partido Indio de Bolivia, 1977).

DEFINITIONS IN ANDEAN TIME

The imperative of going through a conceptual breakdown of Andean categories prevents a “partial connection” between two historically and philosophically distinct cultures. Indigenous worldviews are deeply tied to the land they inhabit, where Indian peoples encounter and ground their concepts and, for their languages, the medium through which they collectively experience and pass down these meanings.¹⁵ According to Marisol de la Cadena, learning, understanding, and translating Quechua and Aymara must be understood not solely as an objective linguistic process, but a critical anthropological process aware of one’s Western mode of thought in relation to a separate Indian worldview at hand.¹⁶ The Andean conception, and experience, of temporality differs greatly from that of the Western conception of a linear, progressive time, and so must be understood through its worldview before it is critically examined in its religious and political uses.

One of the terms denoting the past in Quechua is the term “*ñawpaq*” meaning both “past” and “forward” (In Aymara, the phrase “*nayra pacha*,” or “*nayra tiempo*,” also holds both meanings simultaneously). *Ñawpaq* can be separated into two forms of the past: the relatively recent past and the relatively distant and mythical past.¹⁷ The word *ñawpaqta* refers to the relative recent past and the word “first,” indicating an immediate and material relationship with the past. The word *ñawpaqpi* translates to “in the past” and is used in narratives that relate to the mythical past such as about the first Inka emperor, Manco Capac, or the dealings with the gods; Andean or Christian.

¹⁵ Sandy Grande, *Red Pedagogy*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017).

¹⁶ Marisol de la Cadena, *Earth Beings*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

¹⁷ Odi Gonzales, *Practica de Quechua II* (New York: New York University Press, 2019).

These categories have real value to the experiences of time for Andeans. In both Quechua and Aymara, the past is represented with the eye, whereby the Quechua "ñawpaq" is rooted in the word "ñawi" which is eye¹⁸ and the Aymara "nayra" directly translates to eye. Andeans experience the world through their immediate reference with the past, which is always what is immediately in front of them and orientates what their experience of the present is.¹⁹ In contrast, Western time is expressed as temporally, future-oriented, and spatially, forward-oriented, whereby one can actively create their future in the world in front of oneself or visually imagine it and then create it.

Future-oriented temporality is secondary to the experience of time for Andean peoples, since it places importance on human action imposed onto the world without understanding how that action is shaped by the past and by assistance from the gods. The Andean worldview is diametrically opposed to Gore Vidal's view of Americans' lack of collective memory concerning the fall of Western empires and the US imperial history saying "[...] we are permanently the United States of Amnesia. We learn nothing because we remember nothing."²⁰ Andean epistemology is always aware of the way the past affects the present and how this relationship is developed through a cyclical recurrence of the past.

The foundation of this past-oriented temporality is that it is cyclical in nature. The Inka chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala describes the existence of four ages throughout the Inka conception of history: (1) Uariuiracocha Runa²¹, (2) Uari Runa, (3) Purun Runa, and (4) Auca Runa.²² In each of these ages, there was a series of humans who were born, built their

¹⁸ Ibid, 129.

¹⁹ Odi Gonzales, "Earth Beings. El Protocolo de los Desencuentros" (Lima, 2016).

²⁰ Gore Vidal, *Imperial America: Reflections on the United States of Amnesia*, (New York: Nation Books, 2004).

²¹ *Runa* translates to person or people in Quechua.

²² Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Coronica Y Buen Gobierno* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1980).

civilizations, and then ending, by which the next civilization is born. The development of each age shows the particular conception of cyclical nature, that it is both cyclical and accumulative.²³

The Quechua-Aymara intellectual Ramiro Reynaga²⁴ describes as such:

{ One turn of the spiral is a circle. And every cycle remembers the previous cycle. But, without copying it. There are no two equal Winters or Summers. If the repetition were mechanical, the spiral would cease to be and would become closed. Every cycle reflects the previous one in a posterior orbit, like the coils of a snail, a tornado, each cycle being amplified. }

Reynaga's explanation of these cycles does not deny that there is an understanding of the future, but rather, that the future is a repetition of processes that occur in the previous cycle in new contexts. Because the Andean tradition is tied to their predominantly agricultural lifestyle, these cycles are tied to the birth-death-rebirth seen throughout the cycles of the seasons and the celestial bodies. The word "*paqarin*" in Quechua, meaning "tomorrow", does not refer to a new day, but rather, to a renewed day, as it is derived from the verb "*paqariy*" which means "to appear," "to create [itself]," and "to originate [itself]" with the implications of giving birth as well.²⁵ Each day is itself a rebirth of the sun in the metaphorical sense of the previous day being gone but the new day follows the same processes of the previous day (sunrise, giving light, moving from east to west, giving way to night) as any other day would.

However, when these laws that form Andean cosmology are put into question or even fail to occur, it is a source of extreme anxiety as it is an indication of the world turned on its head; what is known in the Andes as a *Pachakuti*.

²³ Ramiro Reynaga, *Tawa Inti Suyu* (Peru: Hijosdesol.tk), 330; Atuq Eusebio Manga Qespi, "Pacha: un concepto andino de espacio y tiempo" (Madrid: Revista Española de Antropología Americana, 1994), 183.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, *DICCIONARIO QUECHUA - ESPAÑOL - QUECHUA* (Cusco: Gobierno Regional Cusco, 2005), 384.

DEFINING PACHAKUTI

Pachakuti is a composite term between *pacha* and *kuti* that, when translated literally, becomes “world-turn” or “time-volution,” indicating the end to one cycle time and the beginning of another. However, the metaphorical meaning expressed in the composition of both words translates to “cataclysm” or “earthquake.”²⁶ El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega explains that this connection made between *pachakuti* and its negative connotation as “cataclysm” comes from the Andean experience of history where change is typically “change for the worse” or instability: “it is rarely used when they change for the better, for they say that things more often go from good too bad than from bad to good.”²⁷ Though it is typically seen as negative, *pachakuti* still has the possibility of having a positive influence in Andean history: from bad to good.

