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TRANSLATED BY
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THE NEO-INDIANS

A Religion for the Third Millennium

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Jacques Galinier and Antoinette Molinié

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Preface

At the start of this new millennium, Latin America is reappearing on the international scene with a new face. The violence of dictatorships seems gradually to be receding in favor of moderate politics. Governments are distancing themselves from North America, and the guerilla threat is subsiding. New forms of governance have been established in Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, and Uruguay as well as in Ecuador, Chile, Bolivia, and perhaps Mexico one day. At the same time, a fierce desire for autochthony is emerging in popular events in these mixed-race countries. Evo Morales's election in Bolivia on December 18, 2005—with 54 percent of the vote—was seen as the resurrection of Indian identity. It was widely believed that the first Indian to hold the position of president of the Republic would inevitably promote the indigenous movement, which was already highly organized. In Peru, former military commander Ollanta Humala, founder of the "Etnocaserista" movement, closely associated with the Inca Empire, was elected president of the Republic in 2011. He claimed to be a descendant of the Incas by assuming the leadership of the Movimiento Nacionalista Peruano. In Ecuador, Rafael Correa has been elected president of the Republic for the third time in 2013 with the support of many indigenous votes. In Mexico, the enigmatic Zapatista movement has tried to impose a new policy to defend indigenous populations.

The media is presenting this passion for identity as a novelty, but attentive observers in these countries know that the movement has been in gestation for more than a decade. In this book, we shall be examining these new forms of Indian identity. Although Evo Morales donned recognizably Aymara clothing for his inauguration, we tend to forget that when Sánchez de Lozada before him was sworn into Congress, his pale complexion was partly offset by an Andean poncho and an Amazonian *cushma* (a cape worn by indigenous people of the Peruvian and Bolivian Amazonas). Evo Morales's royal consecration in the temple of Tiahuanaco surprised the press and the political

world. We shall show how incidents such as these have not arisen by chance and are not merely an aberration of history, although most journalists showed no interest for many years. Little attention was paid to the fact that, as far back as 2001, Peru's president, Alejandro Toledo, was consecrated on Machu Picchu as a new Inca by shamans who made offerings to the gods of the mountains. This book sets the scene for the emergence of these new identities, analyzing their construction and detecting variants. The study follows the emergence of the neo-Indian movement in what we consider to be the two major areas of its genesis, Mexico and Peru.

The "neo-Indians" gradually emerging in the New World are neither the archetypes of ethnographic monographs nor the mixed-race creations of antiracist intellectuals; they are closer to our Disneyland culture. In their day-to-day lives, they wear polyester rather than feathers, although they dress as Aztec princes or Incas for celebrations, wearing traditional clothing that could inspire Californian designers. Instead of attracting rain, their dances are now geared toward attracting tourists, even if, at times, in their shantytown hovels, they improvise salsas with an indigenous vein. They are sometimes active in Indianist movements invoking an identity that, in reality, is no longer theirs. In any event, they offer themselves to elites who do not hesitate to appropriate their cast-off clothes and to indigenous communities whose traditional culture is in shreds, as well as to nations in search of autochthony. Indians used to pay material tribute to the Spanish throne—now they pay with their image, although they style their looks as they see fit.

We have been observing this emerging culture at sites where, over the last thirty years, we have seen a genuine metamorphosis until the electoral events in Bolivia, which did not surprise us much. As a subject of study, the neo-Indians are often rejected by anthropologists who consider them to be "cultural clowns" or "tradition dealers." Anthropologists are disconcerted because these "natives" are not inert like museum collections, but very much alive and abounding with ideas, at times disturbing, often ingenious and always creative. What bothers anthropologists is the fact that they are inventing a culture in the mirror we hold out to them, often playing at being Indian in accordance with the slogans of New Age zealots from the first world. And this new otherness troubles us.

Indeed, this ethnogenesis goes against the grain of History as a science. Painstakingly recorded historical details are flouted, and the chronologies of archaeology are ignored. It is true that any "invented community" such as a nation tampers with its past in order to ennoble its ancestors, acquire autochthony, or establish bonds with the gods. In America, the image of the Indian has been widely solicited in this sense. Today, however, this makeshift job is taking on new dimensions—it makes use of the most sophisticated IT techniques, is part of the globalization of trade, and flaunts an

insolent subversion of identity, shamelessly manipulating the writings of ethnologists who are now observing rituals with scripts that they described and analyzed years ago in scientific journals. In some respects, neo-Indian ceremonial writing works like a word-processor, with instructions to "copy" and "paste" from an operator arbitrarily deciding to transfer information, reordering it into new sequences.

Moreover, the neo-Indians' assertion of their identity is based on a paradox. It fits into schemes of localism and particularism, calling for a "racial" purity reminiscent of Aztecan or Incaist eugenics, but this is merely in order to return to a continental sphere and give a message of planetary scope, and to join the international movement of the Fifth World or the Age of Aquarius. The flipside of this exaggeration of all that is local, authentic, and autochthonous is the frantic search for elective affinities with every movement promoting themes such as world harmony and concepts such as "cosmic energy"—neo-Indianism both invents specificities and creates "universal values." It could even be said that the global nature of the message is proportional to its degree of specificity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the New Age movement acts as a backdrop to this endeavor, and that Turkish Sufis and Tibetan Lamas are solicited as oracles to perform some of the rituals we shall be looking at more closely in this book.

The future of the entire planet will be taken care of by the neo-Indians. Not by the contemporary Indians dear to ethnologists, who in remote lands reproduce a culture born of hybridizations during the sixteenth century, nor the wretched, dispossessed Indians ghettoized in the outskirts or rundown centers of large cities. Neo-Indians are in denial about the Indian condition, and are at the same time provoking a head-on collision between an invented, glorious past and a bright future.

Neo-Indianism is all the more disconcerting because it does not recognize the boundaries of Western logic. It allows for contradictory judgments—all my ancestors are of Germanic origin, but I was born in Mexico; I am a Mexican citizen and therefore a genuine Anahuac Indian. The Andes Cordillera was the seat of the Inca Empire whose vibrations I'm picking up, so therefore I can become a shaman—nor does neo-Indianism recognize the boundaries of academic history—the *calpulli*, a type of territory-based clan claimed by the Aztecs, or the *ayllu*, an Andean lineage defined by a territory, are used to gather the many ethnic groups into a single *communitas*. Formal boundaries of cultural areas are not recognized—neo-Indians worship a cosmic and benevolent Mother Earth, very different from the ferocious divinities who demanded human sacrifices venerated by the Indians of the Andean Altiplano or Mexico, and geographic boundaries are stretched to include hunter-gatherers who never practiced any agrarian cult.

A flourishing ethnogenesis overflowing with vitality is thus bursting onto the scene upon the ruins of colonization. After the stirring choir of the wounded children of

Indian history, we hear the joyful sarabande of the neo-Indians. Neo-Indians come to institutional meetings and confuse the issues for northern countries who were expecting to hold talks with southern partners and find themselves confronted with transnational movements claiming an Indian identity, who speak in tribal tongues and make up new ethnic groups based on Internet networks.

If their research is used and at times distorted by the neo-Indians, ethnologists will be all the more enthusiastic to study this phenomenon. On the American continent, apart from museographical history and ethnography to save endangered heritages, a third way is now opening up for anthropology. We should not be afraid to confront mediocre Hollywood movies, "interethnic" networks and CNN cameras, the chosen instruments to manufacture neo-Indianity—they are all elements of the "scenic device" now unfurling before us.

We feel that this survey calls for a new kind of anthropological vision. Notwithstanding, it is pointless to mourn the special relationship that ethnologists managed to build with indigenous peoples. We refuse to abandon the discipline's classic subjects, constructed through contacts with traditional societies. However, we are neither horrified that they have become unrecognizable under the thrust of westernization, nor outraged by manipulations of our writings, since they are inventing a culture that claims to be global. We simply follow our subject, not to the tomb but along the course of his new life.

Nonetheless, this book does not merely describe the trends we have just mentioned; it also analyzes them, and this is the difference between journalism and anthropology that we intend to defend. We can only understand the wealth of new urban rituals by describing the beliefs, practices, and aesthetics that are combined in the traditional ceremonies we have been studying for many years. The significance of the ethnogenesis lies in this continuity rather than in its spectacular dimension, although the latter may attract the curious reader. It is not a question of dropping our traditional analytical approach in search of novelty, but to understand what is new by using traditional analysis. This new way of looking at the subject, by its very nature, benefits from our in-depth knowledge of the Indian communities that are still steeped in traditional ways and continue to live in Andean and Mesoamerican lands.

We have come to understand that the point of this study is simply to observe and analyze a culture that is being created before our very eyes—a work-in-progress that reveals the processes of identity.

No less than seven years have passed since the original version appeared in French (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2006). In the meantime, numerous works on related subjects have been published. We have cited some of them, but could not fully update the bibliography to reflect the considerable growth in the literature. Nor have we been

able to revise our text to take into account some recent manifestations of Neo-Indian movements in several countries of Latin America—notably in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, or Mexico—which have come to confirm many of our working assumptions.

We would like to express our thanks to Sophie Assal, Miguel-Ángel Rodríguez Lizana, and the late Marie-Hélène Delamare for their help in the preparation of the original French manuscript, and to Geoffrey Bodenhausen for his critical reading of the translation.

THE NEO-INDIANS

Introduction

It was unheard of—over a million people were taking part! On March 21, 1996, a huge and colorful crowd descended on Teotihuacan, a hub of international tourism. Well before noon, the Pyramid of the Sun (separated from the Pyramid of the Moon by the Avenue of the Dead) was swarming with people undaunted by the heat and the heaving masses.[1] It was a mixture of all sorts of people—men, women and "even homosexuals."[2] There were various troupes of dancers from Mexico State and elsewhere, groups described as "esoteric" and "Gnostic" as well as Hare Krishnas, Indian gurus, Tibetan lamas, Jehovah's Witnesses, followers of astrology, practitioners of traditional medicine, Freemasons, *priístas*, *panistas* and *perredistas*,[3] not forgetting the *alpinos*, members of the Alpine Club often found exhausted on the slopes of the Popocatepetl volcano. We made our way through crowds of students from the National School of Anthropology and thousands of North American and European tourists descending upon one of the continent's most popular mystic spots. At the entrance to the site, from the top of a fifty-foot mast, whirled the Voladores de Papantla, the "flying men" who enthrall the stunned tourists, not to mention the stallholders in the temple selling candles and pyramid-shaped paper hats. "Spiritists" who dabble in therapy bustled about performing their purification ceremonies and giving "reflexology" lessons. The *reginistas*,[4] dressed all in white with red belts, clasped their hands and raised their palms toward the Sun, rebaptized Quetzalcoatl "so that he takes possession of their body, their soul and their thoughts." All have come to Teotihuacan to "recharge their batteries."

A Mexica priest on the top of the Pyramid of the Sun turned toward the East and, in a mixture of Nahuatl and Spanish, prayed "so that the forces of heaven pour out their energy upon the Earth."[5] On the top of the platform on the opposite side, another ritualist, adorned with sumptuous headwear of peacock feathers, called upon the "mystic forces" of the cosmos, "so that there are more jobs and less pollution, so that the economy improves

and the government changes." Doña María, selling fritters, also addressed the celestial divinities:

Oh, universal and cosmic force,
Mysterious energy,
Fruitful breast, mother of all

Thou, Solar Logos, igneous emanation,
Christ in substance and in consciousness,
Powerful life for all that moves,
Come unto me,

Oh, universal and cosmic force,
Mysterious energy,
I beseech thee, come unto me,

Give me the strength to attract luck,
Fortune, work, love;
Health, peace, abundance and harmony in my home
reign supreme in the hearts of my loved ones
Around me, visible and invisible.[6]

There is the same exuberance during the 2002 solstice, like those before it, in the Inca fortress of Sacsayhuaman overlooking the ancient imperial city of Cuzco.[7] Monoliths reflect the blinding sun. In this mineral setting, the blocks of granite lend themselves majestically to religious ceremonies. The archaeological treasures are overrun, climbed on, and often wrecked by families who settle down there with jars of *chicha*,[8] crates of beer and Inca Cola, roast guinea pig, and potatoes. Every year at the same date, the crowd looks over the sheer drop to an imposing esplanade where the Sun God is worshipped. A few tourists with badly sunburned faces smeared with high-protection sunblock and weighed down with cameras and all sorts of other devices take their places around the immense altar. For twenty dollars they can see the Inca and photograph, record and film him . . . The brightly dressed soldiers of the imperial army run along the esplanade, some bearing halberds and others bows and arrows. A few of them are exact replicas of the ones who arrested Tintin and Captain Haddock.[9] Everyone knows that they announce the imminent arrival of the Inca from Qoricancha, the Temple of the Sun, after a ritual stopover at the Plaza de Armas. The king's golden litter moves forward, led by an impressive procession—the captain of the Inca army and his guardsmen protect it from the fervor of the crowd, consecrated virgins perfume the air with rose petals, and, to the rhythm of their

brooms, servants sweep the dirt from the path to the throne. The mysterious sound of conch shells punctuated by the sinister beat of pre-Hispanic drums contrasts with the chords of one of Beethoven's symphonies played just before.

The Inca wears a *mascaypacha*,[10] with three brightly colored feathers, huge earrings, and, on his chest, a replica of Echenique's golden disc.[11] He bears a long Sioux-style tomahawk that, bizarrely, culminates in an ear of golden maize, and he is protected by a richly decorated canopy similar to the one that shelters the Virgen de Belén during the Corpus Christi procession. From time to time, he stands on the throne, lifting his arms and raising the tomahawk in answer to the crowd's ovation. We can see his sister-wife's litter also borne aloft. His two-piece outfit, made of material covered with motifs of *tocapu*,[12] matches the drawing of Inca clothing by the chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.[13] A rumor has been circulating about who is to play the role of the Inca's sister-wife this year.[14] Last year the mayor's mistress had been assigned the role, but this year, rumor has it that it is the real Inca's real sister! The Inca addresses his divine Father:

My Sun! My Father! With great joy
We salute thee

Reborn

In your light.[15]

The Son of the Sun then performs the various rituals of the religious ceremony—an offering of chicha to the divine star, the ceremony of the sacred fire that will be carried to the four corners of the empire, reading the kingdom's future in coca leaves and so on. Finally, he cuts the throat of a sacrificial llama, triumphantly presenting the bloody lungs to the enthusiastic crowd. He is then carried around the esplanade on his litter, standing up from time to time to salute like the president of the Republic in his convertible.[16] In Quechua he addresses the crowd, which has abandoned its guinea pigs and beer in order to applaud him. The tourists are having a field day with their cameras. The Inca nobility, sumptuously clothed, is kneeling. Close by, a man adopts a guilty look, saying to his neighbors "It's we who should be on our knees."

What is so disturbing about these surprising quests for *vibras*,[17] these cosmic, sacrificial picnics and fervent religious ceremonies where people come to the sacred places that American archaeological sites have once again become? Is it a kind of hitherto-unknown ethnogenesis? Why is academic anthropology, which currently seeks out the slightest sign of identity invention, so ill at ease with this? It was to try and resolve these aporias that we decided to write this book. Our subject consists of examining the trends of reappropriating the heritage of Andean and Mexican civilizations,

especially their rituals and worldviews. The main characteristic of this sociologically disturbing ensemble is that it is being organized by people who are not from the same cultural milieu in the strictest sense. Furthermore, from their point of view, the neo-Indians are "natives" and, moreover, the "purest" of them.

Until recently, Indians did not define themselves as members of an ethnic entity bearing any resemblance to the image of anthropologists. In Mexico, from the perspective of Indians from the principal communities, mixed cultures did not exist, but only inhabitants of San Pedro or Santa Ana; there were no Tlapanecas, simply people from San Lorenzo or Santa María and so on. In Peru and Bolivia, though distinctions were sometimes made between Quechua and Aymara, using these two categories to constitute ethnic groups was a pointless intellectual exercise. In Mexico as in Peru, one was first and foremost a member of such and such a community or *ayllu*. For all Mexican or Peruvian Indians, this "patriotism in miniature" on a community scale continues to mask "ethnic" outlines as they appear in the maps of the *National Geographic*. What is even more surprising is that using the same language was seen locally as a differentiation factor, and this is still the case—the slightest lexical variation from one community to another was considered by Indians themselves as a real linguistic barrier . . . even if communication between neighboring village representatives was totally straightforward.

We are now seeing the opposite trend. When Otomi informants of the Toluca valley discovered those of the Sierra Madre Oriental, separated by centuries of linguistic modification, they insisted on the complete mutual intelligibility of their two dialects, although it is far from complete according to our own surveys on related vocabulary and the work of the linguist Yolanda Lastra.[18] Separating the Westernized Indian from the "authentic" one is, therefore, a (possibly meaningless) operation that is extremely difficult to perform as it involves constant vigilance and a schizophrenic approach to separate a world "within" its language and "true people"—as is the case for the etymology of many ethnonyms on the American continent—from the world "outside" the dominant, Spanish-speaking society . . . wildly hostile to the promotion of any sign that might lead to confusion with the rank-and- file Indians, *los naturales*.

With regard to the still somewhat unregulated designation of "neo-Indian," we cannot ignore the changing use of the term *indio* which, by a series of coincidences, has come to designate the subjects of the Spanish and Portuguese Empires since the discovery of America.[19] Today, the term denotes extremely variable cultural characteristics depending on the regions of the American continent.

In central Mexico and Andean countries still deeply marked by the colonial legacy of *haciendas*, the noun *indio* retains a pejorative meaning, even more so than the

diminutive *indito* used voluntarily by mestizos, which coexists with the demeaning *naco* or *naquito*, or even *naturalito* as used in Mexico as opposed to people of *razón*, *los de razón*.[20] *Indígena* is the dignified and legally accepted term that prevails in governmental terminology and in some literature, but neo-Indians cannot call themselves indigenous, as this term essentially applies to populations using an Amerindian language as a vernacular idiom. However, if the term "Indian" is, north of the Rio Grande, the only acceptable denomination (including by Amerindians themselves), in Mexico, such as the O'odham and Yaqui of Sonora, the contaminating effect of North American usage can be observed in populations divided by the U.S. border—where *indio* is now quite simply the most prestigious ethnonym!

In Andean countries, the term *indio* is insulting and refers to the *indiada*, which more or less means "herd of Indians." People from the Cordilleran communities call themselves *runa*, which means "human being" in Quechua. When they move to the cities and climb a few rungs of the social ladder, they become *cholos*, which has less of a bestial connotation than *indio* but is also pejorative. They are then part of the *cholada*. The well-read use the word *indígena* to describe people from the highlands and *natural* for those from the Amazonian lowlands. These words are used by Indian rehabilitation movements to distance themselves from pejorative terms. For Indians, *mistis* are white and mixed-race people. The former, if foreigners, are known as *gringos*.[21] Mistis introduce themselves as "decent folk," and in the same way as Mexican Indians might declare "no soy de razón" (I am not a being of reason), Peruvian Indians will simply say "no soy decente" (I am not decent).

Once these sources of confusion had been dealt with, it was decided that the designation "neo-Indian" should be retained to mark the precise specificity of this ideological and ritual sphere that is neither *indianista* and even less *indigenista*, a term that applies to an intellectual and political movement that for the last fifty years has been promoted by the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, the state apparatus in both Mexico and Peru. This choice is based on the idea of a spatial and temporal discrepancy in the sense that we talk of a "neoclassical" style, but also of a dynamic process, a symbolic appropriation of the past. We could have chosen the ethnonyms used by those involved, except that this would limit the scope of the study and could lead to even greater confusion![22]

In Mexico, academic circles designate the neo-Indian phenomenon with the epithet *mexicanista*, but the population often confuses this with the practices of *conchero* dancers and their spectacular choreographies. Their dances, inspired by Aztec traditions, appeared in the working classes in the eighteenth century. Once they had been taken over by those involved in the movement, they became the flamboyant showcase for Indian identity in the eyes of foreign tourists.[23]

Nevertheless, it is essential to differentiate these mexicanistas from the *mexicanos* (the country's citizens) as well as from the Nahuatl-speaking Indians for whom it is the proper ethnonym. This group is historically distinct from the Mexica, Aztec and *mexiquenses*, the inhabitants of today's Mexico State at the edge of the capital. Lastly, we should bear in mind that the mexicanistas have no connection with the *mexicaneros*, Indians from the Sierra de Nayarit.

In Peru, there is no equivalent term for *mexicanidad* to describe the phenomenon of neo-Indian identity. The expressions *incaismo* or *cuzqueñismo* could, at a stretch, be used as an equivalent, but they refer to the simple fact of admiring the Inca civilization and to partisans of the return of the empire. We cannot, under any circumstances, speak of neo-*indios* as this term is pejorative. As for Bolivia, at the forefront of the international political scene at the moment, the opposite is true. The term *Indio* is currently being revived and promoted by Indianist movements, and qualifying as "neo" the activists of Aymara or Campa federations would be to play down their Indian identity and would thus be insulting.

There remains the problem of distinguishing what belongs to the realm of a totally fantastic neo-Indian autochthony from the revival of a forgotten heritage concealed in the urban fabric in what Bonfil calls "*el México profundo*,"[24] and Valcárcel "*el Ande telúrico*,"[25] that is, everything that has been revived from a tradition of pre-Hispanic origin, stifled and suppressed by the entire Westernization process. Sometimes—and this is why the neo-Indian question is so complex—certain self-proclaimed "Indians" (in the sense that their ancestors were genuinely speakers of an Amerindian language) among the movement's new members have chosen to relearn a language that had become foreign to them. In Mexico, this is mainly Nahuatl, but also Maya (both prestigious languages); in Peru it is Quechua and in Bolivia, Aymara. These endeavors appear to be scholarly exercises without much scope, resulting in learning the language and culture as academic disciplines, usually with educational tools (books, tapes) without reference to the local context or the community from which these neophyte Amerindians originate. In Mexico, teaching establishments are springing up almost everywhere, especially on the outskirts of large cities, presenting themselves as new academic institutions, "colleges" or *calmecac*, where, as in the Aztec establishments of the same name, the main principles of pre-Hispanic religion are taught. Far from the heart of Mesoamerica,[26] especially in the United States, these calmecac are now invested with a sacred mission—to revive the culture of ancient Tenochtitlan, another name for Mexico City, the capital of the Aztec Empire, and to spread it across the entire American continent, starting with the Southwest, from the Californian border to Texas, where the Spanish-speaking populations are carrying out a true *reconquista* of the vast swathes of land surrendered by the Mexican Republic to the United States after its humiliating defeat in 1848.

Another reason in favor of the use of the term "neo-Indian" is that it does not refer to a specific geographical context,[27] and thus allows connections to be made between the cultural expressions of various regions that present a certain number of shared characteristics.

There remains the gray area of the autochthonous populations fixed by colonization and watered down by hybridization with African and European cultures who are also demanding recognition of their autochthony. This is the case for the Pataxo tribe in the South of the state of Bahia in northern Brazil, studied by De Azeredo Grünewald.[28] The Pataxo fall directly into Darcy Ribeiro's typology, in which he established a distinction between *povos novos* (new peoples) and *povos testemunho* (testimony peoples), who represented the direct descendants of the populations affected by European colonization. Indeed, in the sphere in which we are involved, the term "neo-Indian" includes both "testimony peoples" and "new peoples" as well as our European "Indianists" (especially in Germany and France) who set up their tepees in the summertime and dress in the fashion of the Plains Indians.[29]

We have chosen to draw a parallel between the highland cultures in Mexico and Peru—the homologies of which, in terms of social organization and worldviews, are evident.[30] There is an undeniable family resemblance in the rituals and discourse of the neo-Indian galaxy. It is a fact that in both Mexico and Peru, the neo-Indian movement involves Christians, or at least populations describing themselves as such. Most of the pilgrims in Teotihuacan, as well as those participating in the Inca neocult worshipping the Sun or the esoteric mystics of Cuzco, would not deny belonging to a Catholic religion, which they practice regularly.[31] It is true that this is a baroque, tropical Catholicism which involves some expressions and events that are rejected by the church, but it is without the slightest ambiguity that neo-Indians declare themselves to be Christians. This identification does not prevent them from being anticlerical and, above all, from condemning the evangelization that threatens the culture and pre-Christian purity that they are seeking to preserve. This is only one of the many paradoxes that characterize the movement.

But is this enough to justify our endeavor? A body of evidence encouraged us to continue along this path. First, we should take a look at what we have excluded; why have we limited our field of study to Mexico and Peru? For the time being, we have left aside Anglo-Saxon and French-speaking North America because it was not the seat of a colonial society in the same way as Spanish America was, and the historical processes were too different to sustain a comparison. The clash of immigrants with Indian communities, which was just as brutal as further south, did not lead to a situation of servitude but to genocide or ethnocide, followed by the survivors being

settled in reservations, a situation that continues today both in the United States and Canada. In addition, in both these countries, a process of "decontamination" and liberation from European culture has been under way for a long time.

Conceptual entities have appeared beyond tribal differences, bestowed with a huge ideological potency—Mother Earth is, thus, no longer the prerogative of farming communities anxious to venerate a matriarchal female deity and a source of agrarian fertility. This concept is becoming increasingly widespread and is even gaining hold in tribes for which the Earth has never been the object of any particular veneration. This is the case in current "Nouvel Age" (as they say in Quebec) variants for Algonquin hunters, despite their being principally "forest people."

It is a completely different story in Amazonia. On a demographic scale, these are very modest societies of hunter-gatherers and horticulturists without any supratribal structure or colonization of the population, at least not until the inauguration of the Trans-Amazonian highway. They will not be mentioned in this work except as a counterpoint to Andean societies. This will not prevent us from using information from time to time to measure the progress of neo-Indianity outside our research area.

We should make it clear that we have directed our focus on Indian societies in the highland regions of Mexico and Peru because they display a great number of comparable characteristics, in particular the existence of peasant communities governed by principles of area management and the distribution of politicoreligious power, worldviews,[32] systems to classify areas of the universe, and a cyclical concept of time. In both cases, these communities were under the control of imperial states (Aztec and Maya in the North, and Inca in the South).

The many analogies between the two cultural areas, Mesoamerica on the one hand and the Andes on the other, gave rise to conferences bringing together specialists of the two regions.[33] Furthermore, in both Mexico and Peru, in the early decades of the twentieth century, a state indigenism emerged that remains the backdrop of neo-Indian demands today. This movement found an institutional mode of expression via the creation of a kind of Ministry of Indian Affairs. In Mexico, and perhaps to a lesser extent in Peru, anthropology is more than an academic discipline; it has political weight in the expression of state nationalism. In both cases, the main archaeological sites have become sites of expression for militant Indianity and spectacular ritual events. Moreover, they are the objects of Indian American heritage preservation (*patrimonialisation*), echoing the contestation of the European appropriation of emblematic artifacts such as Moctezuma's headdress housed in Vienna's Museum für Völkerkunde or the Andean mummies that cultural institutions are trying to repatriate to the land of their ancestors. The body of El Señor de Sipán, which now has its own museum, has toured the world. Received with great pomp at Lima's airport

by the president of the Republic, it represented Peru at the national pavilion at the Universal Exposition of Seville in 1992.

During the final decades of the twentieth century, Peru, Bolivia, and Mexico all saw the emergence of political movements with indigenous backgrounds—the Shining Path, the Tupac Katari movement, and the Zapatista National Liberation Army. The relationships between neo-Indianity and these movements are complex, in the North as much as in the South, as we shall have a chance to see later in this study.

In both Mexico and Peru, the neo-Indian movement can be described as a community with ill-defined borders, partly active and partly virtual, whose members are gradually recognizing each other by certain elective affinities, but not globally through membership of what could be called a sect or political party. With pronounced divisions between an elite of thinkers and ritualists and a virtual mass of followers from the middle and working classes, there is no internal cohesion but rather a somewhat elastic dogma, open to other spiritual trends. The propaganda literature and rituals reinvented with great enthusiasm do not hesitate to draw from historical and anthropological texts, even if this sometimes leads to a surreal hodgepodge—without our knowing, our own writings have sometimes been used to support these inventions.

At times, the movement merges with the extreme forms of European Indianism, where, essentially, an alternative lifestyle is the issue, as in the American Southwest,[34] Arizona or New Mexico, where Indian cultures and their artifacts provide the decor for "Anglo" homes, from architecture, cookery and clothing, to "ecologizing" moral values. D. H. Lawrence already considered the Southwest as "the white man's playground" 100 years ago.[35]

The question remains as to why we have chosen to examine this movement that is fiercely rejected by many of our colleagues, including—and they are legion—those who are unaware of the worldview that drives it. We must admit that we, too, experienced this repulsion, not only out of a corporatist reflex, but also because it has to be said that this cultural subject is disturbing. It is not without reason that many anthropologists consider it a "perfect example of Mexican kitsch."[36] The same judgment could also be applied to Peru—indeed, to colleagues anxious to seek another kind of Indian purity, the scenes of the neocult of the Sun seem to resemble Inca versions of epic Hollywood movies. Both of us, as we pursued our respective lines of inquiry, saw the emergence and growth of what appeared to be a new Indian religion, the protagonists of which were not Indians themselves but Westerners from a culture identical to our own. We engaged in this undertaking with the idea that this "blossoming" was not merely a passing fad, but perhaps the premise of a new

conception of the world on a planetary scale. Rather than leave it to a mere sociological interpretation of this trend, it seemed to us legitimate—as well as more productive—to analyze it ourselves with our fieldwork tools, in other words, putting into harmony our knowledge of Amerindian societies and the developments of this phenomenon.[37]

We are looking at a movement that is hard to categorize. Is it an "ethnic group"? In the following pages we will be getting to the heart of the debate, but this book does not claim to be a learned treatise on the doctrines and ceremonial activities of the neo-Indians.[38] It merely intends to document a phenomenon, the outlines of which are unclear, the origins uncertain, and the aims contradictory. Although dealing with a disconcerting topic, this book is the product of an ethnographic survey of neo-Indians, field experience with traditional "pre- neo" Indians, and an anthropological study.

We made contact with neo-Indians during ceremonies that have, in some way, officialized the birth of a Pan-American international movement at the very same sites as the celebrations of the Fifth Centenary of America's discovery (Chapter 1). Their originality appears where we thought it would best be demonstrated, in the reinvented rituals in both Mexico and Cuzco (Chapter 2). After visiting the pyramids of Teotihuacan, where Mexican neo-Indians tune into vibrations, we go to the Inca site of Sacsayhuaman, where their Peruvian coreligionists worship the Sun. Armed with ethnographic notes, we then tackle the genesis of the neo-Indian movement (Chapter 3). In Mexico, we set out to discover its precursors and closely examine its treatment of Aztec history; in Peru, we look for its ancestors in the figures advocating autochthony, in indigenist thinking, and in the recent forms of neo-Incaism. The following chapter (Chapter 4) illustrates the differences between the two areas of our survey and demonstrates their specificities. Two modes of neo-Indianity are thus presented; in Mexico we observe the importance given to ancestrality and its territorialization; in Peru, we discover the close links between the new Inca resurrection and political power. In the following chapter (Chapter 5), we take a look at the international dimension of the neo-Indian movement. We then leave the local framework to immerse ourselves in worldwide thinking and the globalized rites of the New Age, only to return, in the next chapter (Chapter 6), to the Otomi and Quechua Indian communities on which our research was based, to question in what ways neo-Indianity concerns them and how it affects them. Finally, in the epilogue, we come back to traditional Amerindian thinking by presenting a native theory of neo-Indianity. By way of conclusion, we offer brief anthropological discussions on the new trends whose ethnography we have presented, highlighting the essential characteristics of the neo-Indian movement. Throughout this study, ethnographic data play the key role they

have always played in our work and are used to support the questions that are vital for our discipline's survival.

Notes

1. Teotihuacan, the "City of the Gods," lies on the central Mexican plateau, about thirty kilometers north of the capital. During the Classic Period (AD 150/200–900) the region's civilization flourished. It was a highly strategic area marked by intense economic activity. The ceremonial center, surrounding the continent's highest pyramids, is considered the most important in the entire Mesoamerican area. It was a pilgrimage site even before the arrival of the Spanish conquerors.

2. *El Nacional*, March 22, 1996.

3. That is, activists from the three main political parties: the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, the governing party at the time; the Partido de Acción Nacional; and the Partido de la Revolución Democrática.

4. After the heroine of a Mexican New Age novel, *Regina*, whose odyssey will be recounted later in this book.

5. *El Excelsior*, March 22, 1996.

6. *La Prensa*, March 22, 1996.

7. We use the traditional spelling for the name of the Inca Empire's capital city, except in particular contexts and, obviously, in quotations. It should be pointed out, however, that it can be written "Cusco" and, more recently, "Qosqo," the spelling adopted by the neo-Indians. For an explanation of the difference between these terms, see Chapter 3.

8. Corn beer.

9. Hergé, *Prisoners of the Sun* (London, Methuen Publishing, 1962).

10. Royal insignia.

11. Circular golden breastplate, the origins of which we know little. It is known as Echenique's disc as it was offered by the city of Cuzco to President José Rufino Echenique in 1853. Today, it is the emblem of the imperial city.

12. Tocapu are decorative details on pre-Hispanic royal clothing in which some people claim to see a vague hint of writing.

13. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, published by John Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980 [1615]), 120–42.

14. In pre-Hispanic times, the Inca king would take his sister as his first wife.

15. "Intillay! Taytallay! Kusikuywanmi napaykuykiku, k'anchayniykiwan samiskuspayku" (text by Faustino Espinoza, written in academic Quechua).

16. In 1996, the Inca traveled up to Sacsayhuaman in a Mercedes.

17. In Mexico, the concept of "vibration" is one of the recent contributions of the New Age philosophy.

18. Yolanda Lastra, "El otomí actual," *Antropológicas* 8 [new series], IIA-UNAM (1993): 80–85.

19. The ethnonym indio appeared for the first time in a bilingual dictionary in 1600, in a manuscript entitled *Viridarium Linguae Latinae*. R. Alcides Reissner, *El indio en los diccionarios* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1983).

20. The Teenek of eastern Mexico illustrate an intermediate category, the *medio razón*, "half-reason," those who have one *mestizo* (i.e., Spanish-speaking) parent. A. Ariel de Vidas, *Thunder Doesn't Live Here Anymore: The Culture of Marginality among the Teeneks of Tantoyuca*, with a preface by Nathan Wachtel (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004 [2002]). See also the opposition *gente de costumbre / gente de razón*, as described by Miguel Alberto Bartolomé, *Gente de costumbre y gente de razón: Las identidades étnicas en México* (Mexico City: Siglo XXI/INI, 1997).

21. Gringo means a white person of foreign origin. It is a fairly pejorative term, which is sometimes softened in terms such as gringuito (Spanish version) or gringacho (Quechua version).

22. Another problem of terminology concerns the term "shaman." We have opted to use this term in a flexible way. It should not be forgotten that it was only twenty years ago that the concept of "shamanism" became established in Mexico and Peru, and the old, overused terminology of "sorcerers" (*brujos*) and "healers" (*curanderos*) was definitively abandoned. Since then, the "Shamanic Belt," which stretches from Ladakh to the Tierra del Fuego, is perceived as a system of thought according to which Asianist and Americanist anthropologists can at last examine their field data together. We should therefore keep in mind the idea of a neotraditional continuum—not to erase local specificities (in this book we are seeking the exact opposite) but to point to similar regularities, processes, and destinies beyond national and continental divides.

23. In France, the designation "Mexicanist" refers only to anthropologists carrying out research in this country.

24. Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *México profundo: Una civilización negada* (Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1985).

25. Luis Valcárcel, *Tempestad en los Andes* (Lima: Biblioteca Amauta, 1927).

26. The term "Mesoamerica," coined by the historian Paul Kirchhoff, corresponds to an area of civilization including the central part of Mexico plus the current Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, part of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. P. Kirchhoff, "Mesoamérica: Sus límites geográficos, composición étnica y caracteres culturales," *Acta Americana* 1 (1943): 92–97. It applies to societies of sedentary farmers, in which the two great empires, the Mayan and Aztec, emerged, and includes the ethnic groups situated in their areas of influence, subject to a system of tribute. The notion of Mesoamerica retains an operative use for archaeologists working on pre-Hispanic periods as well as for ethnohistorians. For ethnologists, it refers to a shared pre-Conquest cultural backdrop, from which beliefs, ritual practices, and myths still emerge. It should be noted that today's Indian communities are also subject to the influences of national societies and of the states on which they depend. Thus, Tarahumara Indians do not belong to the Mesoamerican world, but are subject to the same indigenist policies as those of central or southern Mexico.

27. Although it is also used in India, this is far less common.

28. Rodrigo De Azeredo Grünewald, *Os índios do descobrimiento: Tradiçâo e turismo* (Rio de Janeiro: Contra Capa, 2001), 116.

29. Each summer since 1952, the Indian Meeting in Bad Segeberg (Schleswig-Holstein) has brought together over 200,000 participants to the largest outdoor stage in Europe.

30. Alfredo López Austin, "Tras un método de estudio comparativo entre las cosmovisiones mesoamericana y andina a partir de sus mitologías," *Anales de Antropología* 32 (1995): 209–40.

31. Over the last twenty years, Protestantism, especially Pentecostalism and Evangelism, has been experiencing spectacular growth within Indian communities in both Mesoamerican and Andean regions. Preaching rigorous asceticism in indigenous countries, Protestant sects are certainly less open to neo-Indian demonstrations.

32. Latin American historians and anthropologists use the term *cosmovisión*, which corresponds to our "worldview," both of which were inspired by the concept of *Weltanschauung* in the tradition of German philosophy. On the study of current Mesoamerican *cosmovisiones*, see A. Medina, *En las cuatro esquinas, en el centro: Etnografía de la cosmovisión mesoamericana* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000).

33. George Collier, Renato Rosaldo, and J. D. Wirth, *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History* (New York: Academic Press, 1982); U. Köhler, *Alt-Amerikanistik: Eine Einführung in die Hochkulturen Mittel-und Südamerikas* (Berlin: Reimer, 1990).

34. In North American anthropology, the term "Southwest" has become established to designate the area that, from prehistory to the modern day, has been occupied by Indian societies in the Southwest of the United States as well as the Northwest of Mexico. Mexican anthropologists, however, prefer to use the expression *noroeste de México* to refer to the ethnic groups of this region that occupy the national territory.

35. Barbara Babcock, "By Way of Introduction," *Journal of the Southwest* 32, no. 4 (1990): 383.

36. Francisco de la Peña, *Los Hijos del Sexto Sol: Un estudio etnopsicoanalítico del Movimiento de la Mexicanidad* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología, 2002), 19.

37. Thirty years during which we have had the opportunity to compare our data. Since 1993, we have been teaching the subject of neo-Indianity at the University of Paris X-Nanterre (now called Université Paris Oueste Nanterre La Défense).

38. Two new works stand out in recent literature on neo-Indians. Jelena Galovic has attempted an empathetic approach to the *concheros* dance by resituating this experience, in which she took part, in the framework of Sufi orders, a hermetic vision of the universe, and alchemist symbolism. Jelena Galovic, *Los grupos místico espirituales de la actualidad* (Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 2002). The book retraces the dancers' path and highlights the therapeutic role of some *conchero* leaders. Francisco de la Peña's work (*Los Hijos del Sexto Sol*) is the genre's first in-depth sociological study. It sheds light on the ideological specificity of the group with regard to the hybrid culture of urban Mexico, but does not take into account interactions with the presuppositions governing worldviews and ritual practices of native Amerindians, which are still very much alive today. Also to be mentioned: Susanna Rostas, *Carrying the Word: The*

Concheros Dance in Mexico City (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009), and, in Peru, José Carlos Vilcapoma, *El retorno de los Incas: De Manco Cápac a Pachacútec* (Lima: Instituto de Investigaciones y Desarrollo, 2002).

1

The Birth of the International Neo-Indian Movement

The celebrations for the Fifth Centenary of what in Mexico was tactfully called the "Meeting of Two Worlds" (so as to remain within a politically correct framework) led to heated debates and controversy both sides of the Atlantic. The event served as a catalyst for trends we had sensed taking root in both Mexico and Peru. Paradoxically, the question of the Conquest caused a greater stir with colonizers' descendants in Europe and America than it did with the Indians themselves. In fact, this only appears to be a paradox. In truth, apart from the still-minority fringe of leaders versed in political activism, few of the continent's indigenous communities felt concerned with the event's commemoration.[1] Few Amerindian groups see the year 1492 as a defining moment in their historical or cosmogonic tradition. In some places, the impact of the contact left traces that can be found in the hidden recesses of the collective memory, in myths and rituals, in a modified, sublimated form.[2] It is not necessarily seen as such by those involved, even when they refer to their own history, which does not fit into the linearity peculiar to our Western conception but instead relates events to the Earth's cycles, with the Flood and the rebuilding of the world as background.

This amnesia about the traumatism of the Conquest is far from being absent everywhere. For the neo-Indians, it constitutes the stock-in-trade of their doctrine, and this is also the case for the mexicanidad movement, as can be seen in *Izkalotl*, one of its newspapers: "Did the Europeans discover *Ikxachillan* [America] or did the *Ikxachillankah* discover Europe, Asia and Africa? Nahua-type pyramid constructions [exist] in the Canary Islands, Nahua petroglyphs in Spain, pre-Nahua pyramids in Egypt and the Mayan arch in Agamemnon's tomb."[3]

According to neo-Indian vernacular, 1492 marks the start of the "deterioration of our continental ecology through the genocide of the peoples from the Atlantic Islands."[4] An instructive example of the strength of this neo-Indian tidal wave is the date October 12, 1992, in Mexico, the "Day of Race," celebrated in both Latin America and Spain. The

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day before, 500 runners from the entire American continent gathered together in Teotihuacan, central Altiplano's most spectacular site famous for its pyramids of the Sun and the Moon, before being received in triumph on October 12 at the Zócalo, Mexico City's central square, by the organizers of the Peace and Dignity Journey. It had been elegantly decorated for the occasion with an immense cosmogram drawn on the ground with symbols inspired by the Aztec tradition, its edges enhanced with beautiful motifs in colored pebbles from Mayan iconography. Groups of conchero dancers courteously hailed bystanders, offering them impromptu lessons in Aztec religion. In the minds of the organizers and participants, the day did not represent the commemoration of a discovery but "five hundred years of resistance to colonial domination, imperialism and genocide." There was nothing formal or dogmatic about the event—it unfolded in a good-natured atmosphere, livened up by incense-burning rituals and the distribution of food organized by a caucus of shamans or so-called *sacerdotes*, eager to exercise their talent on the public.

The aim of the ritual on October 12 was to link Teotihuacan to Mexico City, some thirty kilometers away, with each of the 500 chosen runners symbolizing one year of the "half-millennium of colonization," a challenge cheerfully called the Voyage of Rediscovery. Two hundred thirty marathon runners had set off from Alaska back in May, and 276 from Peru. "The North American group arrived before noon at the ancient Aztec [*sic*] pyramids of Teotihuacan, the spiritual crossroads of the indigenous Americas," wrote one commentator. In Teotihuacan, the Inuit from Alaska and the Mapuche from Chile decided to set up sweat lodges and smoke peace pipes, chanting prayers in their native tongues. The runners formed quite an ethnic kaleidoscope—Apache, Sioux, Comanche, Navajo, Seri, Huichol, Tarascan, and many other Indians from other Central and South American countries. Their creed was as follows: "The Indians think that Columbus was the first invader, but we have taken the floor to correct History. The Europeans built temples upon our temples; they stole our land and left us on the margins. But we are still here." Other groups gathered in Teotihuacan for a quest of a different nature—to receive the Sun's energy, to get in touch with their ancestors, "to dance, philosophize or repudiate."[5] From the morning onward, the concheros (looking as though they were straight out of a Hollywood blockbuster, and the most photogenic group by far) were ready to receive the cosmic energy. Small groups rapidly formed at the foot of the Pyramid of the Sun, along the Avenue of the Dead and up toward Huitzilopochtli's shrine. A young man appeared dressed in the costume of an Eagle Warrior,[6] whereas another, a conchero, adjusted his fox skin costume. Hastily left on the shrine of Huitzilopochtli,[7] to avoid getting caught in the crowd, were the leaders' *bâtons de commandement* allocated to each of the groups, purified beforehand in baths of incense in front of the Pyramid of the

Sun. The operation was repeated by the Cree, the Cherokee, the Huichol, the Nahua, and the Otomi. Only the "councilors" were authorized to approach the shrine, led by Tlacaelel (alias Francisco Jiménez), "high priest" of Nahua origin, "recognized by all the continent's *calpulli* as a spiritual leader," who, with great pleasure, denounced the celebration to commemorate 500 years of oppression.

According to Tlacaelel, the different sun "visions" experienced at Teotihuacan were similar for all the peoples of the continent: "The vision is universal"; "Mexicanity is universal." This is why the Temple of the Sun and Huitzilopochtli's Temple at Teotihuacan were chosen, being sites said to have the highest energetic charge. Alas! A disagreement then broke out between the event's organizers and government authorities anxious that all events should be held in Mexico City in the Zócalo, which Tlacaelel refused. A representative of the Cree from Alberta fervently maintained that the purpose of gathering indigenous groups in Mexico should be to "relive the ancestors' founding philosophy and seek a more direct contact with the continent's *calpulli*."[8] In the middle of the day the dancing became more intense, with the indispensable concheros as masters of the dance, to the sound of *tlalpanhuehuetl*,[9] *huehuetl*,[10] *teponaztli* and shells,[11] while a stone figurine portraying the face of Cuauhtemoctzin (the eponymous hero of mexicanidad) was bathed in incense. The "councilors" witnessed the event seated at Huitzilopochtli's shrine, along with dozens of tourists lost in the fray and a few yoga adepts. The rest of the day was taken up with dances while awaiting the other groups invited to this noisy, transcontinental ceremony.