In this sense, *pachakuti* parallels the word “revolution” which expresses the end (death) and subsequent reconstruction (rebirth) of civilizations with the word containing “-volution” as a suffix that points towards the completion of an epoch in history. For Amado, a young *Paqo*²⁸, all *pachakutis* are painful, as they require an awakening (which as hard as waking up in the morning) to a new perception of space-time,²⁹ as in the prophecy of the eagle and condor that will be discussed later. This includes the cataclysmic violence that typically goes with both a revolution and *pachakuti*. An example of a *pachakuti* as revolution can be seen with the recounting of the war between the Inka and the Chanka kingdom.

²⁶ Teofilo Laime Ajacopa, *Diccionario Bilingüe: Iskay Simipi yuyak'ancha: Quechua-Castellano, Castellano-Quechua* (La Paz: Bolivia, 2007), 75.

²⁷ El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas And General History of Peru: Part One and Two* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 304.

²⁸ *Paqo* is the Quechua word for an Andean medicine man or shaman. This title is used primarily in Peru, while in Aymara and Quechua communities in Bolivia, a *pano* is referred to as *Yatiri*.

²⁹ Hillary S. Webb, *Yanantin and Masintin in the Andean World: Complementary Dualism in Modern Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 55.

In the Inka-Chanka war (c. 1438), the militarily advanced Chanka Kingdom of southwestern Peru, in what is now Apurímac, laid siege to the capital city the Inkas, Cuzco.³⁰ The Inkas held only a local kingdom within the Cuzco valley, and so, had neither the soldiers nor resources of its imperial days. In the ensuing chaos within and without Cuzco, the eighth Inka, Inca Viracocha, decided to abandon the capital for the Urubamba valley with his chosen heir. In the now kingless city, another of Inca Viracocha's sons, Inca Cusi Yupanqui, remained and took control of the city and rallied a "small but heroic contingent" of Inka soldiers to defend the city and come out miraculously victorious over the Chankas.³¹ What results from this victory that the Inkas had was (1) the survival of the Inkas from certain cataclysm, (2) hegemony over the Andes as the *de facto* dominant power, and (3) the replacement of Inca Viracocha for Inca Cusi Yupanqui. The new ninth Inka, Yupanqui, would change his name to Pachacútec³², meaning "one who turns, or overturns, or changes the world."³³

Pachacútec's change in name was no mere self-aggrandizement, but had metaphysical significance in the Andes. As Garcilaso de la Vega explains, "the flight of his [the Inka's] father" had disrupted the cosmic order of the Andean worldview from "good to bad" as the Inka had abandoned Cuzco.³⁴ This abandonment of what was considered the center of the Inka cosmos³⁵ was a cataclysm itself as it opened up Cusco to dysfunction in its political order and disharmony in the world which, thus, threatened the possibility of providing life in the Inka realm. Jorge Flores Ochoa describes that in modern pastoral communities in Peru, there is the use of the word *Enqa* {sometimes translated as *Inqa*} which is the "generative power that brings fortune and

³⁰ McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives*.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 75.

³² *Pachacútec* in modern Quechua orthography is "*Pachakuteq*."

³³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, 304.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Coronica Y Buen Gobierno*; Jorge A. Flores Ochoa, *El Centro del Universo Andino* (Cusco: Municipalidad de Cusco, 2005).

wellbeing which alpacas and llamas have.”³⁶ However, it is used as an abstraction of the divine role of the Inka king³⁷ who “is the same” as his divinity is as someone who “brings fortune and happiness to the people, a god on earth.”³⁸ To call himself Pachacútec is meant to show that when his father abandoned the city to the oncoming Chanka army, he brought *Tawantinsuyu*³⁹ back into its role of organizing communities, which requires interaction and harmony with the non-human worlds of the forest, the water, the animals, the *apus*,⁴⁰ the dead ancestors, etc., to provide the fortune for good harvests on the land which brings well-being for the kingdom.

For this reason, the term “revolution” is metaphysically inadequate to express the power, and terror, invoked by *pachakuti*. The Western concept of “revolution” only sees change occurring on the level of history, society, and the political, whereby the only point of agency resides in an individual or collective subject that is always human. Michael Allen Gillespie describes that in the transition from Medieval Christian to secular history in Modernity, “the truth in the revelation of an eternal and transcendent God” was now replaced with “truth in man himself as a conscious and self-conscious being” which only “arises through consciousness, either through observation or introspection. Consciousness thus becomes the standard of truth for modernity.”⁴¹ By denying the agency and divine essence of the non-human world in the translation from Andean myth to European Modernity, the reciprocity between the Inka and the natural world as that frames the messianic worldview begins to lose coherence when studying

³⁶ Ministerio de Cultura Cusco “JORGE FLORES OCHOA, estudios e investigaciones”, 2016 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZDGJSTDK2ZI>.

³⁷ Jorge Flores Ochoa (2016) points to the similarity in pronunciation between “Inka” and “Enqa,” as the latter is closer to typical Quechua pronunciation and the former is a corruption of it. In essence, “Enqa” precedes the title “Inka” as it is the force that gives authority to the political and religious Inka king.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ *Tawantinsuyu*: The name of the Inka Empire in Quechua. It translates to “the four united territories.”

⁴⁰ *Apu* Refers to the spirits that reside within the different mountains in the Andes. They are venerated as gods that protect and guide Andean peoples.

⁴¹ Michael Allen Gillespie, *Hegel, Heidegger, and the Ground of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 8-9.

Andean history. This results in the obscuring of the reality that the *pachakuti* points to of human and non-human animals as essential actors in history.

Marxism⁴² is an important example of a worldview that is driven by a messianic telos of communism that is engendered by European Modernity. Marxism's historical progression towards communism presumes a world where the laboring class takes control of the means of production (factories, machinery) so as to equally partition what is produced by the working class, for the working class.⁴³ First, the focus is on the industrial machinery that would produce goods based on human needs alone. Marxism's goal is to correct working conditions to be in harmony with human nature. Marxism corrects the problem of alienation, whereby goods are produced for the capitalist boss and workers are in competition with each other, by making the worker a social being again who takes personal pride in creating goods for oneself and one's community; now with the productivity of factory machinery in direct worker control.⁴⁴ Second, the commodities used to produce goods like food, clothes, tools, etc., involve the natural world insofar as humans put their labor into nature, using nature to extract commodities to make goods.⁴⁵ Even the eco-socialist model only corrects the overproduction of industrial production that destroys lakes, forests, and other ecosystems in the pursuit of human needs,⁴⁶ but does not perceive nature as a living agent or active in history.

Apart from the Inka as a divine, not fully human being, Andean history is also driven by the non-human world as active agents in the movement of history. In different myths concerning

⁴² I use Marxism as an example because it is the most influential revolutionary ideology in contemporary Latin American and Andean politics even amongst Indigenous peoples and pro-Indigenous sympathizers. To read more on this, see Löwy 1980, *Marxism in Latin America from 1909 to the Present: An Anthology*, and Rupperacht 2015, *Soviet Internationalism after Stalin*, p.129-190.

⁴³ Karl Marx; Fredrich Engels, *The Marx and Engels Reader* (1978).

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 84.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 72.

⁴⁶ Michael Löwy, "From Marx to Ecosocialism" *Portside*, February 21, 2019, Accessed May 1, 2019, <https://portside.org/2019-02-21/marx-ecosocialism>.

the *pachakuti*, there is the act of the animals showing the cataclysm that is to befall humans if they do not follow the animals. In the myth "What Happened to the Indians in the Olden Days When the Sea Overflowed,"⁴⁷ a great flood is recounted where much of the earth, except for the mountains, are flooded. In it, a llama knew that the world would soon come to an end, so he did not eat, even while lying on the best grass in the field. His owner mistreats him for not eating, saying "[e]at, dog! [...] You rest over the best grass!"⁴⁸ The llama then responds to him "speaking like a man ... 'Pay attention and remember what I am going to tell you. Five days from now, the sea will overflow and the whole world will come to an end.'"⁴⁹ To which the "owner became frightened; he believed him"⁵⁰ and took the llama and his family to Mount Huillcacoto to survive the flood.⁵¹

Acting as a story of both humility and prophecy, it shows the Andean world as permeated by a world of living and sentient beings who communicate with humanity and vice versa. It is by humbling himself to the warning given by the llama, which was also expressed in the llama's active reluctance to eat the grass, that the Andean man and his family survive the flood. The anthropocentric narrative of animals as automatons as described by Descartes is subverted as Andeans see a natural rationality that is attached to matter and the material world of animals, minerals, water, etc., which is known to the Q'ero people as "*Kausay Pacha*" or "the world of living energies." This can be seen occurring when an Indigenous Andean man will no longer walk along his path if he sees a fox walking away from the general direction they were heading in because it symbolizes a bad omen or danger.⁵² Demythologized, the fox has a reason to not

⁴⁷ Margarita B. Marín-Dale, *Decoding Andean Mythology* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2016), 111.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Rodolfo Kusch, *Indigenous and Popular Thinking in America*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

want to be in the place where the Andean farmer is heading, be it because of desolation or danger. Under this logic, the Andean farmer heeds the example of the fox and goes back or takes another route. The flood is also of divine and animate origin, as the description of the flood itself is caused by Mother Sea ("*Mama Qocha*" in Quechua) who "had wished (and decided) to overflow and pour down in torrents."⁵³

Juan M. Ossio⁵⁴ argues that Andean history as we know it begins from the moment of this great flood, which Guaman Poma de Ayala recounts with the first age of the Andes: "*Estas gentes no supieron de dónde salieron ni cómo ni de qué manera [...] y no se acordaron que vinieron de la descendencia de Noé del diluvio, aunque tienen noticia del diluvio porque ellos le llaman uno yaco Pachacuti, fue castigo de Dios.*"⁵⁵ These peoples did not know from where they came from, nor how, nor in what way ... and they did not remember that they descended from Noah of the flood, even though they have accounts of the flood, which they call "*uno yaco Pachacuti*"⁵⁶—{Sacred Water Cataclysm}—a punishment from God.

However, the last major *pachacuti* that had occurred was in 1532, which occurred with the Spanish conquest of *Tawantinsuyu*, marking an end to the hegemony of the Andean worldview and the introduction of what he dubbed the *Pachacuti runa* or the "people of the overturned world."⁵⁷ In this age, Christianity and European culture take hold and are used to suppress the Indigenous peoples of the Andes. The name *Pachacuti runa*, itself, shows that the world was constituted by cataclysm, and that this 500 year catastrophe can only be rectified by the next *pachacuti*. Alongside this cyclical conception of time are the myths of the return of the

⁵³ Marín-Dale, *Decoding Andean Mythology*, 111.

⁵⁴ Juan M. Ossio, "Introducción: Ideología Mesianica del Mundo Andino" (Lima:Edición de Ignacio Prado Pastor 1973).

⁵⁵ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Coronica Y Buen Gobierno*, 40 [50-1].

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Ossio, *Ideología Mesianica del Mundo Andino*, 182.

Inka king, that the world will come to rectify itself, as it did in the previous ages, and that this can only occur by looking to the past when Andean peoples lived with control over their lands.

THE *INKARRÍ* MYTH

The myth of *Inkarri* comes after the Spanish conquest of the Inkas in 1532, describing both the integral place of the Inka as sovereign of the land and his return beginning the punishment of those not living within the Andean principles and ethics. Not a single myth but, rather, a set of myths spoken by different Quechua-speaking Andean peoples, they are all held together by the common theme of the messianic return of the Inka king to bring back cosmic order. The word *Inkarri* is itself a composite of the words "Inka" and a Quechuanized pronunciation of the Spanish word *rey* or "king" in English.⁵⁸

Much of Andean Messianism harkens back to two turning points in Andean history: 1532-1572 and 1780-1783. The first period begins following the assassination of the Inka king, Atahualpa, by the Spaniards and conquest of Tawantinsuyu by the Spanish conquistador, Francisco Pizarro. The 40 years preceding the conquest are the rebellions and messianic movements that would be sparked by exiled rebels from the Inka noble class who would escape to an Inka fortress in the Amazon at Vilcabamba.⁵⁹ This period would end with the final official Inka king, Tupac Amaru I, being killed in a battle to take back control of Tawantinsuyu.