Another event celebrated on October 12 was the 500th anniversary of the evangelization of Latin America in Mexico City's Plaza de las Tres Culturas around five o'clock in the afternoon in front of a crowd of 2,000 members of the main Christian communities from all over the country. Indians from Guerrero and Morelos took the subway or marched toward the Tlatelolco District, "where," they said, "our forefathers fought and died in the final battle before the fall of Tenochtitlan." However, for the people of Guerrero, one of the reasons for protesting was also to demonstrate against the project to build a dam in the Alto Balsas region. At two o'clock, the Mixe delegation joined the Marcha por la Dignidad Indígena on its way from Oaxaca, one group having set out from Chilpancingo on October 2 with 300 people, the other on September 20 with fewer than 200. Gathered together in Tlatelolco were Rarámuri from Chihuahua, Huichol from Jalisco, Nahua, Tlapanec and Amuzgo from Guerrero. It was easy to recognize the Indians from Oaxaca in the procession by their chests girded with black cloth as a sign of mourning. Cultural leaders of indigenous communities were listened to attentively as they outlined in their native tongue the everyday problems faced by Indians. Then, in the rain, began the Danza de los Retos, a strange exercise retracing the Spanish efforts to convince Indians to

accept baptism, to the sound of the San Luis Acatlán fanfare. On one side of the square, before almost 5,000 enrapt spectators, the dancers brandished machetes in the presence of the Devil, an angel, and then a child and an old man. At the same time, at the other end of the square, the Danza del Tigre was performed.[12] The men and women then hurried to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Guadalupe,[13] where they spent an uncomfortable night before celebrating Mass the next day in the presence of respected shamans. At the same time, a meeting was held between representatives of the Coordinadora Nacional de Pueblos Indios, the mexicanidad, and the Consejo Mexicano 500 años de Resistencia Indígena, Negra y Popular. All of a sudden, the din gave way to five minutes of silence, "one for each century," to the sound of conchs in the background. A fire was lit by the Consejo Mexicano, and October 12, the day celebrating the Spanish Conquest, was declared a "day of mourning" (Angélica Enciso and Raúl Llanos).[14]

In a suburb of Mexico City stands a venerable *ahuehuete*, the Tree of the Sad Night, renamed for the occasion "the Tree of Victory," where a protest march denounced the hardship in rural areas and the ensuing exodus to cities. Its leaders, members of the National Assembly of the Urban Working-class Movement (ANAMUP), had undertaken a "long march" toward the Zócalo, incorporating into their protest the commemoration of the Fifth Centenary. At eleven o'clock, a series of dances freely adapted from the conchero tradition staged the four cosmic cycles of the Nahui Olli, tentatively joined by artists from the Metropolitan Autonomous University before being replaced by a performance of experimental music by Óscar Hernández and the screening of a documentary movie about Mexican cultures. At the foot of the *ahuehuete* (the Tree of the Sad Night, where a disillusioned Hernán Cortés believed that the Spanish had been defeated), a vote was taken to rename the sacred monument. Meanwhile, a note was circulating among the crowd demanding that the education authorities devise a study program to teach Nahuatl in schools to preserve the customs of their ancestors. As noon drew near, a strange spectacle unfolded—500 participants moved off to return to the Zócalo along the symbolically marked route in the opposite direction of the route supposedly taken by Cortés, starting by following the Mexico-Tacuba road, across the Alvarado Bridge and down the Juárez and Madero Avenues to join up with the rest of the groups taking part in the commemoration.[15] It was hardly surprising that on the way, the statue of Columbus, on one of the *glorietas* (traffic circles or roundabouts) of the Paseo de la Reforma, was vandalized, but it was curious that some of those taking part tried to break the hand of Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas at the sailor's feet.[16]

Ceremonies were also held around the Templo Mayor, the impressive Aztec site and the center of the capital's politicoreligious nexus, recently excavated by archae-

ologists, amidst the din of the Insignas Aztecas group's huehuetl. Tension was mounting. The "captain" of the dance was accused of wanting to exploit the Peace and Dignity Days with the complicity of the director of the Mancomunidad Indígena Solar (Solar Native Supracommunity), and the deputy director of public relations for the Institutional Revolutionary Party's National Executive Committee—in short, the leaders of the ruling party who currently have the monopoly on power. The Council of the Kalpulli Koakalko quickly distanced itself from the event to underline its disagreement with such aims. No less turbulent, converging on the capital's suburbs and appearing out of nowhere were other concheros bearing punk battle flags celebrating two icons of neocontestation, the Virgin of Guadalupe and Che Guevara. Their message: "We are Mexica and celebrate the Aztecs. We come every year because it has been a tradition for generations. This is an act of protest against something which happened five hundred years ago." According to Raquel Peguero, during the ceremony, "we did not know who was being prayed to"—some claimed it was Quetzalcoatl, others God, others the Virgin Mary or the Guadalupana "so that we may respect this obligation" (to celebrate deities from the Mesoamerican pre-Hispanic tradition or those of colonial origin).[17]

This is how Blanche Petrich described the memorable day at the Zócalo: "It was a festival of dancers, Indians, middle-class "esoterics" who practice the 'Mexica cult,' anarchists with red and black flags, sporting tattoos and green hair, dressed in black with army boots, torn shirts and trousers with holes in the knees, made up like American Goths or *Locos Adams* [the Addams Family]." Their creed: "Somos indios, somos libertarios y no queremos celebrar el Quinto Centenario."[18] Columbus's statue was covered with garbage, and horns were added to his head to cries of "Death to the State!" Members of the Unión de Indígenas Triquis were there, residents of the Calle López, a community of poor artisans and shopkeepers from the capital. Also demonstrating loudly were youths from the Yanhuikanahuac group, who, according to them, are not concheros but merely amateurs of pre-Hispanic dance and followers of a certain Xoconoztle who demands the return to Mexico of Moctezuma's headdress, currently in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna. The calmest (discreet, even) people there were the men and women dressed in immaculate white and holding hands "so as not to break the circle of energy," or raising their hands to the heavens to receive the aspersion of incense to the sound of conchs. Their leader was a man by the name of Ehecateotl Kuautilxan, who organized two ritual sequences, the "ceremony of universal fusion" and the "harmonic chant." Each of them then scattered chrysanthemum petals as a live eagle was promenaded through the crowd and an old man was presented with a jade statue, a "heart of green stone." The ceremony blessed what is known as the "Refoundation of the Great Tenochtitlan," followed by this communion:

Father Quetzalcoatl who speaks like the serpent, return to our villages,
We are all sons of the Father Sun.
All hearts are made of wind. A man cannot rule the stars.
Any one of us can become intoxicated with books, but could never invent a plum or a handful of corn on our own.

While a woman from Veracruz proclaimed that she was the legitimate descendant of the emperor Moctezuma, close by on the Calle Madero, banners bearing the inscription "El indio, unido, jamás será vencido" fluttered in the wind.[19] Opposite the Federal District Department building, the act to coordinate the 500 years of "Indigenous and Black Resistance" was taking shape. Political demands poured forth. Demonstrators called for the release of the 5,000 Indians incarcerated in Mexican prisons for having demanded the allocation of land, and at the same time, opposite the National Palace, the act for the national coordination of Indian peoples and the Unión de Campesinos Emiliano Zapata was being arranged. A scarecrow on a platform represented the Holy Inquisition. Once again flags were waving in honor of Cuba, Emiliano Zapata and Che Guevara, or to demand the release of Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Maoist Shining Path movement, and supporting the "People's War" in Peru. A Televisa vehicle made its way through the crowd with difficulty, smeared with slogans reading "Vendepatrias, prensa vendida, Televisa y Colón al paredón" and pelted with tomatoes as it went.[20]

The same day in Puebla, a cheerful demonstration was organized by young people protesting "against the cultural, economic and political domination that the Europeans and North Americans have been exercising for five centuries." It included people from the city as well several native groups that had come down from the Sierra Norte de Puebla and up from the Mixteca to join in the protest against the Europeans who came 500 years ago "to impose a religion and culture as well as to murder and pillage the wealth of the nation." Some indigenous leaders formally demanded that the government recover treasures confiscated abroad, in particular Moctezuma Xocoyotzin's headdress. People from Campeche set off on a march toward the capital of the state to protest against "marginalization and exploitation." In Guerrero, the archbishop of Chilpancingo hastened to remind people of the Catholic Church's blamelessness for the colonizers' abuses of power, and did not refrain from attacking "Protestant sects that commercialize faith and strike out at the Church." The same day in Acapulco the forty-four Concorde passengers took off on a thirty-four-hour trip around the world.

At the other end of the country, in Felipe Carrillo Puerto in Yucatán, a march under the aegis of the National Pedagogical University teaching staff set off from the Sanctuary of the Talking Cross,[21] where three blankets were burned, each symbolizing one of Columbus's ships. Representatives of the Supreme Mayan Council, the Mayan

Council from the Yucatán Peninsula (the Quintana Roo delegation) and ceremonial centers came to plant trees, one for each community. Still in Yucatán, in Chichen Itza (now an international tourist hotspot), over 5,000 Indians celebrated *Cha'cha'ac*, which culminated with offerings laid in the sacred cenote.[22] Members of the Supreme Council used the occasion to denounce poverty, hunger, and unemployment while at the same time in Oaxaca, a delegation of Mazateco Indians in the town of Flores Magón gathered in front of the Government Palace to demand a health center in the village. From a different perspective, in the village of Colón in the state of Querétaro was held the only celebration in the whole of Mexico in honor of the Genovese sailor, attended by authorized representatives from a dozen Latin American nations.

But what took place in a spot as emblematic of ethnic tourism as San Cristóbal de las Casas, in the heart of the Maya highlands? Nearly 2,000 Indians (Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Tojolabal, Chol, Chamula, and Zocque) led by the Broad Front of Social Organizations of Chiapas, moved off from the Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas monument toward the town's main square. Banners were waved protesting against the Free Trade Agreement, Article 27 of the Constitution, and government policy that "intends to exterminate them." Such a concentration of Indians had not been seen in this spot since Lázaro Cárdenas's presidential campaign in 1933. The demonstrators marched through the central park, where Indians devote themselves to crafts for tourists. Just as they passed by the Church of Santo Domingo, a young man climbed onto the statue of Diego de Mazariegos, the *conquistador* who founded the town. It fell to the ground and was immediately destroyed with hammers. Without delay, the mayor denounced the act, which he suspected was ordered by missionaries and members of the diocese of San Cristóbal, who seemed to be to trying to conceal their responsibility for the Indians' present situation. The same day in Morelia, the statue of the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza was toppled, spurred on by the Frente Cívico Michoacano, and in Solola in Guatemala, Rigoberta Menchú (later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize), appealed for the rights of indigenous people to be respected throughout the continent. The ceremony was attended by the mayor, a native Indian from Solola, the prosecutor for human rights' envoy, and members of religious brotherhoods. After a series of speeches, the public was honored with songs, poems, and a performance of the Danzas de la Conquista.[23]

It is easy to infer that the Fifth Centenary celebrations were part of a vast ideological construction of Pan-American dimensions. The succession of rituals uniting all the continent's indigenous populations along a north-south axis gave rise to the key idea of the race from Alaska and Chile toward the focal point of Mexico City. The Anahuac valley, home of the capital, has the advantage of having a very large population of Indian communities, and, in its center, are spectacular pre-Hispanic sites, first

and foremost Teotihuacan, which became for the occasion a kind of "umbilicus of the world," a point of reference not only for the populations who lived there (from AD 300 to 900) but far later for the Aztecs. Its symbolic structure with the two symbolic pyramids of the Sun and the Moon constitutes a sort of cosmic quintessence.

The race stems from a tradition with pre-Hispanic antecedents—especially in the Southwest, associated with agrarian fertility—as well as contemporary ones for the Rarámuri Indians of Chihuahua. Moreover, the idea of migration, the successive populating of the continent, is implicitly taking shape.[24] In addition, a pre-Hispanic assumption is emerging concerning the articulation of notions of time and space as each of the runners represents one year of colonization, evoking the porters in the Maya religion who were supposed to follow the course of the Sun from sunrise to sunset. Teotihuacan thus appears as the spiritual crossroads of native America, which is total fiction, as is its being considered an Aztec site.[25] It is considered as a "center of the world" of which Mexico City's Zócalo would be the epicenter. The square's decoration with cosmic motifs inspired by Aztec and Maya designs illustrates this preoccupation with universalizing the ritual in the spirit of the Mexica religion by conferring specific semantic properties to each cardinal point. Each of the groups present in Teotihuacan expressed itself through its own cultural items such as sweat lodges. The encounter was an opportunity to highlight shared ethnic concerns as well of those of foreigners tempted by mind-altering experiences to a backdrop of Indian religion. "Energy" cults, particularly those with a "Sun" aspect, find in the Mexica religion arguments for worshipping the Sun and a conceptualization of the process of entropy said to affect the cosmos. However, also emerging is the mythical figure of Huitzilopochtli, guide of the Aztec Nation and high priest of migration, with the antithetic figures of Eagle and Jaguar Warriors creating a contrast with the search for harmony, probably more inspired by Pueblo Indian philosophies from Arizona and New Mexico.

The "Nahuatlization" of the leaders' ceremonial names and the re-creation of a sociological category such as the calpulli (which, in the Aztec universe, was a socio-territorial unit) is part of the process of invention of a supratribal political and cultural unit. The idea itself of calpulli extends across the entire American continent in an often-repeated attempt to unify its cultural areas. Tlacaelel (the name of an Aztec king), one of the neo-Indian leaders, is also doing this by asserting the Pan-American nature of Sun worship, for which Teotihuacan is an ideal site to practice these cults, which delegations of North American Indians accept. The "solarization" of an incipient continental religion implicitly suggests the subtle strategies for power at work in Mexico in the invention of this atypical ritual represented by the celebration of the Fifth Centenary.

It is also worth examining the events commemorated at Three Cultures Square. The site is made up of various buildings of pre-Hispanic origin, with a temple, a colonial church founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the Franciscans, and a modern housing complex opened in 1964. In fact, the commemoration of the missionaries' arrival on the American continent was held at a site that evokes the layout and combination of pre-Hispanic, colonial and modern cultures, although for some participants it was also the ultimate site of resistance before the fall of Tenochtitlan. Stranger still is the connection between the site of Tlatelolco and the sanctuary of Guadalupe, the most popular center of worship of the Virgin for Amerindians from beyond Mexican borders, and this is why shamans are also associated with the site. The demonstrators thus found themselves in the paradoxical situation of rejecting the Spanish contribution to their culture in the name of defending autochthonous authenticity while calling for the glorification of the mexicanidad, which retains a very strong Christian influence. Moreover, the coordination includes in its program the defense of black populations, of which there are few in Mexico, apart from on the Caribbean and Pacific coasts, and whom, traditionally, the Indians held in mistrust. Looking after "working-class" interests has become one of the movement's main concerns. The coordination endeavors to combine public protest on a cosmological backdrop with sectors of the underprivileged social classes. Indigenous demands are also devoted to current conflicts, in this case the construction of a dam on the upper Balsas, which would flood the land. The decreed day of mourning appears as a desire to repudiate colonization and a need to cancel out the weight of a rejected history.

This opening up to contemporary economic problems is also gaining strength in San Cristóbal de las Casas with the emergence of a groundswell against the Free Trade Agreement that marks the aspirations of Mexican business in the orbit of the American market. With regard to the destruction of the statue of Mazariegos, this is one of a series of spectacular actions led by (native?) leaders for whom the character of the colonizer is invested with an extremely strong historical charge (which is not necessarily the case for Indians). The same political ambivalence can be seen in the attacks on the statue of Viceroy Mendoza in Morelia and Christopher Columbus in Mexico City. In San Cristóbal de las Casas, the issues surrounding indigenous heritage are, as we have seen, far more complex. This is an overwhelmingly Indian region, one of the most representative areas of traditional Mexican Indians, and which, because of this, has been drawing the attention of anthropologists and "ethnic" tourists for several decades. The Indians thus find themselves in a position of representation with regard to a demand for curiosities and native "authenticity," hence the presence of the autochthonous families established permanently in the city's main square. We can also sense the underlying conflict between political and religious authorities

and the question of power sharing in local communities. The celebration is, then, an opportunity to bring to light extreme tensions, especially concerning conflicts about land and the missionaries' support for the Indians in these demands.

The rituals associated with the event of the *Noche Triste* testify in a spectacular way to the celebration's splitting into two different directions, one involving the middle classes (because of its being supported by the ANAMUP [Asamblea Nacional del Movimiento Urbano Popular], an essentially populist and nonindigenous movement), and the other concerning intellectual elites with the participation of artists from an academic environment, even going as far as performing an experimental music concert.[26] We should note here the reference to an Aztec ritual governed by systematic cardinal references on the theme of movement, and traveling around the *Noche Triste* tree toward the center of Mexico City in the opposite direction to the route taken by Cortés. This movement is even more remarkable because of its insistence on the educational aspects of cultural resistance, particularly through advocating the development of teaching Nahuatl. One of the organizers of the events in the Zócalo recalled that in the 1960s, there were only two establishments teaching Nahuatl in Mexico City compared with twenty-four today.

The ceremonies at the Templo Mayor represent one of the crucial moments of the celebration insofar as this is the capital's most central site as well as its holiest, and where extremely important archaeological discoveries have been made over recent decades. Disagreements surfaced between the groups organizing the commemoration of the Fifth Centenary, with the intrusion of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, and the perfect ambiguity that hovers over the supernatural entities venerated during the ceremonies, both Quetzalcoatl and the Virgin (Mary or Our Lady of Guadalupe). Behind the apparent *concientización* (awareness) of the event, a network of power was forming, with each party struggling for control. With these rallies, they attempted to build a new political structure, indiscriminately drawing its ideological and symbolic references from the arsenal of representations evoking the pre-Hispanic era. This balancing out between divinities extends to the emblematic figures of the modern world, encompassing in the same mythological fiction Che Guevara and Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Shining Path. Xoconochetl Antonio Gomora, chief of the Yanhuikanahuac group, who is campaigning for the return of Moctezuma's headdress to Mexico City, claims that "the last five hundred years have been like a kind of slumber descending upon our minds. This circle of time has just closed and we are now entering a new era of wakefulness."

Throughout the country we can see the way in which pre-Hispanic symbols have been recovered and reinterpreted in order to introduce national claims, as testified by the reference to the "Talking Cross" in Quintana Roo and the celebration of a

rite on the edge of a cenote in Yucatán. A discordant demonstration in this context of rebellion was the one honoring Christopher Columbus in the town that bears his name (Colón) near Querétaro as well as the way in which the Chicano movement used the event to draw attention to one of its main concerns, the international border closely guarded by the American authorities in their struggle against illegal immigration. In another register, the case of Guatemala illustrates the intensity of the native issue in the American countries with the highest proportion of Indians, as seen from a human rights perspective thanks to, among others, the influential figure of Rigoberta Menchú.

In all these commemorations of the Meeting of the Two Worlds we can see this amorphous neo-Indian grouping drifting toward politically uncategorizable formulas, "punk anarchists" and "esoterics."[27] With the ritual of "universal fusion" and "harmonic chant," the energy concerns that are part of Mexica cosmology have found a perfect area of expression and adapt admirably to the aims of these neo-Indian philosophies. From their central core we can see emerging the clash of two concepts on a planetary scale: "One which is energy-based, cosmogonic and scientific, established in Ixchallan, now known as America by the Atzin-echica-Tenochca, and the other mythological, mystic and land-based, established overseas and brought to these shores by the Spanish Moors."[28] All these movements present their program in terms of "return," of refounding the great Tenochtitlan or resurrecting Quetzalcoatl. It is also symptomatic on a political level that the equation "Indian = People" is giving rise to a new instrumentalization of the rallying cry "El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido" heard on all the forums of the Latin American world, from Santiago to Cuba. Lastly, a surprising symbolic element stands out—the relationship between the protest movement and the media. Televisa, a veritable audiovisual empire, is finding itself stigmatized despite the fact that the media coverage of these events incites mexicanidad's defenders to make use of the audiovisual stage to manufacture new native popular opinion under the sign of "ethnic purity" and the rejection of any compromise with the colonizers.

Notes

1. Criticism of the idea of "discovery" (*descubrimiento*) is emerging in neo-Indian literature, as it is perceived as "a romantic touch to the Eurocentric position of racial and cultural supremacy." As for the idea of "meeting" (*encuentro*), it is seen as asserting a "bourgeois, conformist and culturalist ideological position in search of a false identity." *Izkalotl*, August 1991.

2. Aurore Becquelin and Antoinette Molinié, eds., *Mémoire de la tradition* (Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, 1993).

3. *Izkalotl*, September 1997.

4. *Izkalotl*, January 1974.

5. *La Jornada*, October 12, 1992.

6. Military order such as that of the Jaguar Warriors during the Mexica period of the Aztec Empire.

7. Aztec tutelary deity who guided their peregrination to the central Mexico valley.

8. Clan-type organization created along land-based lines in Tenochtitlan.

9. Ceremonial drum.

10. Coyote-skin drum, played standing, used in all major Aztec rituals.

11. Xylophone drum with vibrating tongues, still used in some Indian communities in central Mexico. With the huehuetl, it represents masculine and feminine cosmic duality.

12. "The Dance of the Jaguar," a favorite choreography during the eponymous saint's day in the state of Oaxaca.

13. The most popular pilgrim site of Indian and mestizo Mexico set on the slopes of Tepeyac Hill, to the north of Mexico City. The sanctuary was built on the spot where the Indian Juan Diego had a vision of the Virgin.

14. Quoted in *La Jornada*, October 13, 1992.

15. *La Jornada*, October 13, 1992.

16. In "Black Legend." Bartolomé de Las Casas denounced the cruel treatment inflicted upon the Indians.

17. *La Jornada*, October 13, 1992.

18. We are Indians, we are free, and we do not want to celebrate the Fifth Centenary (of the Conquest of America). *La Jornada*, October 13, 1992.

19. "The People united will never be conquered!" the rallying cry modeled on that of popular movements, "¡El pueblo unido jamás será vencido!"

20. "Traitors to the homeland, the press has sold out, Televisa and Columbus for the firing squad!"

21. The "Talking Cross" refers to an oracle who in 1850, in Quintana Roo, was said to have predicted the Maya insurrection against the Mestizos. It became the symbol of Indian resistance throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

22. Cave in the karstic area of Maya country (Yucatán), where subterranean waters reemerge.

23. One of the organizations that refused to celebrate the Fifth Centenary was the National Guatemalan Revolutionary Unit. *La Jornada*, October 13, 1992.

24. In Bolivia, during the countercelebration of the Fifth Centenary of the Spanish Conquest in 1992, there was unprecedented mobilization, which took the form of multiple marches that drew Indians of various ethnic groups toward the Bolivian cities. This leads us to wonder if they were following the alignments of the sanctuaries that crossed the Inca Empire and its political divisions. The "Long March for Land and Dignity" lasted over a month. For the first time Amazonian lowlands federations and Aymara activists had a common cause. La Paz was symbolically surrounded as it had been two centuries earlier by Tupac Katari against the colonial government. In 2003, Bolivian Indianist movements managed to overthrow President Sánchez de Lozada by demonstrating in "sacrifice marches,"

which oddly combined the profound syndrome of migrants and the sacrificial configuration of this culture.

25. A millennium separates the height of the Teotihuacan civilization during the Classic Era around the fourth century AD from that of the Aztec Empire. This historically obvious fact does not prevent confusion about the two periods in popular beliefs. However, Teotihuacan must have been a multiethnic metropolis where languages other than Nahuatl were spoken, but the "Aztecization" of the site in people's minds is a sign of the symbolic power of the imperial ideology, which we shall be discussing later. Most of those taking part in the equinox rituals at the Pyramid of the Sun are unaware of the site's history and consider that the pyramid is charged with energy.

26. The metaphor of the "Sad Night" recalls Cortés's flight from Tenochtitlan before the beginning of his military campaign against it.

27. In Mexico, as in the whole of Latin America, there is a very strong millenarian trend linked to astrology and Protestant sects, who find in it a chosen mode of expression.

28. *Izkalotl*, January 1974.

2

Ritual Awakenings

Neo-Indians give free rein to their creativity during their celebrations—there are the feathered dancers on Mexico City's Zócalo, mystic pilgrims in Teotihuacan, high priests invoking the Sun God in Sacsayhuaman and recently initiated shamans sacrificing llamas at the University of Cuzco . . . Neo-Indianity is expressed first and foremost through rituals (in the traditional, anthropological sense of the term), constantly recreated, disappearing only to be reborn in an unrecognizable form and metamorphosing ad infinitum. They may be discreet and even private, as testified by certain offerings to the gods in Cuzco's banks and the reading of coca leaves offered to tourists in their hotels. At times they add an unusual touch to Catholic celebrations such as the Corpus Christi procession, even appearing in communities alongside ceremonies that ethnologists classify as traditional. Mostly, however, they produce flamboyant performances such as the neo-Incan Sun cult, drawing crowds with disparate motivations as they do at Teotihuacan to celebrate the spring equinox. The grand rituals in Mexico City and Cuzco stand out above all because of their spectacular nature, the support they rally, and their boundless energy.