The second period begins with multiple rebellions led by the Quechua and Aymara natives, across what is now Peru and Bolivia, against Spanish rule following the implementation of the Bourbon reforms of 1759. This increased taxes on the colonies, reinforced the peonage of Indigenous peoples, and decreased control over communal lands and cultural autonomy for the

⁵⁸ Jose María Arguedas, "Mitos Quechuas post-Hispanicos," in *Ideologia Mesianica del Mundo Andino* (Lima: Edición de Ignacio Prado Pastor 1973), 379.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Indigenous peasantry.⁶⁰ Two major leaders arose at this time that would become figureheads in messianic narratives common in left-nationalist narratives of the nation-state in the Andes: Tupac Amaru II in Peru and Tupac Katari in Bolivia.

There are two overarching themes amongst the *Inkarrí* myths that reveal the nature of Andean messianism: (1) the dismemberment of the Inka king and (2) the reconstitution of that body, bringing about the return of the Inka and the final judgment on the Spaniards.

The dismemberment of the *Inkarrí* comes from the memory of the first Messianic period of 1533-1572, when the Spaniards executed Atahualpa Inka. Following his capture by the Spaniards, Atahualpa offered to give the conquistadors a room filled with gold, silver, and precious jewels which is believed to be either a ransom for his life or his freedom.⁶¹ While the Inkas followed through and gave this room of gold, the Spaniards fulfilled neither option to Atahualpa whom they, instead, decided to execute to secure their position as conquerors. Following his conversion to Catholicism, Atahualpa was executed by decapitation.

In regards to the *Inkarrí* myth, Jose María Arguedas explains that the death of Atahualpa is not eternal since "the head of the god was taken to Cuzco"⁶² and "the head of *Inkarrí* is still alive and the body of this god is reconstituting itself from below."⁶³ When the body of *Inkarrí* is complete, he will return. And that day he will make his final judgment. The *pachakuti* expressed here is one of a deep longing and hope for retributive justice against the Spaniards and their descendants; those who have social power from their ancestry and those whose actions colonial domination against the Indigenous Quechuas and Aymaras. But, this justice does not have a

⁶⁰ Charles F. Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

⁶¹ John Hemming, *The conquest of the Incas* (New York: Mariner Books, 1993), 39-40.

⁶² José María Arguedas, "La Posesión de la Tierra, Los Mitos Pos-Hispánicos y la Visión del Universo en la Población Monolingüe Quechua" (Lima: Edición de Ignacio Prado Pastor 1973), 228.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

specific time in which it will occur, as it is fundamentally a longing for the end of colonial rule. This manifestation of Indigenous memory and hope for a cosmic order constituted under Andean principles mirrors the idea of *enqa*; an abstraction of the Inka's divine power. The principle of Andean messianism and its goal for decolonization is not tied to a single figure or moment in history, but to the symbol of the Inka as continually reconstituting itself, manifested in the emergence of the Indigenous liberation movements in the Andes. This harkening back to the Inka's body being reconstituted occurs in the second major period of Andean messianism in 1780-1783 with Tupac Amaru II and Tupac Katari.

Tupac Amaru II, christened José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noguera, was a *kuraka*⁶⁴ who led a rebellion against the abuses of Spanish authorities in the colonies. His influence would spread from the northwest of Cuzco to Lima, Peru to the west and La Paz, Bolivia, to the east near Lake Titicaca. As a descendent of the old Inka nobility all the way to Hauyna Capac,⁶⁵ father of Atahualpa Inka. Amaru embodied the line of the Inka nobilities and could collect them together under their collective memory of the Inka with his seizure of power. However, José Antonio Areche, the Spanish magistrate who oversaw the execution of Tupac Amaru II, saw the danger of the memory of the Inka writing "it is prohibited that the Indians wear heathen clothes, especially those that belong to the nobility, since it only serves to symbolize those worn by their Inca ancestors" and "magistrates should ensure that in no town of their respective provinces be performed plays or other public functions [...] to commemorate their formers Incas."⁶⁶

Antonio Areche was correct in the symbolic value of Tupac Amaru II as an Inka because his image would be used to reconstitute new movements for anti-colonial resistance. In Peru, the

⁶⁴ *Kuraka* is the traditional head of an *Ayllu* or local Indigenous community.

⁶⁵ Maria Rostworowski, "Introducción" and "La diarquía de los inkas" in *Estructuras Andinas del Poder* (Lima: IEP, 1983), 9-17 and 130-179.

⁶⁶ Orin Starn et al. *The Peru Reader* (Durham: Duke University press, 1995), 158-159.

Quechua syndicate leader, Saturnino Huillca Quispe would lead the land reform movement that directly led to the abolishment of Indian serfdom in 1969 using the memory of Tupac Amaru II as a guide. In Huillca's mind, there is a national dichotomy between two Perus, White and Native. On one hand, the Indigenous Peru keeps the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II as memory which guides dreams and movements for Peru to be Indigenous-led once again. On the other hand, the White Peru is exemplified by the *Misti*⁶⁷, the inauthentic figure that abandons and exploits the living source and embodiment of the Peruvian nation-state, the Quechua and Aymara who are descendants of the Inkas. This dichotomy is the national reality whose violence goes beyond the economic to a necessarily racial conception of what constitutes national identity in the Andes. To explain this dichotomy, Huillca says of the *Mistis*, "they enrich themselves, they become large owners of land [...] the *mistis* stripped away the existence of our grandparents, our ancestors, becoming powerful from what they had [...] they are not true Peruvians. In Peru, we, the Indigenous peasants, are the authentic Peruvians [...] the *Mistis* is the child of the Spaniard."⁶⁸

In the conception of the Indigenous Peru, Quechua and Aymara, follow practices that are deeply connected to their lands, which they had little control over. The historian Hugo Neira describes the 1969 land reform movement as "[Huillca's] rebellion" which ushered in the "modern Peru."⁶⁹ However, Huillca does not see himself as individually important, but sees the land reform as a legacy of Tupac Amaru, saying reverently "[y]es Tupac Amaru. Yes, him. He is a true father [of the Peruvian nation]. It was him, he created this path."⁷⁰ The symbolic value of

⁶⁷ *Misti* is a disparaging term for non-Indians in Peru. Usually meant for those who discriminate against Indigenous peoples.

⁶⁸ Hugo Neira, *Huillca: Habla un campesino peruano* (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1975), 124-5.

⁶⁹ Hugo Neira, *Cuzco: Tierra y Muerte* (2011), 20.

⁷⁰ Neira, *Huillca: Habla un campesino peruano*, 114.

the Inka itself spurs messianic fervor and gives greater credence to those who could then claim to be a descendant of the Inka, regardless of whether it is true or not.

For the Aymara people of Bolivia, Tupac Katari is the heroic figure through which Andean revolution is possible. Christened as Julian Apaza, Tupac Katari took up his name as homage to the insurrection by Tupac Amaru in Peru.⁷¹ The last name "Katari" is the Aymaran translation for Amaru, which is the Quechua for "serpent" (specifically in a mythical or totemic sense.)⁷²

The messianic spirit Tupac Katari left behind rests in his final words before his execution: "*A mí solo me matarán, [...] pero mañana volveré y seré millones,*"⁷³ {they will kill only I, [...] but tomorrow, I will return and be millions}. Contemporary Indigenous movements in Bolivia such as the *Indianista-Kataristas*, {Indianist-Katarists}, speak of their movement as the symbolic reconstitution of Tupac Katari's body, as they see it "*no como un cuerpo muerto, sino como un cuerpo vivo y activo. Él es imaginado y activado como cuerpo revivido y que camina sobre su propio territorio [...] bajo el manto de las fuerzas de sus 'hijos e hijas'*,"⁷⁴ {not like a dead body, but rather as a living and active body. He is imagined and animated like a revived body and that he walks over his own territory [...] under the banner of the forces of his 'sons and daughters'}. By walking on their own land and still understanding themselves as Aymara, these activists see themselves as living because he is the father that defended their Indigenous land. In living on the land he died on, they are symbolically walking his footsteps and

⁷¹ Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*, xxxii.

⁷² Academia Mayor de la Lengua, Quechua, *Diccionario Quechua-Castellano-Quechua*, 11.

⁷³ Pablo Mamani Ramirez et al., *Reconstitución de Tupaj Katari y Bartolina Sisa* (El Alto: Textos Rebeldes, 2010), 61.

⁷⁴ Ramirez, 61.

protecting the same land he did under their banner of Aymara nationalism, which prophesies the control over their land as his inevitable return.

These rebellions showed the desire to re-establish Tawantinsuyu by reestablishing the body of the Inka, both by genealogy and the spirit of the *Inkarrí*. In the case of the *Taki Onqoy*, there is a vision of messianism of when there was still a living Inka in the waning days of the Inka Empire.

THE TAKI ONQOY

The *Taki Onqoy* {Dance of Sickness} was a messianic movement that began following the conquest of the Inka capital, Cuzco, in 1533, and the self-exile of many of the Inka nobility into the rebel Inca state at Vilcabamba. Alongside the myth of *Inkarrí*, the *Taki Onqoy* sought to bring back the cosmic order within the Andes by overthrowing Spanish Catholicism and returning the Andean worldview with the Inka in the center. However, unlike the *Inkarrí* myth, the *Taki Onqoy's* political and religious influences mainly remain in the 16th century as the death of Tupac Amaru I (the final Inka emperor) and conquest of Neo-Inca state at Vilcabamba in 1572 marked the end to the political and religious hegemony of the Inka in the Andes.

The *Taki Onqoy* is characterized as messianic for many reasons: the scale, the presence of prophets, and the belief in the resurrection of the Andean gods and their overcoming of the Christian God. The *Taki Onqoy* began in 1564 and lasted until 1572, ending in a final attack against the Spaniards and the conquest death of Tupac Amaru I. It was amongst the largest rebellions of the colonial Americas and led entirely by the Indigenous Quechuas and Aymaras who saw the loss of their land, autonomy, and the constant abuses by the Spaniards as a result of the Inka gods no longer being officially venerated.

The religious experience of the *Taki Onqoy* was characterized by the ecstasy displayed in its dance.⁷⁵ First, the participants would dance to the point of exhaustion whereby they would go into trance, culminating in trembles and spasms whereby they would venerate the Andean *huacas*⁷⁶ and renounce Catholicism.⁷⁷ From then on, they would preach the return of the Inka and Andean *huacas*, and purify themselves through Inka rites and rituals.

A comparison made in studies of the *Taki Onqoy* is with the Ghost-Dance Religion, an Indigenous messianic movement in the late 19th century United States. The similarities abound between the two in their religious and political goals.⁷⁸ Both sought to bring their followers into a trance whereby they would let their Indigenous deities speak through them. The prophet of the Ghost Dance religion, Wovoka, unified various Indigenous peoples of the Western US with the return of an indigenized Jesus Christ who would bring judgment on the White settlers.⁷⁹ In similar fashion, the Indigenous prophets of the *Taki Onqoy*, Juan Chocne, "Santa Maria," and "Maria Magdalena," spoke of the unification of the varied local Andean cults into two central holy sites: the city of Pachacamac in Coastal Peru and around Lake Titicaca in Andean mountain Peru-Bolivia.⁸⁰

Mircea Eliade points out the difference between the shamanic religions and the secret brotherhoods (e.g. Ghost Dance, *Taki Onqoy*) in that the latter is open to all who are willing to

⁷⁵ According to historian Luis Millones, the modern dance of *Danza de las Tijeras* [Scissors Dance], from Ayacucho, Peru, was inspired by the *Taki Onqoy* movement. The *Danza de las Tijeras* is recognized for its acrobatics, its endurance, and how it pushes the human body to its limits. Moves that show this ecstasy include jumping on the tips of one's toes, jumping while laid on one's back, and landing on one's chest after summersaults. Read: "Danza de Tijeras, baile de Resistencia" Antonio Muñoz Monge 2016; watch: "Peru Bboys VS Danzantes de Tijera / Bc one Peru Lat. 2015 / RonalDread Films" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2pTBayvtlYw>.

⁷⁶ *Huacas* are figures that are worshipped as gods. Usually they are worshipped in temple shrines.

⁷⁷ Luis Millones "Un Movimiento Nativista del Siglo XVI: El Taki Ongoy" in *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino*, ed. Juan M. Ossio (Lima:Edición de Ignacio Prado Pastor 1973), 87-88.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 85.