The Vernal Equinox beneath the Volcanoes

Back to the Vibrations

March 21, 1996, is a symbolic date for official Mexican hagiography. Early that morning, on the anniversary of Benito Juárez's birth, we witnessed an unusual deployment of police force at the Zócalo. Four thousand five hundred men, armed to the teeth, congregated in front of the Presidential Palace, gathering around a national flag of gigantic dimensions. Their mission was to reinforce security in the capital. A few dozen feet away, a ritual of a completely different kind, of cosmological dimensions, attracted our attention, although March 21 is not a particularly significant date as far as cosmology is concerned. It does, however, play a crucial role in the neo-Indian ritual

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calendar as the celebration of the spring equinox. It is known that the sun is positioned on the celestial equator at dusk on March 19, and will thus be in this position at dawn on March 20, marking the beginning of spring. In fact, the different positions of the sun neither increase nor reduce its characteristics as a source and emitter of energy, but despite this, most people attending the equinox ceremony believe that at midday a phenomenon of "energization" occurs. In the Aztec religion, the *tlacaxipehualiztli* ritual, which consisted of flaying a sacrificed captive, corresponded to the spring equinox in the second month of the 365-day calendar (*xihuitl*). During the course of this spectacular event, which was also dedicated to other deities such as Huitzilopochtli (the tutelary deity and guide of the great Mexica migration) and Mayahuel (goddess of the Agave), a gladiator sacrifice was made. The choice of the site was not, therefore, a coincidence, and the Zócalo is highly charged with symbolism. Even though there was something incongruous about the cohabitation of the police and the neo-Indians, it was nonetheless representative of authority establishing itself at the heart of what has been considered the "holy enclosure" since the Aztec Empire, the seat of power and the site where the relationship between men and their gods is aggressively demonstrated. The military parade had finished before the equinox ritual began. The area is fairly small, nestling between the Rosario, a Baroque masterpiece, and the Templo Mayor Museum offices. On the ground was a model representing Mexico City valley as the conquistadors found it, with its string of islands in the middle of a lake. Very close by, the first dancers were warming up. Abandoning their Sony Walkmans and Ray-Bans, they adorned themselves with ritual paraphernalia—feathered headdresses, breastplates in golden cardboard, and small bells attached to their wrists and ankles. The huehuetl, an upright drum, began to roll. A circular cosmogram was drawn on the ground using grains of corn (in this case, popcorn), and a cross with a motif of pine branches radiating out from its center. In the middle of it, with infinite care, the priest placed a two-colored stone representing the fundamental elements of the universe. In the center lay the *atl-tlachinolli* design, "water-fire," the veritable cornerstone of neo-Indian philosophy. The priest waved an incense burner over the cosmogram while members of the Danza y Movimiento group moved around the circle, shaking rattles to the insistent beat of the drums.

A crowd began to gather around the ritual area, listening to the Mexica priest's message lambasting the Conquest and once again asserting the inexistence of human sacrifices.[1] According to the priest, this was to celebrate passing from the year 1-*tochtli* (1-rabbit) to 1-*tecpatl* (1-flint), using the calculations of the Aztec solar calendar. The immaculate white tunics of the reginistas stood out in the crowd, worn by followers of the "saint" invented by Velasco Piña in his novel *Regina* mentioned earlier, a

kind of myth of origin of Mexican neo-Indianity. At midday, people raised their arms toward the zenith in a movement intended to soak up the "energies" so that they would enter into the body. Some people held up photos of their loved ones to the Sun—this gesture is the identifying mark of the entire neo-Indian galaxy. The spectators, in a circle around the priests, then received a final blessing. The ritual drew to a close and the "holy enclosure" returned to its usual physiognomy with its crowds of tourists, pilgrims, and vendors.

What we had just witnessed was the miniature version of the equinox "hyperritual" that has taken shape on the archaeological site of Teotihuacan. The same day, the site of Cuicuilco on the outskirts of the city was also the object of appropriation during the equinox celebrations. It is one of the oldest sites in the valley of Mexico City, dating back to the Preclassic period with traces of a fertility cult, notably in the form of female figurines. Lying only a few feet from the south beltway, it represents a kind of marker of the valley of Mexico City's oldest traces of civilization.

The events that took place at the Zócalo were also part of this quest for energy. The most crucial thing is to be where the Sun's rays supposedly transmit a maximum charge, hence the importance of the country's key archaeological sites. The concept of "energy" is the unifying medium par excellence. It brings together the various claims from sects with a healing vocation, which are becoming well established in the Federal District, both in working-class milieux and among the middle classes. In the background, there is also the formidable echo of ecologists' activism through the promotion of alternative energies. Unlike Europe or even the United States, Mexico is not engaged in a debate about the pros and cons of switching completely to nuclear power, but the media occasionally mentions it discreetly. Shortly after the recent French nuclear tests on the Mururoa Atoll, an earthquake shook the Pacific coastal region near Acapulco. Radio stations immediately announced that the shockwave generated by the atomic explosions was responsible. However, more than anything else it is the painful memory of the huge earthquake in 1985 (which caused the death of more than 2,000 people in the capital) that lingers, reawakening a latent anxiety at the slightest sign of seismic activity.

The spring equinox celebrations at the Zócalo highlight a series of symbols that are worth examining in greater detail. On March 19 and 20, the Ceremony of the New Fire was held, which the organizers renamed "The Symbolic Fire of the Indianity of this land, this Mexico, this continent." It was organized by the radio production centers Xinachtli a.c. and Ce-Acatl a.c., which sponsor the dance troupe Xinachtli de la Tradición Azteca Chichimeca de la Gran Tenochtitlan. It is significant that we find one of the favorite themes of the journal *Ce Acatl*, the most media-friendly news organization spreading neo-Indian ideas—the concept of "the binding of up

the years,"[2] of which the Ceremony of the New Fire was the ritual. In addition, the Xinachtli dance troupe now comes under the auspices of the Azteca Chichimeca tradition, which stages both the "primitive" image and the "civilized" image of the Mexica, as we will explain more fully later on (see Chapter 3). The poster design highlighted the following elements: in the center stands an eagle perched on a rock next to a prickly pear cactus, holding in its beak a snake, the image of autochthony, an omen for the priest Huitzilopochtli, who had to put an end to Aztec migration from the mythical Aztlan to the valley of the Anahuac, where the empire's capital was later founded. Standing out from the background is a disc, a simplified image of the Stone of the Sun, an item of tourist iconography celebrating Mexican civilization. Aztecs are sons of the Sun, the diurnal fire, whose worship is symbolized in the center with the design of a brazier. This appears on the top of a pyramid that signifies transcendence, elevation, and power and is always associated with the greatness of the high civilizations of Mesoamerica. On either side of the design are corn and agave, central Mexico's main cultigens. Added to this image are symbols from the Aztecs' history as nomads, the eagle and the snake, Huitzilopochtli's vision of which was to bring an end to the years of wandering. It is not surprising, therefore, that the terms "Aztec" and "Chichimec" are combined; at the time of the Conquest, the latter ethnonym meant "dogs," the nomadic barbarians living in the deserts of the North. This dual process of "Mesoamericanizing" the North and "Chichimecanizing" the center within a large, nascent nation is a recurring theme that will appear several times in this book.

On March 20, the day of the vernal equinox, various events took place in the capital, in particular a concert with village bands from the state of Oaxaca and dancing described as traditional (Morelos *chinelos* from Tlayacapan). The newspapers described the moment that, in the past, was a time of "revitalization, the celebration of purification rites, cosmic reflection and identification with the sacred."[3] A few days earlier, on March 16, the new year had been celebrated by the Continua Tradición Tezcatlipoca group (Itolocamecatl Tezcatlipocayotl, after the deity, Quetzalcoatl's rival, who reigned over the world of the night).[4] Its members refer to the sacred calendar of the *tonalamatl*, and were celebrating the 8-Rabbit New Year, and the ceremony was led by the priest Exekateotl, dressed in black. He addressed the cardinal points, the center and the interior of the earth, before lighting several incense-burners. According to tradition, he must attach a bundle of reeds, ostentatiously making offerings in order to have good harvests, in front of the mast in the middle of the Zócalo. The ideological ecumenism of this event is blatant; the Continua Tradición Tezcatlipoca's coordination is obvious, with representatives from the "International Conscience Network" and a Mayan priest from the "Synthesis Tradition of Quetzal-

coatl" as well as a Sufi representative from Turkey. This act was repeated simultaneously in other regions of the country.[5] A surprising aspect is the emergence of a spiritual globalization of the neo-Indian quest. This is related to a dialogue with representatives of Turkish Sufism (and also in contacts with Tibetan Lamaism—we shall get back to this). We can already see in these rituals how the new constructions of the image of the Indian in an urban environment make use of both traditions, that of the savage, the Indian of the North, the origins, and that of the center, the Aztec Empire, while elsewhere they are being incorporated into the galaxy of the new religions with an ethnic, Pan-American, and even global mysticism as background.

The Zócalo, Center of the World: Ethnic Coalescence and Ritual Invention

The equinox rituals in Teotihuacan and Mexico City underscore the crucial importance of the spatial framework chosen for their performance. The choice of the Zócalo is the most significant illustration of this, and we shall examine its symbolic components one by one.

Mexico City's Constitution Square serves a very specific function in the capital's urban system, as it does in other large colonial cities throughout Latin America. It is supposed to be the "base" or "socle" (*zócalo*) at the intersection of a street pattern imposed by the Spaniards. More than any other spot in the huge city, it serves as the "heart of the Nation"—first and foremost because it is the seat of political power (the Presidential Palace) as well as religious authority (the Metropolitan Cathedral), but also because it is situated in the middle of a ceremonial site where imperial Aztec power was exercised. Indeed, Mexico City's entire history can be seen by meticulously exploring this immense square and its surroundings.

The Zócalo is the site where, day after day, neo-Indian religion invents itself, and where, at the same time, huge efforts are made to safeguard the pre-Hispanic and colonial archaeological past of the Centro Histórico. The symbolism of the Zócalo can be considered according to a diachronic axis, from the Aztec period to the current day, as well as along a synchronic axis like a puzzle, each piece of which has a specific function. It is clear that the coexistence of different specialized areas illustrates the specific political and religious demands of the groups that occupy them. To put it another way, the Zócalo is a unique place where various "niches" with specialized functions coalesce, each connected to one another on the same stage; a place where sectors of the population interact, although they never cohabit in other parts of the capital. It is a kind of melting pot, stirred daily by a great number of events with political, economic, religious, or recreational purposes—rituals during which the

effectiveness of the operations carried out by each group depends upon the presence of the other groups. This singularity is, in some ways, the key to understanding the success and vibrancy of the events held here by the neo-Indians, and the emergence of new religious processes. By the same token, it enables us to understand how information circulates in situ, how borrowings occur and fragments of tradition are stolen, which are then organized in this atypical ideology made of bits and pieces and constantly under construction at the Zócalo.

We owe the first description of the Zócalo and its surroundings to the conquistadors. This source of information is vital in understanding its architecture, its functions, and its symbols at the height of the Aztec Empire. In his "Second Letter to the King" (1522), Hernán Cortés wrote, "There are, within these boundaries, magnificent residences in which are found vast rooms and corridors where the serving priests live. There are at least forty well-built, high towers, the tallest flanked by fifty steps from the base. The largest tower is higher than the tower of Seville's main church."[6] At the end of his life, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, another conquistador, summarized in *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (1568):

> And after we had examined and thought about all that we had seen, we returned to contemplate the large square and the multitude of people there, some buying, others selling, with the murmurs and bursts of voices and words ringing out for miles, and among us were soldiers who had lived in various parts of the world, in Constantinople, in all of Italy and in Rome, and they said that they had never seen a square so large, so active, so full of people.[7]

During the colonial era, the capital of Mexico (or "New Spain" as it was then known) was built on the ruins of the "holy enclosure," which included several temples and other religious buildings devoted to the Aztec deities. In February 1978, workers from Mexico's Electricity Company were excavating to lay underground cables on the northeast edge of the Zócalo when they came across an enormous monolith representing the goddess Coyolxauhqui. This was the start of a vast archaeological research project called Templo Mayor after the double pyramid and its annexes, the "symbol of Aztec culture and power," which towered above the ceremonial center.[8] A superb museum has since been erected on the ruins of homes that were razed, to preserve the exceptional artifacts found at the site.[9] Paradoxically, the old houses, some of which dated back to the colonial era, had to be torn down to make way for the pre-Hispanic buildings, which themselves had been destroyed on the orders of the king of Spain and which now serve as primary sources of "Mexican culture." Moreover, the newly cleared structures of the Aztec Templo Mayor have been used as a model to build the Chamber of Deputies, especially for its orientation (the

entrance faces west), its division into two buildings, and the identical decoration of its facade.[10]

The Zócalo was built on the east side of the Teocalli, the Great Temple, and paved with stones from the ceremonial center. The Viceroy Palace stood on the east side of the square, opposite a shopping mall on the south side. The City Hall (now the Federal District Department) was also built on the south side. This layout did not change during the colonial period or after Independence, although the equestrian statue of Charles IV has been removed and the Plaza Mayor (later the Plaza de Armas) became Constitution Square in 1821, and this is still its official name. The name "Zócalo" was chosen to designate the base of a future monument—which was never erected. The Viceroy's Palace (or National Palace) represents the seat of the Mexican Government, the National Treasury, and the Presidential Archives. On the north side of the square stands the Metropolitan Cathedral, which was begun in 1573 but not completed until 1813. Next to it, the Rosario stands out, a perfect example of churrigueresque style, the most contorted colonial Baroque architecture. If one looks to the west of the cathedral opposite Cinco de Mayo Street, one can see the bust of the last Aztec king whose tomb was discovered on September 26, 1949, in Ichkateopan (note the Neo-Indianist spellings of Nahua words) by Eulalia Guzmán, who became the historic and scientific figurehead of the mexicanista movement.[11] From the following year onward, at each anniversary, the Zócalo becomes the epicenter of a "cosmic dance" in honor of Cuauhtemoc,[12] with prayers to the four cardinal points, offerings of flowers and speeches worshipping Tonatiuh (eponym of the Sun) and Kuauhtli (the Eagle). The site is charged with energy for the occasion.[13] The day of Cuauhtemoc's birth is also celebrated as is the day when he was killed by Cortés, by carrying a torch from the Zócalo all the way to Ichkateopan in the state of Guerrero.

These days the Zócalo occupies the heart of the Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México, protected since 1980 as part of the sector's "musefication" program. It is the finest example of the government's sacralization of the country's heritage. The result of this has been to "freeze" it, "by excluding all its traditional functions as a center for socializing, trading and movement in order to protect its dignity as a symbol of power and historical continuity."[14] Paradoxically, this seemingly fossilized area was to become a melting pot bubbling over with totally new rituals and flexible, makeshift ideologies, precisely because all the symbolic aspects have been presented in such a way as to make them attractive to the visitors who flock there in great numbers every day. Tourism has been a catalyst in this new process, encouraging the construction of a multidimensional symbolic area. Indeed, neo-Indian ideology cannot be separated from its spatial context. Only here in the Zócalo, day after day, existing

side by side, are unemployed craftsmen—always sitting at the cathedral's west corner and identifiable by a sign in front of them—trade unionists shouting slogans at the crowd, pious Catholics leaving Mass, newly converted Buddhists chanting prayers, active members of the Zapatista Guerillas spreading the message of Subcomandante Marcos to the television cameras, anarchist neopunks, conchero dancers, Aztec priests teaching sacred songs, defenders of New Age philosophies, various representatives of different sects, students from the National School of Anthropology, real and fake Indians, real and fake artists, archaeologists, taxi drivers, beggars, drug addicts, tourists, police officers, and soldiers guarding the National Palace. Many of these actors, playing at the multistage theater that the Zócalo represents, have alternative identities, since their activity only has meaning at the Zócalo itself. For example, the mexicanista priests have no other ceremonial role outside this place and work elsewhere, or are unemployed the rest of the time. Their role is directly related to their presence in the square and their audience. Lastly, we should not forget the government officials, senior civil servants who are not visible from the Zócalo itself but who attend the major ritual events of national life, furtively appearing with the president of the Republic on the balcony of the National Palace.

On a horizontal level, the Zócalo and its surrounding area form a mosaic whose elements come together as a whole. Vertically, different strata underline a focal point—still-buried archaeological structures, the subway with its "Zócalo" station, sometimes used as a flea market or book fair, then on ground level with the various specialized areas within the quadrilateral of the Centro Histórico. We could also include the celestial area, visited by the army's fighter planes that fly over the Zócalo for the Independence Day military parade on September 16. There is no doubt that the concept of "center" is related to notions of geometry and pre-Hispanic cosmology. In the Mexica religion, the center was vertically the point of contact between celestial and subterranean spaces, and horizontally the convergence point of different cardinal directions, as it appears in an illustrative way in the Codex Fejérváry Meyer; each direction was under the patronage of a deity and Huehueteotl, the god of fire, was rooted in the center.[15] The center represented a kind of synthesis of the different properties of the cardinal points, above and below, and this is observed in the various rituals from the celebration of the spring equinox to that of the discovery of Cuauhtemoc's tomb.

In the Codex Borgia, the center represents the "fifth Sun,"[16] with each direction symbolizing previous "Suns" with their specific colors. The position of the Zócalo as the focal point was demonstrated in a spectacular way by the archaeological discoveries of the Templo Mayor exhibited in the museum of that name. The museum houses artifacts from the Gulf coast (cowries, seashells, and jewelry) to the Pacific coast as

well as the Oaxaca region—a large number of goods brought together in Tenochtitlan through the tribute system, and presented as offerings at the Teocalli and its surrounding area. The center is the spot from which emerges an imaginary *axis mundi*. At the Zócalo it is represented by a mast several dozen meters high attached to which is an exceptionally large national flag. The mast is comparable to that of the Voladores of the Sierra Madre Oriental, erected in the very center of the village, or on a mountain summit, through which an axis connecting subterranean and celestial areas is supposed to pass.[17] During a field study in this Otomi region, an old shaman told us the myth of the "eagle of the North" which landed in the mountains near the village before continuing its journey toward Mexico City. This spot, known as *mayonikha*, "greater sanctuary" or "México Chiquito," Little Mexico, is a kind of Mecca for the eastern Otomi who must visit it at least once in their lives. This toponym evokes the extraordinary concept of a "movable center"—different places can possess similar characteristics and be assimilated into a single center, an idea that has persisted from the pre-Hispanic era to contemporary times. The concept can be linked to the beliefs about the founding of Mexico/Tenochtitlan according to the Aztec founding myth. As we mentioned earlier, the Aztecs, led by their priest Huitzilopochtli, were supposed to end their migration from the mythical Aztlan in the Sonoran Desert, not far from today's U.S. border, when the priest declared Tenochtitlan ("the place of the prickly pear cactus") as the end of their earthly odyssey. Today the motif of the eagle with the serpent adorns the Mexican flag. At the southernmost tip of the Zócalo stands a statue representing the encounter between Huitzilopochtli and the eagle—yet another element giving credence to the idea that the Zócalo is bestowed with magical powers that are also said to be linked to political power. It is symptomatic that Cuauhtemoc, the last imperial link of Aztec power, is honored by this bust and a ritual of mexicanista persuasion is held in exactly this spot (a duplication of the rite takes place at the Cerro de la Estrella—the Citlaltepetl—in the south of the Federal District).[18] Compared with other capitals in the world, the Zócalo seems to be unique by virtue of the density of the symbols clustered there and the concentration of political and religious power in the same place. All things considered, Los Pinos, the presidential residence in Chapultepec Park, is merely a profane place, just like the nearby castle on "Grasshopper Hill" (Chapultepec in Nahuatl). The emergence in 1992 of the Zapatista movement in Chiapas meant that this dichotomy between politics and religion was no longer valid. Indian shamans are now invited to political meetings, and conchero dancers are politically active, filing claims with the Austrian government to return Moctezuma's ceremonial headdress, which Hernán Cortés presented to Charles Quint. It lost its aura and European splendor after the crushing defeat of the French expedition to Mexico.[19]

Because of this, the various rituals celebrated in the Zócalo itself have a dual dimension—political and religious. Until recently, it was easy to separate the two. The faithful visiting the cathedral for Catholic festivals were on one side, and on the other side were held the political meetings of parties and trade unions below the windows of the Presidential Palace, under the auspices of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, which had been holding at arms' length all Mexico's presidents for more than half a century before being succeeded by the National Action Party.

In truth, the Zócalo has become the forum par excellence for the concheros in their ritual costumes of Aztec warriors mentioned earlier. Where do they come from, and who are they? We should bear in mind that their choreographic activities are inherited from the Moros y Cristianos dances still performed all over Latin America for the Corpus Christi, which has kept the sense of a battle against the infidels in Spain.[20] These dances relating episodes of the *reconquista* against the Moors were rapidly adopted by Mexico's Indians, but they have also become an element of the Spanish domination process.[21] Many Indian communities lay claim to this custom, which has been experiencing a long process of reinterpretation since the eighteenth century. For the Totanacs it continues in the form of the Dance of the Santiagueros, in which three historical traditions are merged—the Passion of Christ, the reconquista battles between the Moors and the Spanish, and lastly, the Conquest of Mexico.[22] Since the nineteenth century, the moros have given way to the Chichimecs, or mecos, from which the Concheros are derived. This type of dance (also known as Danza Azteca, or Dance of the Conquest) is characterized by its pyramidal structure. It is directed by a *caudillo* and includes an assembly divided into units under the supervision of a *capitán*.[23] Between the members of the different sections, or *mesas*, there exists group solidarity, rites of passage, and ascending roles of the same type as those which characterize today's Indian communities' *cargo* system. Although the Concheros' Dance is performed in the provinces, especially in the states of Querétaro and Guanajuato, it has been established in the capital since the 1920s because of migrants from rural communities. Its metropolitan nature is now more pronounced—it has become the neo-Indians' choreographic showcase and has been devised as a literalist representation of the drama of the conquest. Traditionally, the religious doctrine of the concheros is a variant on popular Catholicism, but as we shall see, in its neo-Indian variant, it has been extremely radicalized in favor of an "Aztecized" *cosmovisión* with an anticolonialist background and no longer makes any reference to the Christian religion, although it does borrow the structure of the rituals of the cycle of life, with children baptized at the Zócalo.

The particularity of these rituals is not only that they reflect the complex symbolic environment in which they are enacted, but also that they contribute to generating,

organizing, and crystallizing the neo-Indian movement. This is why all these movements assist each other mutually right before the eyes of the institutional, incontrovertible power emanating from the National Palace. The symbolic significance of the Zócalo was not lost on Antonio Velasco Piña, author of the bestselling *Regina*, which triggered the spectacular millenarian movement (whose followers are called "Reginistas") and which celebrates the main events of the neo-Aztec ceremonial cycle every year.

In this book, the Zócalo not only appears as a site bestowed with exceptional energy, but also as the destination point for a multitude of pilgrims to reproduce the odyssey of the first Mexica, starting out from Chapultepec Castle.[24] The author also refers to the celebrated battle cry (*el grito*) of the Independence given each year from the presidential balcony to celebrate the start of the War of Independence, which is, according to the author, an "astonishingly simple and powerful ritual."[25] Once he has paid tribute to the heroes of the Independence, the president of the Republic shouts "¡Viva México!" three times. He then rings the bell in the same way as Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla did during the night of September 1819. Until recently, the president added "¡Mueran los gachupines!" ("Death to the Spaniards!"), but this threat was abandoned in the 1960s. The ceremony is repeated throughout the country in various town squares (also known as zócalos) and in different official embassies all over the world. Once again, the symbolic value of the Zócalo as a source of power serves as a "socle," or base, for the presidential regime, a mirror for the whole Nation. According to a well-established tradition and because of the separation of church and state, the president cannot follow his guests inside the cathedral. During General de Gaulle's official visit in 1964, President Adolfo López Mateos accompanied him to the threshold of the building and waited for him outside to emphasize the strict, physical separation of the areas of political and religious power. Since then, the boundary has not been respected in such a rigid fashion.

Although the Zócalo is a place where different "ritual spots" coalesce and where actions of a strong symbolic charge are performed, we should also take into consideration what takes place on the peripheries. Over the last thirty years, the city's Centro Histórico has undergone a process by which the surrounding buildings have been become lumpen. Groups of Indians gathered in *colonias* squat insalubrious apartments. Behind the dilapidated colonial facades are crammed together groups of coresidents who organize themselves along "ethnic" affiliations, or at least in an attempt to reconstruct dependent units of the mother community, the village they left in order to migrate, either temporarily or definitively. This is especially true of the Huichol from Nayarit and the Triqui from Oaxaca. Middle-class residents have gradually deserted the center, which has become increasingly proletarianized. However,

under the instigation of the Mexican government, a considerable effort has been made to rehabilitate the district, notably with the renovation of colonial apartments when the Templo Mayor Museum was opened and cafés, which quickly became fashionable. The historical center is in the process of gaining respectability, contributing to the restoration of the Zócalo's emblematic image. However, this government-run process to develop and promote the area entails, yet again, a kind of museographic fossilization of the district, or, at the very least, an attempt at such, with the immediate consequence being the expulsion of the poor population living in the protected area. This urban reconquista can be seen in the hugely expensive programs to restore the vestiges of the colonial era, with streets closed to vehicular traffic, minibuses providing guided tours of the district, and gaudy rickshaws. With its terrace overlooking the Zócalo, the Hotel Majestic has become a strategic site from which one can observe the scene below, rather like the gallery of a theater, especially on the night of September 15, a night when it is inadvisable for foreigners to wander the streets, especially those with typically gringo traits such as pale skin and blonde hair.