⁷⁹ James Mooney "The Doctrine of the Ghost Dance" in *Teachings from the American Earth* ed. Dennis Tedlock, ed. Barbara Tedlock (New York, Liveright Publishing Co., 1975), 75-96.

⁸⁰ Nathaniel Watchel "Rebeliones y Milenarismo" in *Ideología Mesiánica del Mundo Andino*, ed. Juan M. Ossio (Lima: Edición de Ignacio Prado Pastor 1973), 121.

follow the teachings and thus, inadvertently shamanizes what would be considered lay followers.⁸¹ However, whereby shamanic power was decentralized from the Medicine-man to the Ghost-Dance followers, the *Taki Onqoy* was being led by the Inka, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and his high priest in the neo-Inka state at Vilcabamba.⁸²

As the Inka was a central holy and political figure in the Andean worldview, his backroom involvement in it does not devalue the *Taki Onqoy's* decentralized character in the Andean peasantry. Rather, it legitimizes it since his power is that of creating order in the empire and between the human and non-human worlds, which had been disrupted with the Spaniards and the Church. The *Taki Onqoy's* significance rests on the messianic and anti-colonial spirit within the Andes that sought to bring back order into the Andean world. One such contemporary myth exists that rests on the prophetic hope of anti-colonialism and *pachakuti* more so than the return of the Inka, the prophecy of the Eagle and the Condor.

EAGLE AND CONDOR PROPHECY

The messianic hope of the Quechua and Aymara peoples is itself centered within the localized teachings and experiences in the Andes. However, with the presidency and international diplomacy of Evo Morales, the concept of *pachakuti* as bringing Indigenous knowledge to the attention of the global community shows it to be permeable to its historical context as well as useful in understanding world affairs. This is especially true for other Indigenous peoples who see their liberation linked to the fate of the Andean peoples as with the myth of the Eagle and the Condor.

Held by both the Quechua peoples of the Andes as well as the Achuar people of the Ecuadorian-Peruvian Amazon, this myth speaks of the coming of a world *pachakuti*, where the

⁸¹ Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, (London: Routledge and Keetan Paul Ltd, 1964), 315.

⁸² Watchel, "Rebeliones y Milenarismo," 119.

human race will have to choose between the destruction of humanity or a salvation through unity. This salvation can only come when the Eagle of the North and Condor of the South fly together again. The Eagle is typically depicted as representing North America (US, Canada, Mexico) and the Condor representing South America from Colombia southwards to Argentina. The *pachakuti* that is experienced today is climate change, where the Capitalist model of industrial development has placed Indigenous nations and humanity as a whole in danger. In this case, the prophecy of the Eagle and the Condor has become pertinent to American Indian peoples all across the Americas.

The prophecy of the Eagle and the Condor is not a homogenizing narrative that seeks to impose the Andean worldview over other peoples, a Native-to-Native assimilation. Rather, it is voluntarily being taken up by other Native peoples as a way to describe their own prophecies and aspirations for the future. Anishinaabe elder Dave Courchene hosted the continental Indigenous summit *Onjisay Aki*⁸³ in the Sagkeen First Nation, Canada, to address the threat of climate change on a global indigenous level.⁸⁴ In a 2017 video promotion for the event, He and a Quechua *amauta*⁸⁵ from Peru, Antaurko, spoke of how Indigenous peoples from both Anglo North America (US and Canada) and Latin America must help each other out and how this summit "is already a manifestation of this prophecy" of the Eagle and the Condor.

Another is Chief Phil Lane Jr. (Ihanktonwan Dakota and Chickasaw Nations) in the documentary "The Shift of the Ages," where he recounts the Eagle and Condor myth as significant because it provides a framework to understand the prophecies of multiple Indigenous peoples across the Americas. He describes how pre-Columbian prophecies across Anglo North

⁸³ *Onjisay Aki* translates to "The Changing of the Earth" in Anishinaabe

⁸⁴ "The Prophecy of the Eagle and Condor," *Onjisay Aki*, accessed May 5, 2019, <http://onjisay-aki.org/prophecy-eagle-and-condor>.

⁸⁵ *Amauta* translates to Philosopher or wise one in Quechua and Aymara.

America and Latin America “foretold that a great spiritual wintertime was coming”, which then corresponded to European colonization in 1492 onwards. But, there is also hope. It was also “prophesied and promised [...] that a great, great spiritual springtime would emerge,”⁸⁶ from “the prophecies of Kukulcan, to the prophecy of Inkas, of Viracocha, Quetzacoatl, the eighth council fire, return of the white buffalo, the sacred prophecy of the Hopi.”⁸⁷ The prophecy of the eagle and the condor allows for a radical form of Indigenous hope, as these prophecies see colonization and ecological degradation as temporary deviations from our natural relationship to the Earth. Gods like Viracocha⁸⁸ and Quetzacoatl⁸⁹ are seen as enlightened teachers who came and taught civilization to humans and are said to return. Taken symbolically, these are not just holy individuals who come down from another realm to instruct humanity, but the forces of myth, reason, and memory that Indigenous peoples live through and use when seeking to return to their ancestral teachings.

As with the Onjisay Aki summit and the correlations of Indigenous prophecies across North Anglo and Latin America, the myth of the Eagle and Condor give credence to Indigenous worldviews. It allows them to be seen as true and as valuable as any other world religions, rather than an infantile way of life by “noble savages” who have yet to intellectually evolve.

This ability for the prophecy of the Eagle and Condor to ground other Indigenous worldviews is seen in the protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline (#NoDAPL) at the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. The #NoDAPL protests (2016-2017) was significant because it was the single largest gathering of different Native American nations in history, with many of the protesters saying that the myth of the Eagle and Condor inspired them to go to Standing

⁸⁶ *Shift of the Ages*. Directed by Stephen Michael Copeland, United States, 2012.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ McEwan, *The Incas*, 145.

⁸⁹ Jack D. Forbes, *Aztec del Norte: The Chicanos of Aztlán* (Greenwich: Fawcett Publicacions), 49-50.

Rock.⁹⁰ Peoples from Latin America gathered on Sioux territory from the Quechua, to the Aymara, to the Nahuatl, to the Chicanos, to the Mapuche, to the Maya, etc., to aid in fighting against the pipeline as they saw the struggles against extractivism in Standing Rock as the same one they fight in their home countries. Consequently, they see Indigenous unity as a key goal for decolonization.

But there were also non-Native peoples present at Standing Rock who expressed the same interest in reversing climate change, fighting for Indigenous sovereignty, and seeing a united future which challenges ethnic boundaries. This shows the permeability of Andean mythology and how *pachakuti* is a world-historical process that is changing peoples from thinking through an individualist, Capitalist, and industrial worldview to a communal and Earth-based one. However, what does this humanity look like in the Andean worldview? This question must be resolved in depth to see the potential of *pachakuti* as a process that will unite humanity rather than fall further into climate change.

PACHAMAMISMO AND 21ST CENTURY EARTH-BASED THINKING

Climate change, as the new *pachakuti*, is comparable to the deluge of the *Uno Yaku Pachakuti* described by Guaman Poma de Ayala where the Native peoples of the Andes lost any form of social organization that make have existed prior: "*Estas gentes no supieron de dónde salieron ni cómo ni de qué manera,*"⁹¹ {These peoples did not know from where they came, nor how, nor from what way}. An event of cataclysmic proportions that erases or begins history from that point onwards is the essence of a *pachakuti*. From ecological predictions to historical

⁹⁰ Antonia Cerejido "At Standing Rock, Indigenous Nations of the World Unite," *LatinoUSA*, October 21, 2016. Accessed April 22, 2019.

⁹¹ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Coronica Y Buen Gobierno*, 40 [50]

analyses, the possibility of extinction for many species on the planet and the uprooting of organized human civilization itself are threats that climate change poses.⁹²

One of the most prominent sectors of the Indigenous Bolivian intelligentsia who responded to these concerns came from the government itself with the then foreign minister, now Vice President, David Choquehuanca. He was described as both a "spiritual guide" to Evo Morales and the "symbol of the *indigenista*" or "*Pachamamista*"⁹³ sector of the MAS government during his tenure as Bolivia's Foreign Minister.⁹⁴ *Pachamamismo* centers itself on the Indigenous Andean worldview based on living with nature, spirits, natural forces, and humanity who plays a non-central part within and in relation to this whole system. This *Pachamamista* stream of the government contrasted with a "political pragmatist" stream led by more Marxist influenced politicians such as the Bolivian Vice President Alvaro Linera Garcia and the Minister of Economy and Public Finance, now President, Luis Arce who adhered to an economic-centered conception of 21st century Socialism.

One of the most significant philosophical expressions of *Pachamamismo* has been the concept of *buen vivir* or "Living Well" which has emphasized the relationship that humans have to community, to *Pachamama*, and to the land itself as a political and spiritual space for this to occur. In an interview with the *La Razón*, Choquehuanca lays out twenty five postulates for "Living Well" as an authentic expression of the philosophy of Indigenous Andean worldviews in the context and needs of governance in the 21st century. At the center of *Buen Vivir* is the

⁹² Mike Ludwig, "UN Report Says Indigenous Sovereignty Could Save the Planet," *Truthout*, May 7, 2019, accessed May 7, 2019, <https://truthout.org/articles/un-report-says-indigenous-sovereignty-could-save-the-planet/>

⁹³ The *Pachamamista* faction of Evo's government sought to align state policy with both old and new Indigenous principles, such as the communal *ayllu* and the *Buen Vivir* ideology, respectively. This is contrasted to the *pragmatistas* {pragmatists} who prioritize state policy for economic development and electoral campaigning.

⁹⁴ Marcelo Tedesqui V., "Sale del gabinete David Choquehuanca, posible 'presidenciable,'" *El Deber*, January 24, 2017, accessed May 1, 2019, <http://www.eldeber.com.bo/bolivia/Sale-del-gabinete-David-Choquehuanca-posible-presidenciable-20170123-0063.html>.

rejection of anthropocentrism whereby what is most important are the rivers, the air, the mountains to the ants, the butterflies, and Man is in last place, for us, what matters most is life.⁹⁵ It is contrasted with our current model of development based on "Living Better", the process of continual accumulation to preserve one's individual desires.

But what makes this distinct is how this system has been implemented as a part of state ideology and policy in the epoch of Bolivian history where Indigenous peoples believe themselves to be consolidating Indigenous hegemony after 500 years of colonial oppression. This Andean messianism held for and within the Evo Morales's government, such as with Choquehuanca once claiming to reporter that he was possibly the descendant of the Inka royal lineage,⁹⁶ is seen by Claudio Lomnitz as a "rectification of history: the return to an origin, a second chance at achieving some previously derailed project."⁹⁷ This rectification of colonial "specters of the past" that Lomnitz analyzes is a confrontation of the past that has built the present and what can possibly be an irreversible future.

The key principle in the *buen vivir* ideology is its principle of "*Retomar el abya yala*," {Return to Abya Yala}, which is to "*promover que los pueblos se unan en una gran familia*," {all peoples are united as one great family}, and includes a reciprocal relationship with the Earth and all the living beings on it. However, a reciprocal relationship between the Earth and humanity requires a definition of humanity that defines it away from its anthropocentric belief in human uniqueness. In essence, it is important to define through memory, of remembering what is humanity's place in life, of what does it mean to think as human beings born from the Earth?

⁹⁵ La Razón, "Canciller de Bolivia señala los 25 postulados para 'Vivir Bien'", *La Razón*, February 8, 2010. Accessed May 30, 2010.

⁹⁶ "Choquehuanca: 'Yo soy el último inca, investiguen'" Página Siete December 23rd, 2014, <https://www.paginasiete.bo/nacional/2014/12/23/choquehuanca-yo-ultimo-inca-investiguen-42097.html>.

⁹⁷ Claudio Lomnitz, "Foundations of the Latin American Left" (*Public Culture*, 2007) 19 (1): 23-27, <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-2006-022>.