The huge tourist presence in the Zócalo all year round will doubtlessly continue to modify the transformation process of the square and its traditional dimension. A tangible sign of this astonishing combination of the pre-Hispanic, the colonial, and the globalized world is the great success over recent years of the Day of the Dead in the Zócalo, which is transformed into a giant cemetery with crosses, tombs adorned with offerings, shrines to the dead, and regional stands, as well as stands organized by social, political and unionist groups, all in joyful exuberance and encouraged by the deafening decibels emanating from an immense stage in front of the cathedral with performances by regional traditional folk groups. In the midst of an unbelievably large crowd, neo-Indian priests make their offerings to the Sun and continue their purification rituals, to the delight of the tourists around them.

If we consider the Zócalo from an anthropological perspective of the native world, it is particularly confusing because of the coexistence of four modes of expression of what it is to be "Indian" today. First, there is the "traditional Indian" who lives in a rural community and speaks a non-European vernacular language. The traditional Indian may be found sitting silently at the entrance to the cathedral, selling necklaces or paper made of painted bark, women from Oaxaca selling *huipiles* (long woven capes) and Mazahua and Otomi Indians (nicknamed Marías) selling dolls they make there on the sidewalk or chewing gum. Traditional Indians only visit the capital for economic reasons and return to their village every weekend or at the end of each month. The second type is the "urban Indian." "Urban Indian" have definitively emigrated to the city and are not part of the commercial sphere of tourism. They sell nothing of any commercial value from their communities. They look for manual

work, often as porters at the nearby market "La Merced" and, like the mestizos, wear European clothing. They use Spanish patronyms, with a first name followed by their father's and mother's surnames. Then there are the "neo-Indians," easily recognizable by their "pre-Hispanic" conchero clothes, a superb and costly dance costume with pheasant feathers and golden breastplate, Hollywood style, which supposedly reproduces models from pre-Hispanic codices. They do not speak any Amerindian languages apart from a smattering of Nahuatl words to embellish their discourse and their cosmological explanations of Aztec religion addressed to the public. As well as the name on their official records, they also have an Aztec name, either that of a warrior hero (such as Iztaccuahtli, or "White Eagle") or a deity from the Mexica pantheon.

Lastly, there are "*guerrillero* Indians," most of whom are mestizos, selling T-shirts, rubber masks of politicians, and pipes such as the one used by Subcomandante Marcos, leader of the Zapatista movement. They are found at the cathedral's entrance broadcasting messages with a tape recorder, sitting next to other political activists and self-proclaimed Buddhist priests selling magic stones to passersby. Once more, only in the Zócalo can the different variations of the Mexican Indian be seen and understood in a single location at the same time.

Jérôme Monnet gives a good explanation of how the different Mexican governments have gone about spreading the idea of "a Mexican nation which existed before colonization and was restored with the Independence."[26] This philosophy inspired Diego Rivera's frescoes—a grandiose hymn to the glory of pre-Hispanic cultures—on the third floor of the National Palace Gallery, which is accessed directly from the Zócalo. The Spanish are portrayed as looters and predators on a background of a Rousseau-style American Eden. In spite of this paradox, the Zócalo underscores a quest for indigenous roots and the preservation of some elements of the colonial past. Expressed here are some of the historical ambiguities of Mexican nationalism, which attempts to found its message upon the raucous assertion of its autochthony but which, at the same time, cannot completely obliterate the customs and manners born of the colonial era—or the Spanish language either. These contradictions are all at the heart of the visual, acoustic, and physical experiences that take place each day at the Zócalo. Another paradox at work here is the reinforcing of an institutional national identity that energetically makes use of the discoveries of the Templo Mayor, stimulated by the development of international tourism. What's more, the superb museum is run partly thanks to the generosity of foreign benefactors, in particular North American foundations. The result is not surprising considering that the Zócalo has become the melting pot where the local and the global meet and overlap, and where a rash of contradictory demands and quests arise. Their common

denominator lies in the fact that the Zócalo is now a national conservatory and an innovative laboratory, a microcosm, a Mexico reduced to a few of its essential components. Physically, it is the seat of political power, a place where any "ritual" experience whatsoever is marked with the seal of this heavily charged symbolic presence. It was in the Zócalo, yet again, that calls were made to abandon Día de la Raza, celebrated throughout Latin America on October 12, a colonial addition that the mexicanistas suggest replacing with the "Sovereignty Day for the Peoples of Anahuac."

As we have already explained, the Zócalo is the site par excellence where institutional and popular nationalism is asserted and where a centripetal force reclaiming the pre-Hispanic past is at work. This process has a centrifugal counterpoint, however, in the fact that Mexico City is seeing its position strengthened a little more each day as the focal point of a Pan-American multicultural system, whose farthest poles are Mexico City and Teotihuacan in the North and Cuzco in the South. The celebration of the Fifth Centenary of the Discovery of the New World clearly made Mexico, as the center of neo-Indian movements, the leader on a continental scale. The political consequences of this phenomenon are significant enough for the Mexican government to become concerned about the amount of people gathering for equinox rituals and to attempt to control it, all the more so because this "ethnogenesis" is taking place beneath its own windows, just below the presidential balcony! The discovery of the Coyolxauhqui monolith seems to represent a cultural turning point in Mexico's recent history, as it has given rise to a formidable movement reappraising the pre-Hispanic past. It has reasserted the symbolic strategic importance of the Templo Mayor as the center of the empire in this unexpected fusion of the past and the present. What's more, in Aztec mythology, Coyolxauhqui ("she with bells on her cheeks") represented the sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, whose role as the tribe's guide we have already mentioned. Through this "proof of kinship," the discovery of the monolith in the very heart of the capital appeared as confirmation of the historical continuity of the Aztec presence and the siblings have been reunited, with Huitzilopochtli enthroned on the south side of the Zócalo and Coyolxauhqui exhumed on the north side.

If we examine the opposition between political and religious spheres from an architectural point of view, it is striking to see the two massive edifices of the Presidential Palace and the Metropolitan Cathedral standing side by side. They embody institutional, political and religious power, the very basis of the Mexican state and the foundations of the Nation. In contrast, the new movements, from the Buddhists to the Zapatistas, dispose of nothing but tents and flimsy stands that are erected and dismantled every day. At work here is an opposition between the interior and the exterior, between hierarchy and freedom, repetition and improvisation, stability and

movement, conservatism and invention. The Zócalo, which until the beginning of the twentieth century was still planted with trees and served as a city square, has, then, an ambivalent status, since it is both the site where power is reinforced, with busloads of *campesinos* brought in by the PRI to give applause at the request of the presidential authorities and, at the same time, the place where opposition parties and community movements (particularly active at the turn of the millennium) come to make their voices heard, including by deriding official symbols of power or even the figure of the president of the Republic himself through masquerades. The Zócalo remains a mirror reflecting history's periodic and violent oscillations, so frequent in Mexico that they undermine the image of official power a little more each day and in which the neo-Indian circle of influence is now engulfed.

In the new revitalization movements that emerged on the American continent at the end of the twentieth century, the concept of "sacred space" was subject to contradictory interpretations and has been deformed and reinterpreted by groups with different interests but that are all in search of a "pure" autochthony. The Zócalo brings new elements to this question because it no longer constitutes the seat of a unique legitimacy (as it did at the time of the Aztec Empire), nor the site of the assertion of a foreign power's sovereignty (as was the case from the colonial era until Independence). It has become a kind of laboratory open to every modern philosophy, reinventing lifestyles and fashions based on worldviews from the pre-Hispanic universe, and of which culturally heterogenic populations become the enthusiastic propagandists, populations from authentic Indians to neo-punks via Buddhists, Sufis, and many more. The Zócalo is a perfect illustration of the excesses of cultural invention at work in this seething Mesoamerican New Age melting-pot.

Teotihuacan: A Hierophantic Apotheosis

We returned to the site of the celebration of the spring equinox in Teotihuacan, several years after the events described at the beginning of this book, to appreciate the extent to which this ritual exuberance is rampant, extending beyond cultural, national, political, and religious divisions. The Operativo Equinoccio 2002, which took place on the archaeological site, required the participation of 1,300 officers from the Policía Federal Preventiva, the use of forty mobile public conveniences, and the presence of four trucks carrying 30,000 liters of water each.[27] For its part, the National Institute of Archaeology and History (INAH) had to set up drastic security measures at the country's main sites and ban the celebration of purification rituals (*limpias*) inside the archaeological zone. Even though UNESCO listed Teotihuacan as a World Heritage Site in 1986, those responsible at the INAH proved

to be extremely concerned about the preservation of the archaeological site, since it is impossible to control a human mass of more than a million people. The director of the INAH told *Proceso* "The zone will be open because the celebration of the spring equinox has enormous symbolic power."[28]

The great spring equinox ritual began the day before at noon. Between 800,000 and 1 million people gathered together to "be filled with" energy at the archaeological site or, more specifically, on the esplanade linking the Pyramid of the Sun to the Pyramid of the Moon. Every account concurs—the pyramids are the appropriate place for the body to receive the Sun's energy, even if those participating are unaware of the site's historical origins. The 245 steps of the Pyramid of the Sun were climbed by participants eager to receive the "good vibrations" and spring energy, wearing amulets and bracelets to bring them luck for the rest of the year. One of the participants claimed that thanks to this new cycle of life, he could now go out in bad weather without suffering from various allergies. At the foot of the Pyramid of the Sun a group of senior citizens from Tultitlan gathered, supervised by a dance teacher, to receive the much-desired energies. Some 1,500 children from ten *municipios* of the eastern area of the Mexico State had been asked to paint the Children's Peace Mural at the site. From ten o'clock in the morning onward, hundreds of children between the ages of six and twelve met up in Teotihuacan as part of Joanne Tawfilis's "The Art Miles Mural Project." One hundred fifty painters served as judges along with representatives from Greenpeace, to portray on canvas the slaughter of whales in the China Sea.[29]

Drugs and alcohol were confiscated on the site to avoid any brawling. Thousands of vendors offered T-shirts, amulets, hats, and drinks while shrewd shamans dispensed *limpias*,[30] and supervised karma by the minute, being paid as the customer saw fit. Press, radio, and television representatives jostled through the uninterrupted processions of the faithful. With a mixture of admiration and reserve, *El Heraldo*'s correspondent noted that "Teotihuacan is inundated with mysticism."[31] According to him, the magic of pre-Hispanic rituals, ceremonies, and dancing was combined to draw out the bad vibrations from people so that they could receive the energy of the second Sun of the spring.

In many places huge lines of people in search of limpias revealed the presence of a charismatic shaman. With *pirul* leaves (from the Peruvian peppertree) and incense, they drew out the "bad vibes." Great quantities of amulets were sold for love or work or to ward off diseases. "Special" charms and coins were distributed, adding prayers and magic powders. Above all, however, the quartz crystals stood out—of several types and various colors; their uses are manifold—against depression, for love, to give up smoking or alcohol, to become intelligent, to ward off jealousy, and so on. On

the pyramids, the patients of the rapid shamanic cures were anointed. Limpias ("purification" rituals) are made from incense, with pirul leaves, lemon, and essential oils to ward off evil spirits and purify the soul; "the energy accumulated in the pyramids can heal people," a participant declared.[32]

On March 22, 2002, pilgrims hurried to Teotihuacan in such great numbers in order, once again, to ward off the "bad vibes." "They rushed so that they would arrive in time for life and death to unite on the hands of the clock" a participant explained. The aim was to receive all the "positive *vibra*" at the top of the Pyramid of the Sun. "The energy enters through the palms of your hands and rushes through your body to arrive at the seven fundamental points which centralize peace, wisdom and health. This is why you have to take off your shoes and loosen your clothing so that you can be the conductor for the holy coitus between the Earth and the Sun." This is more or less how it was interpreted by the thousands of people gathered in groups in the ceremonial temple of Teotihuacan.

Religious images of the Sacred Heart, Stars of David, pre-Hispanic designs, salt, seeds, and incense were all jumbled together at the site. "We must come washed and dressed in white to receive the entire positive charge of the universe through the Star King."[33] The Reginistas, clad in white, went to and fro in the archaeological area in search of energy, "in anticipation of the bad times approaching on the horizon of globalization without human beings or moral codes."[34] The people who were part of this peaceful crowd raised their arms to the sky just as we entered the spring equinox. According to the correspondent from *El Excelsior*, astrologers believe that this moment generates "positivism" for every living being and is auspicious for meditation and for undertaking new projects."[35]

What took place here in Teotihuacan also occurred in other notable sites in the region of Mexico City, as well as in the country's most famous archaeological centers—Chichen Itza, Tulum, Cuicuilco, Palenque, Tula, and El Tajín. At the Peña de Bernal in the state of Querétaro, over 40,000 people dressed in white gathered at the foot of the continent's third-largest monolith. Likewise, at the Pyramid of El Pueblito in the *municipio* of Corregidora, almost 8,000 people attended a pre-Hispanic ritual ballgame, with the participation of *conchero* dancers. In Ecatepec, a few miles from Teotihuacan, the spring equinox ceremony was held at the Cerro de Ehécatl.[36] Having visited the Piedra Equinoccial "to receive the rays of the Star King," the mayor and the president of the powerful DIF held out their hands toward the four cardinal points to receive the cosmic energy,[37] accompanied by the Yaoquiahuitl, pre-Hispanic dance groups. Pilgrims took the opportunity to visit archaeological remains such as the Tecolines Cave. According to the Codex Boturini, the Mexica people settled in Ecatepec for four years, spending eight years in Tulpetlac and twenty in Coatitla

(now Santa Clara). At the same time, the Otomi celebrated the conchero dances on the Calixtlahuaca pyramid in the Mexico State.

One only has to look to the farthest regions to see the extent to which quiet ceremonies inherited from the pre-Hispanic era have found a new legitimacy. The vernal equinox celebrations in the Maya region are also a resounding success. In Dzibilchaltun, unlike in the Mexico City valley, the vernal equinox was celebrated at the exact moment of the astronomical event (at three minutes past two, local time) on the morning of March 20. Before the site was opened by stewards, a "secret ceremony" brought together some 1,500 people. The ceremony consisted of observing the sun's appearance opposite the Temple of the Seven Dolls. Then, at noon, the pilgrims followed the path of the X'keken cenote, natural wells that communicate with the phreatic surface where the ancient Maya used to leave sacrificial offerings. This was followed by a meeting of Maya priests known as *ahmen*, joined by a "shaman" from Milpa Alta (a suburb of the Federal District where some older people still speak Nahuatl). The priests run the "Science and Culture" group of the Hunbatzen Mayab. Propitiatory ceremonies were performed for a good harvest, with offerings of *balché* (a drink made from fermented bark) and *saka* (a corn-based beverage), and an invocation of *bakab* (as guardians of the heavens and the four cardinal points).

In Chichen Itza, a jewel of Maya architecture and a major international tourist destination, over 50,000 people gathered to attend an "artistic and cultural" event organized by the Patronato Cultural of the state of Yucatán. The equinox corresponds to both the arrival in Chichen Itza of Kukulkan (the local version of the Mexican Quetzalcoatl) and the opening of the market organized by the Ministry of Tourism and its "Maya World" Program. A worldwide meeting was already being planned for the following year with México Sagrado as its theme, with the participation of Hindu Brahmins. The director of the "House of the Earth" association explained that the only condition for this meeting to be held is that "we do not refer to official versions" of history, in other words, the versions of academic historians and archaeologists.

There were plans to invite Plácido Domingo, Luciano Pavarotti, and Domingo Carreras to future equinox celebrations. Such exuberance cannot help but create a certain amount of tension with representatives of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, who try to discourage visitors from wearing feathered headdresses and bells—the visitors then accuse the authorities of considering the sites as merely lifeless ruins when in fact they are sacred spaces.

In Tenejapa, in the state of Chiapas, Tzotzil and Tzeltal from the Altos region performed a Maya ritual described as secular to ask for peace, a better harvest, and the elimination of poverty.[38] The ceremony opened with a lengthy walk along a path to the Tzajalchen caves to meet "the spirits of Good" and the ancestors, accompanied

by prayers to the sound of traditional music. Just as they did 500 years ago, the spirits of the caves are supposed to restore energy to work in the fields, and a delegation of Indians from the region came to seek this. During the ceremony celebrated every year in Tzajalchen in the *municipio* (local administrative area) of Tenejapa, pre-Hispanic and Catholic rituals are intertwined, superimposed and blended, and a group of Indians prays for rain and abundant harvests. At the entrance to the cave gather men, women, children and old people from Tenejapa, San Andrés Larráinzar, and San Juan Cancuc. This is how an observer summed up the situation, "The Indians who take part profess different religions—Catholic, traditional and evangelical. They respect each other in spite of their differences, dreaming of a better world. During the ritual, it began to rain."[39]

Beyond this new alliance between indigenous practices and ceremonies inspired by the New Age, whose tracks we have just traced in "ethnic Mexico," it appears that the continental framework is now no longer the cultural border of the neo-Indian phenomenon. Thus, during the spring equinox ceremonies in 2002, the first international esoteric meeting of followers of Shamanism, mysticism and magic was held,[40] organized by Luis Suárez, a well-known "mentalist." At noon on March 21, the arrival of the spring was announced by an ad hoc ecumenical meeting which gave rise to discussions and analyses under various intercontinental auspices. "Renowned" experts came from Africa, Cuba, Venezuela, and Mexico. Influential people practicing the Yoruba religion were invited. At midday a "Maya ritual" sought prosperity through an address to the four cardinal points. With cowries, drums and amulets, the "country's leading shaman," the engineer Eleodoro Benavides, and his group of dancers performed a ceremony with the aim of absorbing the energy of the "higher forces." These operations took place within the framework of the Ibero-American Yoruba Foundation AC. Its objective was to spread the "ancestral African religion" in Mexico as well as diverse precepts of its culture including gastronomy, clothing, and music.

In a context such as this, the task of the anthropologist is extremely difficult—we are disoriented by the sheer number of rituals whose exponential growth can only compare with its heterodoxy. There are no sound bearings here, no preestablished systems, or shared worldviews. On the contrary, anthropologists can do nothing but record this web of doctrines, demands, and acts that share the reception of cosmic energy and its redistribution to everyone present. The "solarization" of all these movements linked to the neo-Indian galaxy is the common denominator that enables them to bring together quests as contradictory as healing, good harvests, a job, or the prevention of landslides and earthquakes. This entire solar symbolic is in perfect harmony with the promotion of Indian humanity as "People of the Sun," as they

are depicted by official hagiography and pictures in glossy tourist brochures. Beyond this, however, it allows an imaginary communion with the Plains Indians and their Sun Dance, and also with the Indians of Cuzco and their Inti Raymi festivals at the summer solstice in Sacsayhuaman. What's more, it has no difficulty accommodating philosophies as disparate as Hinduism and Buddhism through the message of their representatives, as though this new cult could expand through such dissimilar variants without having to confront any doctrinal orthodoxy whatsoever. This question is worth examining on several levels. From the description of the elusive ritual movement in the Zócalo and Teotihuacan, it emerges that we are witnessing a process of homothetic duplication on several communicating levels, of which the actors are the first to be aware. These centers are all pieces of an immense construction in which there is the entrance of both the "clinical" space of the shaman, a few square yards, and all the sites where pre-Hispanic cities were built, crisscrossed with cosmic forces. The "center" is a focal point, the thoroughfare of a kind of axis mundi, of encounters of spatiotemporal coordinates, the "equivalent" properties of which are found in places where it is reproduced. This is illustrated in the Teotihuacan-Tenochtitlan axis, and other centers exist all the way to Cuzco.

Every one of these symbolic units—the spaces taken over by the neo-Indians—shows the plasticity not only of their dogma but also and above all the infinite possibilities of their ritual application from one site to another. Evidence of this can be seen in the Feria de la Mexicanidad. It is known that the imperial Indian celebration is linked to the valley of Mexico City around the capital, a strongly symbolic *topos*. But there also exists an "off-center" variant that deserves attention—the Feria de la Mexicanidad as it is celebrated in the state of Nayarit in the Northwest of the country, where part of the Huichol Indian community lives. It is interesting to look at the comments of Paul Liffman, who made an exhaustive study of the subject.[41] The idea is that the Aztecs were originally from the city of Mezcatitlán situated on an island in a lake in the Nayarit. The spectacle consists of the representation of the "pilgrimage" of proto-Indians from Asia several thousand years ago up until the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ceremonial operation also incorporates elements of Mexico City's "nueva mexicanidad." Liffman considers that the assimilation of this New Age addition in a spectacle organized by a governmental authority creates an "emotional bridge" that "stitches together" all the elements of the narrative structure of the locally performed scenario.[42] Liffman emphasizes the fact that the state's cannibalization of a movement that belongs to the neo-Indian domain is in complete contradiction with official positions, notably that of Alfonso Caso, who considered defendants of the Movimiento Confederado Restaurador del Anahuac (MCRA) to be "indigenistas delirantes."[43]

As Liffman points out,[44] the feria has very clearly exploited the MCRA in order to invent this migratory odyssey from Asia, which has, along the way, raised the profile of the state of Nayarit's governor. As far as the region's "real" Indians are concerned, the feria gave them no opportunity whatsoever to put forward their demands.

The Inti Raymi: The Neo-Incan Cult of the Sun

Under the blazing June sun, the entire city of Cuzco awaits the Inca in the Plaza de Armas where the Palace of Manco Inca used to stand, the stones of which were used to build the superb cathedral. Municipal and military authorities stand on the steps as though they were on a timeless podium, neither Inca nor Spanish. The Son of the Sun keeps the people waiting as he says his prayers in the Temple of the Sun (Coricancha) before the assembled crowd. Solemnly he toasts his Father Sun as recorded in the chronicles of Guaman Poma de Ayala,[45] a large golden vase in his hand, after having generously splashed chicha over the Cyclopean walls of the Coricancha. The semen-like foam of the corn beer splashes over the hard granite, sending his people into frenzy. Assisted by the high priest Willaq Uma, he is surrounded by members of his royal lineage and the *crème de la crème* of Cuzco nobility.

In the Plaza de Armas, renamed Aucaypata for the event, the Inca is applauded by the crowd. He emerges seated on a golden throne carried by dignitaries dressed in brightly colored clothes (Figure 2.1). His seat resembles that of Guamán Chava drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala.[46] The procession is accompanied by the outlandish sound of *pututu* and *tynia*.[47]

Civilians and the military stand to attention in front of the royal procession, which now forms a circle around a cardboard construction representing an Inca-type podium of quarried stone. This curious monument was erected for the occasion on the Plaza de Armas' fountain, on top of which, until the 1980s, sat enthroned a strange Apache Indian who was supposed to represent the Quechua people. For some, this "Inca platform" represents a *huaca*, a pre-Hispanic deity usually derived from the "lithomorphosis" of a hero.[48] For others, this fake rock is a reproduction of the *ushnu*, or the ceremonial center of the pre-Hispanic imperial city.[49] Solemnly, the Inca mounts the steps of the pedestal. All members of the nobility deeply bow before him. First, the Inca informs the high priest Willaq Uma that he is about to consult the coca leaves, thus following the indigenous practice of divination, interpreting the position of coca leaves scattered by an expert over a consecrated cloth. The high priest calls upon the *kuraq akulli* responsible for preparing this ritual.[50] The *kuraq akulli* proceeds in the same way as the *paqo* (traditional medicine men) of the region, spreading a *manta* and making three small bunches of coca (*k'intu*), giving one of

FIGURE 2.1. The Inca from the Inti Raymi greets the crowd gathered in the Plaza de Armas in Cuzco. *Photo Antoinette Molinié.*

them to the Inca, one to Willaq Uma and the last one to himself. He then addresses the main gods of the mountains as is often done today in traditional communities where they are invoked for fields to be fertile or the sick to be healed. The Inca asks them in imperial Quechua (very different from the Quechua spoken by Indians), "In what mood is the heart of our Father the Sun,"[51] bizarrely putting the gods of the mountains in a position of go-between with the Divine Star, which is totally at odds with Andean theology. The Inca then calls upon the main sacred peaks around Cuzco, with a speech that Andeans would not recognize: "Gods who inhabit the universe! I thank you for giving peace to my heart!"[52] The coca leaves tell him that the sacrifice of a llama planned for the afternoon will be welcomed by the Sun God, and the Inca invites the nobility around him to perform a dance to celebrate this good omen.