RE-EDITING HUMANITY THROUGH INDIAN EYES

A redefinition of humanity in the Andean religio-philosophical worldview can be found with the Quechua-Aymara intellectual Fausto Reinaga and his redefinition of humanity: "*El hombre es tierra que piensa*,"⁹⁸ {Man is earth that thinks}. Reinaga's philosophical work centers around a critique of European thought as incompatible with the many principles found within Indigenous American thought, including the Andean worldview. One such view is his critique of the definition of humanity in the European tradition, which he critiques as centering humanity on a mind that is itself separate from the body and material world which he describes as cosmos. In subverting the Socratic ideal of "know thyself," Reinaga first claims that "man is cosmos, and cosmos is man" and thus, for man to know himself, he must know himself outwards and know himself inwards; outwards: the world of galaxies; and inwards: a conglomerate of cells that make up the body.⁹⁹

Reinaga critiques Western reasoning for bringing about the nuclear bomb and its successive innovations that strengthens its destructive power and further guarantees the extinction of "man and life on Planet Earth."¹⁰⁰ The form of the verb "to think" that Reinaga uses for humans as earth that is animated and rational is distinct from the Western model. In Quechua, a possible translation of "man is earth that thinks" would be "*runaqa yuyayniyoj jallp'a*," {literally "a person is earth with reason"}.

In Quechua, most terms are used in very concrete ways and do not work in rhetorical uses that abstract, and deviate from, the specific contexts in which an action is done.¹⁰¹ The verb

⁹⁸ Fausto Reinaga, *Obras Completas*, (La Paz: Publicaciones de Vicepresidencia, 2014), 355.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 59.

¹⁰¹ Odi Gonzales, Christine Mladic Janney, Emily Fjaellen Thompson, *Quechua-Spanish-English Dictionary*, (New York: Hippocrene Books, 2018), 14.

“yuyay” translates to multiple mental faculties that would relate with our conception of “thought.” *Yuyay*, at first may seem to have separate meanings as it translates to different actions of “to think” and “to remember.” However, its main function is “to remember” or “concerning memory” because that is where thought itself originates in the Andes. Memory, as a function of the past, is useful in a mythological context, where the present is both always caused by past events as well as has happened once before as seen in different mythical stories (ex. the deluge myth and our experience with climate change and sea level rise).

In bilingual Quechua-Spanish speaking communities, “yuyay” is differentiated from the Spanish loan word “*pensay*,” — *pensar* in Spanish — which translates to “to think” of ideas, opinions, or thoughts in English.¹⁰² In this regard, one’s memories are the truth of an experience and of reality. This is parallel to the distinction made in conversations in English where one may claim a memory “I remember I walked your dog” and then the first person would be contradicted by another saying “you think so but, the truth is ...” and then the second person would recount what truly happened.

Yuyay, in its noun form, translates to “memory, reason, thought, sense”¹⁰³ or “memory, knowledge.”¹⁰⁴ In both these definitions, compiled by native Quechua speakers, “memory” is prioritized in translation over the more abstract concepts of “reason” and “knowledge.” What is expressed then in Reinaga’s axiom “*Runaqa yuyayniyoj jallp’a*” is “man is earth that remembers”; an expression of remembering humanity as cosmos and cosmic order that organizes its existence. In his work *Tierra y Libertad*, {*Land and Freedom*}, Reinaga describes the axiom within Indigenous Andean life in the following way:

¹⁰² Gary Parker, *English-Quechua Dictionary – Cuzco, Ayacucho, Cochabamba* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1964).

¹⁰³ Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua, *Diccionario Quechua-Castellano-Quechua*, (my translation), 711.

¹⁰⁴ Jesus Lara, *Diccionario Qheswa-Castellano, Castellano-Qheswa* (La Paz: Los Amigos del Libro, 1997), 285.

El hombre es hijo de la Tierra [...] Evidente, el hombre desde que es hombre, nace de su generosa entraña se nutre por su paso de este mundo con sus frutos (animales, vegetales, o minerales), y después de exhalar el último aliento de vida, retorna a su seno. El hombre en esencia es tierra [...] Pachamama es la madre del hombre [...] ¿Qué razón, qué derecho puede imponer el hijo a renunciar a su madre?¹⁰⁵

{Man hombre es hijo de la Tierra [...] Evidente, el hombre desde que es hombre, nace de su generosa entraña se nutre por su paso de este mundo con sus frutos (animales, vegetales, o minerales), y después de exhalar el último aliento de vida, retorna a su seno. El hombre en esencia es tierra [...] Pachamama es la madre del hombre [...] ¿Qué razón, qué derecho puede imponer el hijo a renunciar a su madre?¹⁰⁶

Reinaga's humanity embodies the messianic spirit that spurs one to remember their ethical relation with the Earth which is done, ultimately, not through rational argument, but through the visceral heartfelt care for one's mother like a child would.

To connect Reinaga with the Native traditions of North America, there is the Haudenosaunee prayer of "Thanksgiving Address". This prayer of thanks is given to "enlightened Teachers" who have continuously "come to help throughout the ages" when people "forget how to live in harmony" and these teachers "remind us of the way we were instructed to live as people."¹⁰⁷ The gratitude given for the enlightened teachers shows a cyclical conception of history based on memory. The focus is not on the individuals, but on their lessons, which mirror those expressed in the myths of Indigenous cultures. In this case, the memory that is the center of thought for humans ought to be *Pachamama* in the Andean worldview. Like a mother-child relationship, one is fully dependent on what she can provide.

¹⁰⁵ Reinaga, *Obras Completas*, 123.

¹⁰⁶ Reinaga, *Obras Completas*, 123.

¹⁰⁷ John Stokes; Kanawahienton, Thanksgiving Address: Greetings to the Natural World (Onchiota: Six Nations Indian Museum, 1993).

CONCLUSION

The mistake of believing Indigenous cultures as having nothing to teach the world or, worse yet, believing them to be a collection of irrational stories that is best in some obsolete and dead past fails to see the process of cultural growth experienced in the Indigenous Andes. It has taken a center stage in Bolivian politics as well as sought to bring the world community, through international Indigenous communication, to show that alternative futures are possible. As the term *pachakuti* and its messianic spirit have been taken by Indigenous peoples across the continent, it shows not only the possibility of Andean metaphysics to explain our present moment in history, but how we have the cultural memory to remember that humanity is never independent nor can it go beyond the natural world and its mythological understanding. To be able to understand this new dialogue between the Indigenous Andes and the global community, an understanding of the Inka as an archetype, the cyclical history of Andean metaphysics, and the care for the Earth as the Mother, will be necessary.

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