All of a sudden the king asks the high priest to fetch "he who currently guides my beloved people"—the mayor of Cuzco who is in the Plaza de Armas, and who has been standing to attention before him, surrounded by his town councilors for several hours. The high priest tells the grand captain to fetch the mayor: "Sinchi, obey the orders of our Inca Pachacutec! Lead our mayor into His presence!"[53] We thus learn

that the Inca standing before us is not just any Inca—he is the great reformer to whom myth and certain historians attribute the founding of state institutions! The mayor appears to be familiar to the Son of the Sun. "Big brother, mayor of Cuzco, our father the Inca calls you. Come with me,"[54] proclaims the chief of the imperial army. We veer from fiction to reality—the mayor of the city, dressed in a suit, walks arm in arm with the great captain, who wears a superb metal helmet adorned with feathers and a coat of golden mail embellished with fabric with *tocapu* motifs. The odd couple head resolutely toward the cardboard huaca, which the mayor carefully mounts to join the Inca. He is now on the threshold of myth, and the divine king speaks to him in this manner: "Time and life are one in the infinite mystery of the universe and it is thus that I appear before you as if in a dream, overturning the immovable weight of the centuries."[55] The Inca lavishes his advice for governing upon the mayor, giving him a "sacred" *quipu* (accounting tool of Inca origin, consisting of a succession of knots on a thin cord) that, he says, he inherited from his ancestors. The mayor of Cuzco promises to "take care of this magnificent legacy,"[56] addressing Pachacutec in a dialogue reminiscent of a subject addressing his lord. Indeed, he appears as a subaltern to the Inca, who teaches him to govern. Although he does not bow down before the Son of the Sun as the high priest does, he does not mount the highest step of the huaca, where his Lord and Master sits enthroned.

Humbly the mayor descends to stand beside his peers on the cathedral steps, as though returning from a very long journey . . . The moment between the two men is abruptly over. Spectators mingle with the brightly colored procession of the nobility and holy virgins, following the Inca's litter as it returns through the city past the cathedral. Amidst a ferocious din we pass below the magnificent balcony of what used to be the house of one of the most prestigious conquistadors. We make our way to the Sacsayhuaman fortress for the great cult of the Sun.[57] For a moment the civil and military authorities remain immobile, standing to attention in lines, as though their rigidity was giving them a moment of absence in order to be able to cross the threshold into the real world. Their dark glasses protect them from the dazzling June sunshine, but also from the overlapping of time they have just experienced. We hesitate whether to follow the pre-Hispanic procession to attend the cult of the Sun or to stay in the shade of the colonial churches and eat a grilled *anticucho* with *choclo*.[58] We are drawn by the city's numerous bells, especially the husky sound of the María Angola pealing out from the cathedral to celebrate the mayor and the Inca. The Calle Ataúd (the Street of Coffins) is steep, the sun is beating down, the Inca mirage makes us dizzy, and we find ourselves en route to the Sacsayhuaman fortress to worship the Divine Star.

It is here on these Cyclopean stones that the conquistadors saw the Virgin descend when they thought they had lost Cuzco and its gold. Although the majestic esplanade

is the site of the Incas' defeat, it has been chosen to celebrate them. An ushnu, a sacred pre-Hispanic promontory, has been set up as a stage. Families settle on the surrounding chaotic ruins of the archaeological site for the rite they attend every year. The stage is surrounded by terraces. Gringos take their places in groups organized by travel agents. There is a striking contrast between the two types of spectators—tourists weighed down with equipment attend, trying to immortalize a fleeting moment while local families, settled on their ponchos, bustle around their cooking pots, earthenware jars of chicha, and tin plates. Tasty delicacies are savored today—succulent roast guinea pig (*cuyes*) with braised tubers as can only be found in the Andes. Everyone does their best to be able to see the stage while enjoying their cuye. This is indeed a popular festival and not a tourist event as it is too often described. It is one o'clock in the afternoon, and paper and straw hats are on sale to cope with the formidable sun.

The sound of the pututu rings out from behind the huge walls of hewn rock. The Sinchi addresses the spectators and every district of the city; the invincible Pachacutec is arriving to lead the ceremony! He is preceded by the delegations of the heroic Army of the Empire of the Four Regions (Tahuantinsuyu). Warriors emerge from each of the four corners of the esplanade. They position themselves in the direction of their geographical provenance—those of the Antisuyu come from the confines of the Amazonian forest and stand to the East, the warriors from the Qollasuyu correspond to what is now the Bolivian Altiplano and stand to the South, the "brothers of Kuntisuyu" stand to the West, and those of the Chinchaysuyu stand to the North. Curiously, this supposedly pre-Hispanic ceremony echoes certain *runa* festivals.[59] Dispersed across the Altiplano, the runa come together for patron saints' feasts in the former *reducción*.[60] They enter the village square from the corner corresponding to the direction of their community and position themselves for the entire duration of the ceremonies in a specific sector where they are received by the *mistis*,[61] with whom they maintain ties of spiritual kinship and patron-client relationships. This contemporary model of colonial origin is taken up by the authors of the Inti Raymi scenario, who probably believe that it is a pre-Hispanic custom. The effect is spectacular! Each of the four squadrons of the Tahuantinsuyu regions has specific clothing and weapons. The warriors of Antisuyu (who, for the record, were never totally conquered by the Incas and, what's more, never served in the imperial army) are armed with bows and arrows.

A chasqui announces the Inca's imminent arrival.[62] He appears in a pandemonium of pututu in the middle of an impressive choreography. The *cuzqueños* hold their breath as the tourists frenziedly snap the scene. The Inca addresses the celebrated deity in terms that are familiar to us: "O Creator without equal in the confines of

this world! You, who have given life and valor to men, you who have said, 'let this be a man,' and to women, 'let this be a woman,' and upon saying this, you create, form and give life to your children!"[63] The Inca is reciting the prayer recorded by Molina el Cuzqueño. In this chronicle written at the end of the sixteenth century, the entreaty is addressed to the mysterious god Viracocha. The Spanish tended to see this as evidence of monotheism, which made the Incas apt for Christianization. Since then the text has been the subject of numerous observations and has become a veritable testimony of Inca civility. It is used as such for apologetic purposes when the Inca appears before the people of Cuzco.

The chiefs of the Four Regions, Amaru (Serpent), Atoq (Fox), Yupanqui (the name of an Inca king), and Rumiñawi (Eye of Stone), inform the "Great Pachacutec" of the state of each of their regions and make offerings. A very lively dance brings this sequence to an end.

The religious service itself opens with the rite of chicha celebrated by the high priest Willaq Uma. In a very Eucharistic way, he passes a vase to the king, who pours the sacred liquid into a golden jar from which a canal takes the chicha to the Temple of the Sun a few miles away. It is then the turn of the sacred fire to be celebrated. Obviously, it is lit by the rays of the sun, and we cannot help but be reminded of the pyre on which Tintin, Captain Haddock, and Professor Calculus almost perished.[64] The sacred fire is then solemnly transferred to pits in the four corners of the ushnu as a chant is intoned to celebrate it. Next, the llama is sacrificed. The *tarpuntay*, or sacrificing priest, opens up the animal's thorax, vigorously tearing out the heart and lungs and raising them above his head, now covered in blood, to display them to the crowd.[65] With the various attending priests, he then carefully examines the organs (Figure 2.2). This form of divination echoes certain contemporary Andean practices. Indigenous physicians use guinea pigs to diagnose pathologies. They rub the patient's entire body with the small animal while it is still alive, then pull off its skin in one piece and observe the inside of the flayed hide, holding it as a radiologist would hold an x-ray picture. The origin of the disease can be read from the shapes of the wounds, and a suitable therapy found, often by calling upon a specialist.

The sun beats down with increasing force, and the families sitting on their ponchos enthusiastically bite into their guinea pigs roasted with cumin while the priests pass the bloody entrails of the sacrificed llama from one to the other. One of the priests then throws them into the sacred fire. There is great rejoicing as the smoke rises, which is a good omen.

And now for the final moment of the Inti Raymi—consuming the *sanku*, a paste made of corn flour mixed with the blood of the sacrificed llama. Spanish documentation puts this ritual at the end of the Citua, in September, when the Inca drove dis-

FIGURE 2.2. Scene from the Inti Raymi. Having sacrificed a llama, the high priest rips out its lungs to read the omens. *Photo Antoinette Molinié.*

ease from the city of Cuzco using four squadrons corresponding to the four regions of the empire.[66] *Sanku* was consumed during a ceremony that the Spanish saw as a Communion, and this colonial representation is reproduced in the Inti Raymi. The high priest takes the sacred food with three fingers, raising it as a Christian priest raises the Communion wafer, and recites a prayer to the Sun, then gives communion to the Inca, the priests, and finally the nobility. The representatives of the four regions dance as the Inca addresses the Divine Star in a final prayer. The crowd applauds a living god with far more enthusiasm than they do the city's patron saints during processions! The Inca stands on his throne and salutes his subjects—it is hard to know if we are taking part in myth or history!

The second part of the ceremony seems to be set in the present. It consists of traditional folk ensembles that, resolutely transforming the ushnu into a stage, perform one after the other, each representing no longer a region of the empire but a province of South Peru and occasionally Bolivia.[67] However, it is not easy to perceive the transition from one context to the other, from the pre-Hispanic worshipping of the Sun to the contemporary performance. The traditional folk groups follow the imperial procession so naturally that they seem to be dancing for the Inca and the Divine Sun. Moreover, just as we discovered elements of contemporary rites such as divination

with coca leaves at the heart of the imperial cult, we can now recognize in the dancers' regional clothing certain motifs worn by the Inca's guards or the sacred virgins. An obvious continuity links the two acts of the celebration and, like the pre-Hispanic squadrons, the young, provincial dancers are really parading for the glory of the Inca.

In this way the two acts of the ceremony are presented as the two phases of Cuzco's history, at least as it is performed here. The first act corresponds to the Incas while the second act corresponds to the Indians whose customs appear to be sublimated by folklore. The colonial period is skipped, as are today's runa, some of whom attend the event—they are too wretched and archaic to figure in the myth.

At the end of the celebration, we rush down from the Inca ruins in the middle of an enthusiastic crowd. Once again, it is impossible not to be reminded of Tintin in *Prisoners of the Sun*.[68] The clothes of the Inca's bodyguards are very similar to those we have just seen, especially their hats, which are practically identical; the priests cross their arms on their chests, and the Virgins of the Sun place their hands on their breasts as they chant Molina el Cuzqueño's prayer to Viracocha, which the High Priest has just addressed to the Sun. However, Hergé never traveled to Peru.[69] He drew his inspiration from Wiener's book published in 1880, his plot from a work by Leroux published in 1913; and the details for his illustrations probably came from an article in the *National Geographic* in February 1938 entitled "In the Realm of the Sons of the Sun," illustrated with photographs and with paintings by a certain H. M. Herget.[70] These images depict scenes that seem to be taken at the Inti Raymi, which only appeared in 1944, before *Prisoners of the Sun* but after the publication of Herget's paintings.[71] Is it possible that this issue of *National Geographic* fell into the hands of the creators of the Inti Raymi, paintings of which then inspired Hergé? The origins of this celebration are, of course, more complex.

The Genesis of a Neo-Indian Imperial Ceremony

When we asked the principal Inca performer how he was dressed for the first celebration of the Inti Raymi, Faustino Espinoza replied that he had simply worn his own costume as he used to play the same role regularly in his native province of Urcos. Here, as in many small villages in the region, an Inca theater group has existed since the 1920s.

From Myth to Theater

Although there are no written records from pre-Columbian Andean civilizations, many works were written in Quechua from the sixteenth century until

halfway through the twentieth century. During the colonial period, the language spread dramatically through the entire Andean area in the form of "*lengua general*."[72] It had an exceptional literary success in Cuzco with the famous play *Ollanta*, and comedies such as *El pobre más rico* and *Usca Paucar*, which went beyond the merely evangelical works of the *auto sacramentales* (religious theater productions). In the eighteenth century, Quechua lost its literary vigor and during the following century suffered from the elitism of the "language of the Incas" as it is still promoted today in the High Academy of the Quechua Language in Cuzco. Little by little, Lima began to take control of Peruvian culture, which had to express itself in Spanish in order to be modern. At the end of the 1860s, interest in "Inca literature" began to grow again, and the play *Ollanta* was translated into Spanish. Henceforth, works glorifying the virtues of the Incas through a love story were considered the model of pre-Hispanic and Inca literature, even though they are known to stem from the colonial era.[73]

As the only city of the Sierra with a university, Cuzco played a fundamental role in the movement to seek a national identity based on "Inca" values, and this is why, in the Cuzco area, Quechua theater grew a great deal, starting in the colonial era, and this growth was particularly intense between 1885 and 1950. Performances were given in small provincial towns in front of extremely colorful audiences where landowners rubbed shoulders with the runa, whom they treated as serfs. *Ollanta* was first performed in 1906 and has been produced regularly ever since. This work is the dramatic breviary of Inca nationalism: "Inca art is best understood by us as it has shaped our nationality . . . In Ollantay one finds indigenous art, religion, customs, music and dance, and this is where the impetuous and sentimental soul of the Indians is illustrated."[74] In fact, Indians are barely mentioned in Inca culture. Although it is true that they take part in theatrical performances in Quechua, their culture is subject to extraordinary sublimation, and advocates of Inca literature have established few links with their condition as an oppressed people.

On July 26, 1915, the play *Ollanta* was performed in Cuzco as a religious act of nationality. The performance opened with the national anthem and a speech stressing the closeness of its connection with the National Holiday.[75] Once it had acquired this quality of identity, Quechua theater was exported to Lima. Its religious dimension became all the more obvious as the enthusiastic audience did not understand a word of Quechua. In a way somewhat similar to the Latin of traditional Mass, Quechua was thus transformed into a liturgical language. The media immediately saw this as "the revelation of a national art" and "the resurrected spirit of the Empire."[76] Inca theater, closely linked politically to reformist projects, became increasingly popular much to the displeasure of the intellectuals who had promoted it. From its origins

as a local tradition from Cuzco, it went on to acquire a patriotic dimension like the indigenous thought nurturing it.

The Inti Raymi ceremony took root in this tradition of Inca theater and hence in the indigenous movement that inspired it, which has been growing in Cuzco since the 1920s, essentially from the university. We are witnessing the blossoming of a *cuzqueñismo* founded upon the apology of the Inca Empire. The great writer Luis E. Valcárcel, one of the founders of the movement, organized the "Peruvian Mission of Inca Art," which toured South America in 1923–1924 and was a great success in Bolivia and Argentina. Having brought Peruvian nationalism to the stage, Quechua theater sparked off a Pan-American fervor in Argentina, once again founded on the myth of the Incas: "In this evocation of customs there is also something of our primitive soul since the Inca Empire extended from Peru to Ecuador and to Bolivia right to the regions in the North-West of Argentina where the vestiges of their customs still shine brightly."[77]

In the Argentinean program there is a line "Inti Raymi cuadro, coro y baile" (stage, choir and ballet),[78] in other words, a possible forerunner of the modern Inti Raymi. When this appeared in 1944, Inca theater had been in decline for a decade; the elite of Cuzco had grown weary while a popular crowd had taken over, and, at the same time, a "folklorized" Indian culture began to compete with it.[79]

The Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo was created in April 1924 to "conduct research, cultivate, practice and disseminate traditional folk art, preserving the originality and authenticity of the music, dance and clothing." One of its members was Humberto Vidal, who devised the Inti Raymi and was active in promoting the expansion of cuzqueñismo. In 1937 he created "La Hora del Charango"[80] on Radio Cusco, broadcast by loudspeaker in the Plaza de Armas. This traditional music program was presented to the indigenists as "a veritable pulpit of *cuzqueñismo* thrown [*sic*] to the four winds" and as a "forum for Cuzquenian thought to preach *cuzquéñist* ideas"; it inspired a "spiritual celebration of *cuzqueñismo.*"[81] This highly regionalist initiative had national and patriotic overtones and brought together "intellectuals and artists from every genre in an attempt at the *peruanización* of sentiments."[82]

In 1937, intellectuals, historians, novelists, painters, and photographers founded the Cuzquenian branch of the Instituto Americano de Arte of Pan-American scope. Humberto Vidal was a member, and the following year he defended a thesis at the University of Cuzco whose title *Towards a new Peruvian Art*,[83] and aim "to use as arms the new Peruvian art for an undertaking of a nationalist orientation" are evocative. The architect of the Inti Raymi was also passionately active in promoting the Indian people in several illustrious cuzqueñismo circles. In January 1944, during a meeting on Incaism, he founded "Cuzco Day" to be on June 24, the "Day of Indian

and National Civic Festivities" as it has been set by President Augusto Leguía to correspond, it was believed, with the imperial celebration of the Inti Raymi. Humberto Vidal was appointed president of the commission responsible for organizing this day, which was "not only national but continental and global" and whose aim was "to mobilize a veritable spiritual revolution in the sons of Cuzco in particular and the country in general with regard to the significance of our country."[84] Thus, as soon as it was invented, the Inti Raymi was seen as a national project.

The set designer for the Inti Raymi then traveled to the most remote provinces of Cuzco to find musicians and dance groups. This is how in Urcos he discovered Faustino Espinoza Navarro, who became the first to take on the role of the Inca. In 1934 he directed a performance of a work by Nemesio Zúñiga Cazorla entitled *Qusqu y 14 emperadores* on the Sacsayhuaman esplanade, the site where the Inti Raymi is now performed. It was he who is supposed to have written the first script of this ceremony. Although the Inti Raymi in no way matches the brilliant literary tradition of Quechua theater, it is undoubtedly its heir or at least an avatar. There is, however, a striking difference in the clothing. According to photographs, the costumes of Quechua theater were made of clothes worn at the time (and still worn today) by Indians, gathered and sewn together. The result gives a strange impression of such an intense Indian identity that could not be anything but Inca. A noble touch was added with golden jewelry inspired by archaeological discoveries and, of course, for the Inca, by a *mascaypacha*.[85] However, a visual continuity could be seen between a traditional community of the time and the imperial court being represented. The opposite is true for today's Inti Raymi costumes, which have no connection with Indian clothing—gone are the handwoven textiles, gone are the community motifs seen in Quechua theater—instead we have gigantic copies of archaeological objects and copies of Guaman Poma de Ayala's drawings, as declared the author of the designs himself, who copied and enlarged the tocapu (see above). The rupture with Indians of local communities is complete, and reference is now made to an archaeological Indian, who offers a greater symbolical efficiency. The costumes are now closer to those of the actors from a different theatrical tradition, who appear in the popular ritualized performance of the death of the Inca Atahualpa, which may be seen as another ancestor of today's Inti Raymi.

It is known that the last Inca was imprisoned by Pizarro, to whom he paid a fabulous ransom in gold before the Spaniard betrayed him, condemning him to the stake. By accepting baptism, Atahualpa got himself garroted, and for the Andean, the body's cremation into ashes was an unbearable fate. However, popular Andean tradition has it that the last Inca was beheaded. In some regions of the Andes, the tragic fall of the empire is the theme of hugely popular theatrical performances based

on scripts by local authors, with the actors divided into Spaniards and Incas. This performance of colonial origin is reminiscent of the Moros y Cristianos, which is still performed today in several cities in southeast Spain and which was exported to the viceroyalties for Christianization purposes.[86] It would be too time consuming to establish a history and the geographical distribution of this form of theater here,[87] but it is known that every year a performance of the death of Atahualpa is given in Pucuyra, a few miles from Cuzco.

In this tale, three Incas, Atahualpa, Huascar and Manco Capac,[88] are attacked and defeated by three Spaniards.[89] The Incas and conquistadors are on horseback, which is curious for the Incas. The performance is somewhat ritualized since it is subject to a community "charge" (*cargo*), which consists of covering in turn each year the costs of the festivities organized for the occasion. In 1996 we attended the transmission of the role of one of the Incas to his son, and the emotion gripping the audience was more the emotion of a rite than of entertainment.

From Theater to Rite

Many people in Cuzco refuse to take the Inti Raymi seriously—for some, it is now nothing more than commercial entertainment for tourists, while for others it is terribly vulgar (*huachafo*). The media, however, echo the fervor of the people; for example, we note the headlines of the June 24, 1996, issue of *El Sol*: on the front page, "Cuzco takes wing like the condor"; page 3, "Incas had advanced writing skills"; page 6, "Today Cuzco commemorates the great Inti Raymi"; page 11, "The Inti Raymi, symbol of identity and universal fraternity"; page 13, "Cuzco—the essence and synthesis of Peruvian identity"; page 15, "The quest for our cultural roots as a national identity"; pages 16–17, "Cuzco—Eternal like its stones forged by the centuries. Cuzco, the eternal source of sentiments and concepts to motivate all human labor"; page 18, "A cultural contribution to the world: corn, the holy grain"; page 19, "Folklore—the expression of the people's soul"; page 22, "Cuzco! Eternal Apu,"[90] "locked into the heart of the Peruvian Andes."[91] The emotion it provokes is quasi ritual, and the Inti Raymi is celebrated every year, like the Corpus Christi with which it forms a devotional diptych.

Acosta had already observed the links between the pre-Hispanic Inti Raymi and the Corpus Christi with its somewhat similar chants and dancing.[92] Today, both celebrations are held during the Semana del Cuzco, which opens with the Corpus Christi. Each spring on Thursday in the Octave of Pentecost, for Catholics this ceremony proclaims the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ through the words of a priest.[93] In Cuzco, Corpus Christi has been celebrated with much pomp

since 1550, as shown in Garcilaso de la Vega's description.[94] A solemn procession glorifies the monstrance with great splendor, but here, tribute is mostly paid to the fifteen patron saints representing the districts of the city.[95] They precede the monstrance to the throne at which the archbishop of Cuzco kneels and are celebrated with music, dance, and alcohol offered by the brotherhoods—to such an extent that when it is time for the holy sacrament, the faithful are all drunk, and for this reason, in 2002, to the outrage of the people of Cuzco, the archbishop decreed that the monstrance would take precedence in order to avoid this affront.

Cuzco's Corpus Christi is undeniably a demonstration of Incaist fervor. It is even said that the saints carried in the procession represent the lineages of the imperial nobility, and that beneath their images lie mummified human remains and that the teeth of Saint Christopher are those of the Inca Sayri Tupac. The magnificent seventeenth-century paintings portraying colonial processions exhibited in the archbishop's museum only accentuate this—one can admire the Incas in their sumptuous costumes, crowned with feathers and bedecked with jewels, as well as the city's patron saints, the same ones who flock around today at the Corpus Christi. Without a doubt, these paintings immortalizing the ancestors in all their colonial nobility had an impact on the popular image of the Incas.[96] It does not take long to understand that it is really their memory being worshipped here rather than the Passion of Christ.

The deities celebrated by the city in the form of patron saints of the districts are reputed to represent the ancestors. However, like the Inca mummies who were given food, they are considered to be very much alive. Their relationships with one another are very human, like rivalry and sexual attraction. On the eve of the procession, the deities are placed in the chancel of Cuzco's cathedral according to a strict protocol. They gather together in order to discuss the politics of the current government, not unlike the Inca of the Inti Raymi discussing politics with the mayor of Cuzco.[97]

The life of the celebrated saints and Virgins is deeply rooted in the districts. Each is subject to a *cargo*—in turn, the members of their brotherhoods take the responsibility (*cargo*) for the organization and costs of the celebration. For the brothers "in charge," the ceremony is a major opportunity for social promotion. In this way, *cholas*—often traders at the Cuzco market, said to be dirty and debauched, and scorned by the middle classes (for whom they are "not even Indian")—have access to the "decency" that supposedly characterizes the white people who acquire it at birth.[98]

The name of the dignitary and his cargo are published in the local press, and his social ascension is commensurate with the pomp of the function. His achievements are blessed by the patron saint of his neighborhood, whose feast he organizes, and he is honored by the intense emotion of the speeches and devotion accompanying the holy image.

The Corpus Christi lends a highly emotional ritual tone to the Semana del Cuzco, and the Inti Raymi irrefutably benefits from this atmosphere of sacredness. On June 30, 1971, the newspaper *El Comercio* announced the "liturgical evocation of the Inti Raymi,"[99] attended by 80,000 people, and this is how it is undoubtedly perceived. There is a "civic parade" (*desfile cívico*) on the eve of the Inti Raymi made up of various groups—schoolchildren; representatives from the provinces, the military, the fire department, religious brotherhoods, football teams, trade unions, trade organizations, cultural organizations, and various businesses. The entire night, the crowd parades through the streets in processions very similar to those of the Corpus Christi to "Cuzqueñize Cuzco."[100] Despite openly expressing their disdain for Indians in their everyday discourse, they willingly adopt their clothing for the event. This is not a masquerade but, strangely, the illusory clothing of an aristocracy: "Today we display our ponchos as the coats of arms of Cuzco's nobility."[101] But the Incas did not wear ponchos, and they are not worn by the actors in the Inti Raymi. The poncho / coat of arms of the civic parade exists only on this occasion, since the ponchos worn by the runa today are, in fact, multiple—each community weaves its own motifs onto them. They appear as identity markers, probably used for classification during the colonial period. During the civic parade of June 23, a poncho is worn as the uniform of Inca descendants. "Today, the order of the day is 'Everyone will wear Cuzco ponchos.' "[102] But what exactly is the status of the heraldic poncho? It cannot be said that the members of the civic parade disguise themselves as Indians. Nevertheless, one can recognize on some of them motifs from such and such a province, and sometimes a regional group adopts the style of its community. The result of this juxtaposition of colors and designs is an intermediate, global poncho that absorbs the local poncho to become the parade's uniform and even the coat of arms of contemporary neo-Incaism. It is thanks to these ponchos that the inhabitants of Cuzco can transform themselves into Incas, "reviving the great dress parade of a Great Empire."[103]

We have seen how, through its theatrical aspect, the Inti Raymi revives the myth of the Inca ancestor from whom all the inhabitants of Cuzco are descended. The civic parade that precedes it seems to bring about the metamorphosis of the people of Cuzco into Incas through rite; those who will attend the Sun-worshipping ceremony tomorrow are now asserting their Inca identity for the evening through their orgiastic gathering and their parade costume. This fictive Inca identity appropriates the Indians' history, transforming it into a myth and absorbs into its rites elements of their culture such as clothing. In a more general way, the folklorization of indigenous culture constitutes the other side of neo-Incaism.

We have described how Quechua theater used to dress its actors in a curious patchwork of articles of runa clothing—*llicla* (women's clothing) with community motifs,

chumpi (belt) holding a skirt made from a recycled poncho, traditional woolen bonnet, and accessories such as the *chuspa* to carry their coca, or the *liwi*, a sling woven from wool and worn as an accessory, and so on. In Quechua theater, the Incas were portrayed to have some continuity with the runa, whose clothes were symbolically torn apart. As for the Inti Raymi, from the very beginning it adopted dresses inspired by archaeological findings. Models of these costumes can be seen in the drawings of Guaman Poma and the prototypes in Cuzco's Anthropological Museum.[104] However, during the performance of the Sun-worshipping cult, here and there motifs from the indigenous culture can be observed.

Let us observe, for example, the soldiers of the Anti squadron composed of inhabitants from the tropical lowlands, never completely defeated by the Incas. They are swathed in what resembles underpants made of women's woolen shawls (*mantas*) and wear headdresses familiar to the people of Cuzco—the sumptuous plumage of the *q'ara ch'unchu*, who dance for the Christ of Qoyllurit'i and the Virgin of Paucartambo (Figure 2.3). For the runa, these ritual dancers wearing headdresses made of the feathers of Amazonian macaws represent "savages" (*ch'unchu*) living in the tropical forests as well as the prehumans of the era before our own. The rapport between the reality of the indigenous rite and the fiction of the Inti Raymi is particularly subtle here; the ritual dancers' finery has been chosen to dramatize the pre-Hispanic Amazonian warriors, and this finery currently symbolizes "savages" to populations who are, in this instance, spectators of the Inti Raymi. The Inca's "savage" warriors even have their own choreography—it echoes that of the q'ara ch'unchu of Christ who dance in pairs, clashing their spears together. However, the q'ara ch'unchu actors in the Inti Raymi, unlike the q'ara ch'unchu rituals of Christ and the Virgin, are half naked, their faces painted red and armed with bows and arrows. They wear the headdresses of the "savages" symbolized by the people of Cuzco in their rituals—but they are also disguised as "savages"; the line between ritual and show is here at the crossroads between symbol and disguise.

In the staging of the Inti Raymi, we can also observe ethnographic elements transplanted as they are and metamorphosed by the context. Some Inca worshippers are dressed exactly like the members of certain traditional *comparsas*, devotional dance groups that in traditional communities are associations whose members perform very specific dances "through devotion" to celebrate one of the region's patron saints. On stage during the Inti Raymi, in the Inca's procession, one can see a group of the chorus dressed as *saqsa*, that is, members of one of the region's traditional comparsas. In their communities, the saqsa play *machu* ("old" in Quechua), the prehuman beings who inhabited the earth before the sun appeared. Reputed to be "savages," the members of the comparsa who play them are dressed as *salvagina* and wear in their hair

FIGURE 2.3. Soldiers from the Anti Squadron (inhabitants of the Amazonian lowlands) who escort the Inca during the Inti Raymi. Their underpants are fashioned from women's traditional shawls, and their headwear is a copy of that worn by q'ara ch'unchu ritual dancers. *Photo Antoinette Molinié.*

achupaya flowers from the highest lands where the creatures are said to have taken refuge when the sun arrived. In the contemporary Inti Raymi, the members of the Inca's procession dressed as saqsa are known as machu, the same name as these beings from a humanity prior to our own symbolized by the saqsa in their comparsas. The chain of the invention of tradition is somewhat long and complex here. The notion of the prehuman machu who preceded our solar era gave rise to a comparsa whose members play these creatures by the name of saqsa. In the 1950s,[105] this comparsa of saqsa formed the Inca's retinue during the Inti Raymi. On this occasion, the members of the procession went by the name of machu, the prehumans—in other words, a return to the original notion after a detour via the comparsa of the saqsa. An element of the indigenous culture was transposed onto the stage to play a role that was totally foreign to it!

This transformation of a traditional comparsa into an Inca procession is the result of a process that follows the evolutions of indigenism. The comparsa encouraged

Cuzco Indians to "de-Indianize" their culture. Some comparsas thus practiced a kind of purge of characters considered to be too Indian to be presented in town. Paradoxically, however, these "purified" dances were then claimed to be "traditional." The result is a supposedly Indian dance that is in fact de-Indianized if compared to communities' dances. Its producers boast of its runa nature using the term *neta*—the dance performed by the urban comparsa is clean and neat, although it remains indigenous, but it is not pure (*pura*), for if it were, it would be too Indian and would lack *respeto.* This is how an "authentic" regional culture is produced; it is "neta" since it retains its indigenous origins, but also *de respeto* since it has been purged of its Indian coarseness.[106] Urban Indians thus assert what they consider to be the authenticity of Andean culture that, without this strategy, would probably have disappeared. The groups playing the chorus in the Inti Raymi follow this logic when they reproduce the dances of the traditional comparsas.

This metamorphosis of traditional culture is followed by another process in the second part of the Inti Raymi during which regional dances are performed. They were folklorized in the 1930s by the indigenist movement seeking to establish connections between the intellectuals and Andean tradition. The traditional folk groups drew their inspiration from the indigenous dances that the intellectuals went to "collect" in the field. These were then purified to make them suitable. The logic was the same as that of the comparsas of the Indians from the cities, with the difference that the latter retain their devotional quality whereas the folklorized dances are presented as entertainment. We shall see that the ethnic cleansing carried out by the indigenist intellectuals also affects the Quechua language, which Cuzco's High Academy is constantly ennobling to such an extent that it is now unrecognizable to the runa. Nevertheless, the de-Indianization of the dance was fairly cautious, since it was crucial to retain its indigenous essence. It occurred through a choreography devised by a master who became the author of the dance, and occasionally this was an upwardly mobile Indian. The University of Cuzco has always played a vital role in the collection and purification of indigenous dances. In 1943, the first Chair of Folklore gave its intellectual support to these operations.

These dances ostensibly representing indigenous rites and beliefs were recovered by the *cuzqueñist* celebrations of the Inti Raymi as soon as the Semana del Cuzco was established. The main transformation imposed on traditional dances consisted of their "Incaization," or at least what was seen as such. In 1955, a *caporal* from the province of Acomayo who brought his *comparsa* to Cuzco to perform in the Inti Raymi described it as "a genuine Incaesque performance."[107] Thus, from indigenous, danced ritual (about which we know little, since in reality its purification began during the colonial period) to devotional comparsa then to a traditional folk spectacle

and finally to its inclusion in the Inti Raymi, a progressive process of neo-Indianization can be observed in the dance, which consists of de-Indianizing the culture that remains neta while acquiring respeto. This then enables it to become "imperial" as it takes its place in the Inca's procession during the Inti Raymi. In some ways it then becomes devotional once again as it is part of the rite of the new Sun-worshiping cult.

This process of collecting, de-Indianizing, and imperializing tradition is especially spectacular in the folklorization of a custom considered particularly Indian and barbaric. The choreography entitled *chiaraje*, performed in the second sequence of the Inti Raymi, represents the ritual battles on horseback between the Langui and Layo moieties every year on January 29 on the Altiplano of the Canas region south of Cuzco. In Bolivia, this ritual war goes by the name of *tinku* and is also subject to an interesting urban transformation (see Chapter 3). These traditional confrontations are very often gory and end in the death of a few warriors who are offered up for the fertility of the Earth. The choreography (the fruit of the de-Indianization of this custom judged to be barbaric) glosses over the deaths. From human sacrifice to dance—it is hard to imagine a more extreme folklorization! Nevertheless, a continuity between the two certainly exists.

During the Semana del Cuzco in 1971, a chiaraje performance was given in the Garcilaso stadium in which 8,000 people took part. In the show, they were represented by artists from the Embajada Folklórica from the province of Canas. However, in spite of its theatrical nature, in twenty minutes of "battle," two people were wounded. The next day, the press reported the equestrian choreography, stressing the "classic moves used in ancient times by Amilcar Barca,"[108] and it is hard to work out whether it was a "real" ritual battle or a show. The "Dance of the Condors" was also inspired by this rite the same year, winning first prize for the Inti Raymi award.[109] The choreography represented the war the Incas waged upon their Chanca enemies in a mode comparable to that of sacrificial battles.

Both in the choreography of the chiaraje and in the role of machu, we witness the transformation of a traditional rite into a show and, at the same time, the transformation of this show into a neoritual. The battle dance performed in the Inti Raymi has lost its sacrificial aspect; nonetheless, through actors, it still sets rival moieties against each other, and those from Canas fought each other in the stadium with enough violence to lead to serious injuries. In a way, the neo-Inca machu groups express the meaning of the saqsa comparsas who symbolize machu without naming them explicitly, while those officiating at the Inti Raymi are resolutely dressed as machu.

In the chiaraje and with the saqsa, the symbolic content is cut shorter and shorter. Although the distance is great in the ritual between the signifier (a combat) and the signified—(a sacrifice to the Earth), it becomes much shorter in the show between

the signifier (the square dance) and the signified (the rivalry between warring sides). Whereas the religious comparsa only makes implicit reference to the belief in machu, the Inca procession dressed as saqsa is composed of machu, the name of the beings who were previously symbolized. In the first instance we are presented with a symbol, and in the second with merely a disguise. In both cases, if a neo-Indian rite emerges, it is through the pillage of the symbolic dimension of the indigenous rite. Ritual battles are now banned by the very people who derive choreographies from them, and the saqsa comparsas have trouble holding their own against traditional folk groups with sound systems and miniskirts. In the near future, the dance of the chiaraje and the procession of the Inca might well evolve from the remains of sacrificial practices to the Earth and prehuman beliefs. Nevertheless, both will probably retain some sense of the sacred, even if this has disappeared as such. In the eyes of Indians from the cities and mistis, they remain "netos" and, for the tourists, they will be "authentic." By reproducing the emotion of the diffuse memory of the symbol, theatrical performances are more than mere entertainment.

We have seen how Willaq Uma, the Inti Raymi's high priest, read the future of the Inca Empire in coca leaves and in the entrails of the sacrificed llama. These divination techniques are widely practiced by the regions' indigenous experts and, now, even by the inhabitants of the city of Cuzco. This transfer of visionary power from the Andean people to the high priest of the Inca state is an excellent example of the transmission of Indian culture to the neo-Incas.

The Inti Raymi thus takes on a ritual dimension by appropriating indigenous beliefs and practices. The traditional connection between signifier and signified is gradually disappearing, and it is only once they have lost their original meaning that they can be incorporated into the new Sun-worshipping cult to which they give a ritual dimension. They thus establish a powerful connection between the Sun cult invented by the Inti Raymi and the indigenous culture that, in the end, is subverted. Unlike in other parts of the world, such as France, this does not simply give memory to performances but also contributes to the neo-Inca identity appropriated by Cuzco's middle classes.

The new Sun cult benefits from other ritualizing features. Its scenario, which appeared in 1944, is based on the text *Comentarios reales* by Garcilaso de La Vega, which is, in a manner of speaking, the bible of cuzqueñismo. This important writer played a major role in Cuzquenian Incaism. Born in 1539, the son of a Spanish conquistador and the Inca princess Chimpu Occlo, he identified himself as the emblem of mestizo conscience. In official declarations he is presented as "Peru's first *Mestizo*" and "the distinguished *Mestizo* Garcilaso de la Vega." In 1989, when the Peruvian Parliament passed a law allowing the commemoration of the 450 years since the birth

of the great mestizo writer, it formally proclaimed a "Year of the Inca Garcilaso de La Vega." Although the great writer described himself as mestizo, the vox populi drew him to the side of the Incas through his mother.

In the eyes of the cuzqueños, Garcilaso is the true father of the Inti Raymi. In his *Comentarios reales*, he does indeed claim that at the winter solstice, the Incas celebrated the Festival of the Sun, and the Instituto Americano de Arte del Cuzco carried out theatrical and choreographic research in the 1940s based on Garcilaso's chronicles. However, he is far from being the most reliable of chroniclers, since his description of the Inca government is highly apologetic, and in his *Comentarios reales*, published in 1609, it is the Ideal City of his neo-Platonic readings that the writer presents in his descriptions of Cuzco.[110] However, his eulogy suits the Incaists extremely well, and they take his chronicle as their bible.

Nevertheless, the script of the Inti Raymi is not set in stone like colonial plays. It changes over time, and although Garcilaso de la Vega was the inspiration, it is hard to recognize the original author among all those who claim paternity. Its drafting has given rise to "editorial boards" such as the one that gathered the elite of Cuzco's academic archaeology and anthropology circles in 1971. Even today, it still arouses passionate debates and even political conflict about the authenticity of certain ritual acts. In fact, every Cuzquenian with a high school education considers himself or herself an Inca expert. Every detail affecting the Inti Raymi is the subject of round tables, press releases, declarations, conferences, articles in the local press, insults, personal attacks, and even physical assaults. One of the sensitive issues is choosing who is to play the Inca every year. Does he look the part? Does he speak perfect Quechua? So-and-so is too fat or too thin! The authenticity of the actors' performance is also the topic of heated debates—the musicians are too bearded to be Indian, the women display their charms too blatantly when it is well known that the Incas were extremely modest, and so on.[111]

This is very different from the usual setup for theatrical productions. What's more, since it was established, the Inti Raymi has always had a visionary dimension. The man who played the lead role of the Inca, Fausto Espinoza (known as "Inca Espinoza," just as one says "Inca Garcilaso"), told us with emotion of an experience that has initiatory value. When he played the Inca of the Sun cult for the third consecutive year, he arrived in Cuzco on a night when the moon was full, a sight hard to match anywhere else in the world. At two o'clock in the morning, he was seized with an irresistible desire to go to Sacsayhuaman. The moonlight flooding the Inca fortress lent a metallic grandeur to the megaliths, as though casting one into space. Alone, Fausto Espinoza suddenly found himself leading Inca soldiers dressed like those of the Inti Raymi and wearing feathered headdresses. He addressed them in Quechua

but received no reply. They surrounded him respectfully as befitting a leader and disappeared near the house of the Lomellinis, where the city begins. His vocation as "chief editor" of the Inti Raymi scenario was determined by another supernatural experience. As he was writing on an old newspaper by candlelight, a majestic man appeared to him, who he was convinced was an Inca king. He has had what he calls "spiritual encounters" with his ancestors and claims that an Inca spirit lives within him. The script glorifying the Incas thus came into being through a veritable revelation, and this mystic experience lends the Inti Raymi scenario a mythical quality and its staging a ritual dimension.

The fact that the Inti Raymi ceremony is performed on June 24 in villages near Cuzco and some cities in Peru testifies to its ritual nature. In Huánuco, in the North of Peru, the cult of the Sun begins on June 21, at sunrise, greeted by the Inca and those attending. It takes place in what is reputed to be the ceremonial ushnu, the most sacred spot. The script specifies that the spectators must be fully informed so that they do not mistake this eminently cultural ceremony for a commercial festival. "Huánuco Markha, the celebration of the Sun, is a great cultural meeting whose aim is to enhance national identity and develop our country and our region starting from our own ancestral roots."[112] A local Inca called Illathupac was discovered here and is said to have governed the north part of the empire.[113] This demonstration of identity stands in ironic contrast to the attitude of Cuzco's City Council, which demanded copyright royalties from the organizers of Huánuco's Inti Raymi.

In the Cuzco region, the cult of the Sun is now celebrated on June 24 just as the birth of Jesus is celebrated on December 24, the Lord of the Earthquakes on Easter Monday, and the National Holiday on July 30. Cuzco's scenography has become the model, and, if possible, archaeological ruins are chosen for the stage. There are now Raymi performances in Ollantaytambo, Racchi and Chinchero, and it is easy to imagine the damage caused by people crowding on to the archaeological ruins of these historic sites. The neo-Incas do not really see them as sites to be protected but rather as places of worship sought for their ancestrality. In this sense, their relationship with Inca ruins is in complete contrast to that of the Indians whom they claim to represent. The latter consider the pre-Hispanic tombs overlooking their villages as lairs where the prehumans or machu took refuge when the civilizing Sun appeared. Not only do they avoid going near them, they even make offerings to ward off the terrifying evils that the angered ancestors can inflict on them. For this reason, it is extremely odd to learn of the intentions of the organizers of Huánuco's Inti Raymi regarding what they consider as a popular celebration: "It is our responsibility to give back to the people what is rightfully theirs, by banning any excessively backward-looking or indigenist ideology, for the people of our homeland should launch them-

selves with a firm and confident cultural mind into the new challenges of the future and the new millennium."[114]

The Inti Raymi has even inspired other festivities such as the Wataqallari, which celebrates the start of the agricultural year on August 1 in Maras near Cuzco. Here the stage is formed by the superb and mysterious pre-Hispanic terraces of Moray, which were probably used for experimental crops. The crowd gathers at the site. The performance, a scaled-down version of the Inti Raymi, is given by schoolchildren from districts in the province of Urubamba. The Inca even wears one of the four costumes of his cuzqueño counterpart, beside whom he plays the role of Sinchi in June. It is he in person who leads the mayor of Cuzco to the Inca during the ceremony in the Plaza de Armas (see above). At the terraces of Moray, we move away from a theatrical performance to come closer to a ritual through two of the performance's characteristics. First, the mayors of the surrounding villages are present next to the Inca throughout the ceremony. They dress in ponchos whose motifs do not correspond closely to the region's communities but that are undeniably Indian. Twenty years ago a mayor would never have worn Indian clothing.[115] A young woman stands next to them, dressed as an Inca princess—she is a town councilor in Maras. She does not wear the equivalent to the men's ponchos, but a Disneyland-style disguise. This is because women's traditional costumes are generally perceived as "more Indian" than the men's version.[116] In addition, a "genuine" paqo, a shaman from a neighboring community, makes the offering to the gods of the mountains included in the scenario of the Wataqallari. All the ingredients are there, and the Quechua in which he prays is very different from the language imposed by Cuzco's Academy. The audience is in deep communion, in spite of the comings and goings of the Virgins of the Sun and the soldiers of Tahuantinsuyu. We were surprised to learn the other ritual use of the terraces of Moray—here, on nights of the full moon, the new, urban shamans come to soak up the energy by meditating in the fetal position in the middle of the circular arena that is said to communicate with Mother Earth, the Indians' Pachamama.

After the "collection" or "capturing" of indigenous tradition, and after operations to render it "decent" and "Incaize" it, we see emerging a mysticism that gives a New Age dimension to celebrations such as the Inti Raymi.[117] We shall address this later in this book. First, however, we shall attempt to locate the origins of the neo-Indian movements in Mexico and Cuzco.

Notes

1. The "revisionist" dispute instigated by the neo-Indians is a theme we shall return to later in the book.

2. The metaphor used by the ancient Mexicans to mean the connection point of two temporal sequences marked by ritual observances.

3. *La Jornada*, March 16, 1994.

4. The figure of Tezcatlipoca sums up the complexity of pre-Hispanic Mexican pantheons. Lord of the night wind, penitence and confession, pernicious and seductive, the numen of lunar fertility and master of truth, as the book by Guilhem Olivier demonstrates with subtlety. *Mockeries and Metamorphoses of an Aztec God: Tezcatlipoca, Lord of the Smoking Mirror* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008). Although this polymorphous figure has been adapted by the Zócalo's neo-Indians, it is, in recomposed but powerfully active forms, part of the cosmological and ritual systems of Mesoamerican communities (e.g., for the Otomi) as Master of the World, with an amputated foot, *tokwa*, in an image similar to the Aztec Tezcatlipoca. See Jacques Galinier, *The World Below: Body and Cosmos in Otomi Indian Ritual* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 201–4.

5. *La Jornada*, March 17, 1994.

6. Hernán Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, ed. Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1963).

7. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia de la conquista de Nueva España* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1974), 159.

8. Doris Hayden and Luis Francisco Villaseñor, *The Great Temples and the Aztec Gods* (Mexico: Minutiae Mexicana, 1995), 6.

9. Leonardo López Luján, *Las ofrendas del Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1993).

10. Jerôme Monnet, "Le voyage, le paysage et l'image: Significations et appropriations du centre historique de Mexico," International Conference: *Métropoles d'Afrique et d'Asie* (Toulouse, 1991), 117.

11. Within the mexicanista movement, Doña Eulalia Guzmán's fame is also linked to the assertion that human sacrifices were unknown to the Anahuac peoples and that the accusation was nothing but a "calumny by the invaders." *Izkalotl*, February 1985. This question will be examined in the chapter on Mother Earth (Chapter 3).

12. Cuauhtemoc, the nephew of the last Aztec emperor (Moctezuma II) temporarily drove the Spanish out of Tenochtitlan during the Noche Triste, before being captured and killed. He symbolizes indigenous resistance to invaders.

13. *Izkalotl*, January 1991.

14. Jerôme Monnet, *Mexico face à son patrimoine: Les transformations de l'espace dans le centre historique* (Paris: Credal, 1990), 3.

15. The Codex Fejérváry Meyer is a pre-Hispanic pictographic manuscript belonging to the group known as Borgia, with a ritual and divinatory use. It enables the cosmological ideas of the ancient Mexicans to be understood in detail.

16. In the cosmology of the ancient Mexicans, five eras, or "suns," destroyed by a flood preceded the emergence of the modern world.

17. The Volador ritual is pre-Hispanic in origin. It is directly linked to actions to encourage the fertility of plants and is still practiced today in some communities in eastern Mexico. It consists of the "flight" of four dancers who whirl around the top of a fifty-foot mast. On the history of the ritual and its current variants, see U. Bertels, *Das Fliegerspiel in Mexiko: Historische Entwicklung und gegenwärtige Erscheinungsformen* (Münster: Lit, 1993).

18. Since pre-Hispanic times, the mountains have been the object of devotion linked to cults of agrarian fertility, requests for rain, and the ancestors. These practices are still widespread in the Indian communities of Mesoamerica. They are comparable to the cult of mountain peaks practiced in the Andes.

19. The ancient vision of movable centers was reaffirmed with the celebration of the Meeting of the Two Worlds in 1992, when the Mexican organizers decided to hold the Fifth Centenary March described in the previous chapter.

20. Arturo Warman, *La danza de "Moros y Cristianos"* (Mexico City: SepSetentas, 1972), 71–72.

21. Ibid., 69.

22. Alain Ichon, *La religion des Totonaques de la Sierra* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969), 347.

23. Arturo Warman, *La danza de "Moros y Cristianos,"* 152.

24. Antonio Velasco Piña, *Regina* (Mexico City: Jus, 1987), 351.

25. Ibid., 364.

26. Jérôme Monnet, "Le voyage, le paysage et l'image," 117.

27. *El Universal*, March 22, 2002.

28. *Proceso*, March 20, 2002.

29. *El Universal*, March 21, 2002.

30. The term for purification rituals in Mexican Indian communities or the therapeutic practices of sects in urban areas.

31. *El Heraldo*, March 22, 2002.

32. Ibid.

33. *El Excelsior*, March 22, 2002. The Sun has various different names—Quetzalcoatl, Kukulkan, Ra, or Santísima Trinidad.

34. Ibid.

35. *El Excelsior*, March 22, 2002.

36. *La Prensa*, March 22, 2002. Ehécatl was the Aztec god of the wind.

37. The DIF stands for the Desarrollo Integral de la Familia, the national agency specializing in public health issues.

38. *El Heraldo*, March 21, 2002.

39. *Milenio Semanal Notimex*, March 22, 2002.

40. *La Prensa*, March 22, 2002.

41. Paul Liffman, "Huichols and Proto-Aztecs in State Spectacle: La Feria de la Mexicanidad." In *Las figuras nacionales del indio. Ateliers de Caravelle*, vol. 11, ed. A. Ariel de Vidas

and J. Galinier (Institut Plurisdisciplinaire pour les Etudes Sur l'Amérique Latine a Toulouse, 1998), 103–16.

42. Ibid., 104.

43. Susanna Rostas, "Los concheros, los mexica y la mexicanidad: Una nueva identidad extra-política y religiosa," *XVII Congreso de Historia de las Religiones* (Mexico City, 1995). Nevertheless, Alfonso Caso, in *La comunidad indígena*, declared: "An Indian is the one who feels that he belongs to an Indian community" (Es indio todo individuo que se siente pertenecer a una comunidad indígena) (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1980, 82–83). This assumption reflects the ideology of first-generation indigenism, which tried to subsume the marginalization of the Mexican Indians by focusing the attention of the state on the "cultural shortcomings" of the native populations. In a certain way, this reification of the Indian world coincides with the idealistic vision of the New Indians.

44. Paul Liffman, "Huichols and Proto-Aztecs in State Spectacle," 112.

45. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 246.

46. Ibid., 340.

47. *Pututo* are large conchs brought back from the Peruvian coast that were used to play music in the pre-Hispanic era. In traditional communities, the sound of the pututo announces collective events, especially the arrival of the *varayoc*, the village chiefs of colonial origins. Indigenists see in this vestiges of pre-Hispanic ethnic authority. Here we can see this mythology in action. In pre-Hispanic times, the drums or *tynia* were played by women, as they are in this parade.

48. The huacas played a crucial role in the political connection of ethnic groups and the state. Some of these local deities were even transported to the Temple of the Sun.

49. See Tom Zuidema, *La civilisation inca de Cuzco* (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1986).

50. In "New Age Quechua," this term is used to designate an expert who communicates with the beyond (see Chapter 5). In traditional communities, he is generally known as *paqo* or *altomisayoq* depending on his rank.

51. "Imaynas Inti taytayukuq sonqon kashan."

52. "Teqsimuyunpi tiyaq aukikuna! Añaychaykichismi sonqoyta thak nichisqaykichismanta!"

53. "Sinchi! Tayta Inkanchis Pachacuteqpa kamachikusqanta hunt'ay! Qayllanman llaqta taytanchista pusamuy!"

54. "Kuraq wayqe, Qosqo llaqta taytan: taytayku Inkan waqyasunki. Hamuy noqawan, allichu."

55. "Chaypin p'unchawninchiskunapas kausaywan hukllachakun; chaymi kunan noqapas, pachak pachak watakunaq karunchasqanta p'itamuspa, mosqoykipi hina qanpa qayllaykipi rikhurishani."

56. "Tayta Inca Pachakuteq! Kay ancha chaniyoq sumaq kaq saqewasqaykikuta tukuy sonqon qhawasaq hunt'asaqtaqmi niykin."

57. Sacsayhuaman is an Incan site made of huge blocks of granite, but we do not know what tools were used to cut them. This marvelous testimony to Incan architecture is today

an archaeological complex much visited by tourists as well as a favored site for inventing new rites and magic cures.

58. *Anticucho*: brochette of grilled beef heart; *choclo*: boiled corn on the cob.

59. *Runa* is the generic term in Quechua designating "human being." For the speaker, this contrasts with the term *misti*, the Quechua form of *mestizo* designating villagers who speak Spanish, usually landowners.

60. The colonial reducción was the forced regrouping of Indians living in dispersed surroundings into a Hispanic-type village.

61. The Quechua equivalent of the Spanish word *mestizos*; in the Andes, this word designates people of mixed race rather than Indians.

62. In the Inca Empire, the chasqui was a messenger who delivered orders from Cuzco by foot from one end of the empire to the other. Like the "Virgins of the Sun," the high priest and the valorous captain, the heroic chasqui is an important figure in popular Inca imagery.

63. "A ruraqe teqsimuyuntinpin kashanki, mana rikch'akuqniyoq! Qanmi runakunaman ima kasqantapas, kallpantapas qorqanki ; nirqankitaqmi: 'kay qhari kachun,' warmikunatapas 'kay warmi kaachun' nispa; chayta nispataqmi paykunata ruwarqanki, llut'arkipas, ima kaynin-kutapas kay wawaykikunaman qorqanki!" Molina el Cuzqueño's text is in Spanish. C. Molina el Cuzqueño, *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* (Lima: Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú, 1st série, 1916 [1572]), 1:47. This Quechua translation is from a booklet published by the Cuzco City Council.

64. Hergé, *Prisoners of the Sun*.

65. Due to pressure from international organizations, live animals have not been sacrificed for the last few years.

66. For an analysis of this ceremony, see T. Zuidema, "Lieux sacrés et irrigation: Tradition historique, mythes et rituels au Cuzco," *Annales ESC* 33, nos. 5–6 (1978): 1037–55.

67. A banner emphasizes this intervention: "Cuzco, the cradle of Peruvian folklore salutes you, Paucartambo" (Cusco, La provincia del folklore peruano te saluda. Paucartambo).

68. Hergé, *Prisoners of the Sun*.

69. There are very minor errors in *The Prisoners of the Sun*; a llama in the port of Callao, a *chullpa* (tomb from the Aymara culture) in the Cuzco area, a Mochica pottery in an Inca sepulchre.

70. Nathalie Duplan, "Tintin, enfant du NGM." *National Geographic*, August 2001.

71. Herget, "In the Realm of the Sons of the Sun," *National Geographic*73, February 1938.

72. The information in this chapter is taken from César Itier, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*, vol. 1: *Dramas y comedias de Nemesio Zúñiga Cazorla* (Lima: Institut français d'études andines, Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1995), and from Itier, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*, vol. 2: *Indigenismo, lengua y literatura en el Perú moderno* (Lima: Institut français d'études andines, Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2000).

73. The play *Ollanta* (or *Ollantay*), in the best-known version, as there are variants, tells of the love affair between the warrior Ollanta and Cusi Coyllur, one of the daughters of

the Inca Pachacutec. Since marriage is impossible, the suitor leads a rebellion with the Anti armies while the young woman is thrown in prison where she gives birth to a daughter. After Pachacutec's death, his successor, Tupac Yupanqui, pacifies the region thanks to Ollanta's former rival Rumi Nahui, who captures the rebel by betraying him. As he is about to be judged, Ima Sumac, the daughter of Ollanta and Cusi Coyllur, reveals her history and has her mother recognized as the sister of the Inca. Magnanimously, Tupac Yupanqui pardons Ollanta, whom he appoints as ambassador, and recognizes the married couple.

74. *El Sol*, 1913, cited by Itier, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*, 2:36.

75. Ibid., 2:41.

76. *La Prensa*, Lima, February 28, 1917, 5, cited by Itier, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*, 2:41.

77. "En esa evocación de costumbres hay también de nuestra alma primitiva puesto que el imperio de los inkas se extendió desde el Perú, Ecuador y Bolivia hasta regiones del N.O. de la Argentina, donde aún prevalecen vestigios de sus costumbres." *La Unión*, November 20, 1923, in Luis Valcárcel, ed., *Inkánida: Publicaciones nacionalistas. La misión Peruana de Arte Inkaico en Bolivia, República Argentina i el Uruguay (octubre 1923–enero 1925)*, vol. 2: *Cuzco, Tipografía "Cuzco"* (1925), 214 (cited by Itier, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*, 2:77).

78. See this program in L. Valcárcel, *La misión peruana de Arte Inkaico en Bolivia, República Argentina y el Uruguay* (Cusco, 1924), 126.

79. Itier, *El teatro quechua en el Cuzco*, 2:50.

80. The charango is a mandolin with five double strings, the body of which is the shell of an armadillo.

81. "La "Hora del Charango" fue una verdadera cátedra de cusqueñismo echada a los cuatro vientos" "Desde esa tribuna del pensamiento cusqueño, predicaron el ideario cusqueñista." "La Hora del Charango tuvo el mérito de haberse convertido en fiesta espiritual del cuzqueñismo." This quotation and the following ones are taken from Manuel Jesús Aparicio Vega, "Humberto Vidal Unda: Siete décadas de cuzqueñismo," in *Cincuenta años de Inti Raymi* (Municipalidad del Qosqo 1994).

82. "También intervinieron intelectuales y artistas de todo género en un intento de peruanización de nuestros sentimientos." Communication from the sister of H. Vidal, in ibid., 136.

83. "Hacia un nuevo arte peruano."

84. "No se trata de agregar un día más al calendario cívico . . . Se trata de mover una verdadera revolución espiritual en los hijos del Cusco en particular y del país en general, con respecto a la significación de nuestra tierra." Aparicio Vega, "Humberto Vidal Unda," 143.

85. The Inca's diadem decorated with feathers.

86. Arturo Warman, *La danza de "Moros y Cristianos."*

87. See Luis Millones, *Actores de altura* (Lima, Editorial Horizonte, 1992); Nathan Wachtel, *La vision des vaincus: Les Indiens du Pérou devant la conquête espagnole* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971).

88. Atahualpa and Huascar were two warring inheritors when the conquistadors arrived in Peru. Manco Capac was the first legendary Inca and founder of the empire.

89. The script of this performance has now disappeared.

90. In Quechua, Apu means "Lord." The divine mountains are addressed in this way in the region.

91. "¡Cusco alza el vuelo como el cóndor!" (Cusco takes its flight like a condor), p. 3; "Los Inkas tuvieron avanzada escritura" (The Inkas had an advanced form of writing), p. 6; "Cusco rememora hoy grandioso Inti Raymi" (Today Cusco remembers the grand Inti Raymi), p. 11; "Inti Raymi símbolo de identidad y confraternidad universal" (Inti Raymi, symbol of universal identity and confraternity), p. 13; "Cusco esencia y síntesis de peruanidad" (Cusco, the essence and synthesis of Peruvianity), p. 15; "En busca de nuestras raíces culturales como identificación nacional" (Seeking our cultural roots as national identification), pp. 16–17; "Cusco eterno como sus piedras que forjan los siglos. Cusco fuente inagotable de sentimiento y conceptos motivadores para toda labor humana" (Cusco as eternal as its stones shaped by the centuries. Cusco, unquenchable source of sentiment and concepts that motivate all human action), p. 18; "Un aporte cultural al mundo: Maíz, grano sagrado" (A cultural gift to the world: Corn, sacred plant), p. 19; "Folklore es expresión del alma Ande peruano" (Folklore is the expression of the soul of the Peruvian Andes), and so forth.

92. José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, vol. 63 (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1954 [1590]).

93. For the history and ethnology of the *Corpus Christi*, see Antoinette Molinié, ed., *Celebrando el cuerpo de Dios* (Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999).

94. Ynca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, ed. Carlos Araníbar (Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991 [1609]).

95. The patron saints are (in order of appearance in the Plaza de Armas) Saint Antony, Saint Jerome, Saint Christopher, Saint Sebastian, Saint Blaise, Saint James, Saint Barbara, Saint Anne, Saint Peter, Saint Joseph, the Virgin of the Nativity of Almudena, the Virgin of Remedies, the Purified Virgin or Candelaria, the Virgin of Bethlehem, and, finally, the Immaculate Conception (Linda de la Catedral).

96. For a history of Cuzco's *Corpus Christi*, see Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). On the relationship between this celebration and Inca rites, see R. Tom Zuidema, "La fiesta del Inca," in *Celebrando el cuerpo de Dios*, ed. A. Molinié (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999), 191–243.

97. For an analysis of Corpus Christi in Cuzco from a cuzqueñista perspective, see J. Flores Ochoa, *El Cuzco: Resistencia y continuidad* (Cuzco: Editorial Andina, 1990).

98. Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

99. "Evocación litúrgica del Inti Raymi."

100. "*La cuzqueñización del Cuzco*" in Aparicio Vega, "Humberto Vidal Unda," 162.

101. "Hoy lucimos el poncho como escudo heráldico de la nobleza cuzqueña." Ibid., 162.

102. "La consigna desde hoy es: Todo el mundo con ponchos cuzqueños." *El Comercio*, June 4, 1971.

103. "Reviviendo la gran vestimenta de un Gran Imperio." Ibid.

104. Cuzco's Museum of the National University San Antonio Abad was founded in 1848 thanks to donations from private patrons. It was acquired by the University of Cuzco in 1910. It used to be housed in a colonial mansion. For several years now, it has been housed in the magnificent Palacio del Almirante, close to the cathedral.

105. Luís Barreda Murillo, personal communication.

106. Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 186.

107. The caporal is the director of the comparsa.

108. *El Comercio*, June 19, 1971.

109. *El Comercio*, June 30, 1971.

110. Carmen Bernand, *Un Inca platonicien: Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616)* (Paris: Fayard, 2006).

111. Jorge Flores Ochoa, "Mestizos e Incas en el Cuzco," in *500 años de mestizaje en los Andes*, ed. Hirosuyu Tomoeda and Luis Millones, Senri Ethnological Studies, 33 (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1992), 168–82.

112. "La fiesta del Sol de Huánuco Marka se constituirá como un gran encuentro cultural en aras de revalorizar la identidad nacional y el desarrollo de nuestro país y nuestra región. Partiendo desde nuestras propias raíces ancestrales." Númitor Hidalgo, *Huánuco Markha, capital del Chinchaysuyo: Guion de la fiesta del Sol*, miméo, 1997, 12.

113. Ibid., 3.

114. "Nos cupe la responsabilidad de devolver al Pueblo lo que le pertenece, desterrando toda ideología paseista o indigenista a ultranza, porque los hombres de nuestra patria deberán proyectarse con firmeza y aplomo cultural a los nuevos retos del futuro y del nuevo milenio." Ibid.

115. In this region, close to the famous "Great Inca Road" that leads tourists to Machu Picchu, Indians still wear their traditional costumes made up of short ponchos and hats with ribbons to please the foreign walkers whose luggage they transport.

116. Generally speaking, runa women have a more Indian identity than runa men. This is probably because female Indian sexuality is represented as more savage and untameable than that of Indian men.

117. New Age designates a philosophy colored with oriental philosophy and mysticism, which emerged in the twentieth century in the West. Its followers believe themselves to be the "Children of Aquarius." It promotes the quest for universal harmony.

3

Neo-Indian Invention

The lability of the neo-Indian movement, its contradictions, and the fluidity of its contours prevent any attempt at tracing a linear history. Nevertheless, it did not emerge from nowhere, and we should now try to find out how it is part of the evolution of the societies that produce it. In both Mexico and Peru, the same quest for autochthony hounds its representations. When they broke away from the Spanish Crown, the Creole elites of these new republics also distanced the indigenous people they despised from the national representation. However, they could not attribute a figure of autochthony to the descendants of the Spanish invaders either. They therefore required myths to resolve this contradiction and lay the foundations of nationalities. Initially repressed, the Indians made a comeback at the beginning of the twentieth century with the indigenist schools. However, this general pattern takes on very different aspects in Mexico and Peru; the representations of the Indian, although supported by comparable events, at times follow diverging paths. The histories of the neo-Indians of the two nations are as different from one another as the forms taken by this movement. Rather than seeking to highlight common evolutions, we have chosen to examine the origins of each case independently.

The Mexican Precursors

The Movimiento Confederado Restaurador del Anáhuac

Although the dances of the concheros are the flamboyant expression of the popular religiosity of late colonial Mexico, and archaeological sites pick up "vibrations" to regenerate the mind and the body, this overlap is not merely the result of a quirk of history. There is most definitely in the background the invention of a new man, autochthonous, obviously "pure," "authentic," and, moreover, civilized, whose conceptualization dates back to the mid-twentieth century with the Movimiento Confederado Restaurador del Anáhuac (MCRA). The movement itself represents

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the culmination of the imaginary constructions of the Indian in Western art and literature, the only difference being that it develops and is nurtured in situ at sites where the Aztec civilization developed and crumbled. Today's neo-Indian movement is not completely bound up with the MCRA, and many of its followers do not even know its name. Nonetheless, it is impossible to decipher its infinite variants without referring to it.

In some ways, the MCRA is the ideological basis for the mexicanidad movement, both through its structures and the strength of will of one man, Rodolfo Nieva, who served as its leader for several years. The MCRA was founded on March 18, 1959, in a climate of hostility on the part of the media, especially with regard to its "guide."[1] Nieva's trajectory is also interesting in the fact that he transferred his national assertion of the status of criollo, that is, of the descendant of a colonizer of European origin, to mestizo (Spanish-speaking person of European and Indian origin) and eventually *mezclado*,[2] meaning "mixed," a category unknown to the man on the street. His authority remained huge within the movement, which was neither a cult nor a political party and whose influence greatly exceeded its institutional scope. Its members play the role of guardians of the "authentic Mexica traditions"—"Now the face of the Mexica is re-emerging; the face representing all the pre-Cuauhtemoc peoples. Because the face of the Mexica is the Olmec face of the Teotihuacan, the Maya, the Toltec, the Zapotec, the Mixtec and all the pre-Cuauhtemoc ethnic groups. The Mexica is the compression of all the cultures which preceded it."[3] In fact, two trends of the MCRA illustrate very distinct tendencies—one fundamentalist, xenophobic, and anti-clerical; and the other (which has survived the death of its founder) more dynamic and of a millenarian nature. With its shades of mysticism, this is the trend that relies on the concheros to deliver a message. It resounds with the expectations of North American and European followers of mystic tourism.

De la Peña considers the movement to be of a nativist and millenarian type with a major prophetic and esoteric element,[4] to which should be added a populist dimension through the idea of "the establishment of harmonious economic development without the corruption of capitalism,"[5] the dictum being that "the indigenous proletariat of this continent is strong enough to launch itself boldly on its way towards its own national, anti-Imperialist revolution."[6] This agenda reveals the contradiction between nationalistic and continental demands. For the MCRA, the Mexica culture is understood in the narrowest sense of the term, in other words as firmly geographically rooted in central Mesoamerica (the Anáhuac region). This is both a cultural and historical misunderstanding, since during the Aztec era the sphere of influence and the populated colonies extended from one side to the other, and the area now occupied by Nahuatl (and Nahuat) speaking populations covers several states of central

and eastern Mexico. Could this be a case of "Nahua-centric" hyperdiffusionism?[7] It would be more appropriate to qualify this as "Anahua-centric" because of its "linguistic authenticity" given that "the Maya, Zapotec, Mixtec and Otomi languages are 'purer' languages than Spanish which is perceived as a 'mixture of languages.' "[8] According to Odena Güemes, the MCRA is an "ethnicist" movement rather than an ethnic one, insofar as it does not rely on one population (in this instance Amerindian), but an "idealized" ethnic group whose "restoration" it has to guarantee, as we have just seen.

The question of the overt racialism shown by the MCRA is highlighted by biologizing remarks that frequently crop up. An example of this can be seen in the assertion that "The Cuban society is based on different 'genetics' and cannot stand to see the 'mother root' of the Mexicans alienated in its own land."[9] As for the messianic tone, a pivotal date acts as a kind of accelerator in raising awareness of Mexicanity—the discovery of the remains of the last Aztec warrior, Cuauhtemoc (or Kuauhtemoc, as it is written by the mexicanistas) on September 26, 1949. The opening of his tomb heralded his "resurrection" but also, it could be said, his "solarization." August 12, 1990 (the year Naui Tochtli according to the Aztec calendar), saw the celebration of the "heroic defense of our Ue Tenochtitlan by Cuahtemok" on August 12, 1521, with the incantation "ToTonal ye okzepa tlauia!" (Our Sun illuminates us once again!)[10] The discovery of the Cuauhtemoc's remains appears to have "awoken the autochthonous nationalist conscience all over the continent," and for the mexicanistas, it was the harbinger of "our racial, autochthonous and immortal existence" combined with the sign of Guatemala's civil war survivor Rigoberta Menchú being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.[11]

The MCRA outlived its founder, although it has not found a successor as charismatic with a similar cultural and political vision.[12] It is a melting pot in which the philosophical doctrine of Mexicanity was asserted, but a hierarchical executive authority also developed.[13] It is headed by a supreme council called Ue Tlatokan (Supremo Consejo) comprising two members, Ue Tekuhtli (Gran Ejecutor) and Ue Ziuakuaitl (Gran Administrador) in addition to the Ue-Tekuh-Paleui (Sub Ejecutor). This apparatus of command led a series of calpulli in Mexico City and the surrounding area.[14] There were ten of them, and some were poultry or fish-production cooperatives or systems of economic mutual aid or even cultural promotion organized around a calmecac (a college for the elite in Aztec society). But these endeavors were doomed to fail, and another structure created by the movement's governing board by the name of *cempoualtin* (meaning "score" or "around twenty") soon ceased to exist. For a while, members of the MCRA, under the direction of a Tekuhtli of the "Peasant Sector" distributed fruit trees as is done by the Otomi of Mezquititlan. The

peasants had to group together in calpulli with an executive board of seven people (the "basic structure of the Anahuac peoples") and ensure the development of their heritage through mutual aid, in cooperatives, or through social work at the service of the community.[15] The Instituto de Cultura de Anauak (Anauaka Nemilil Nechikooi) has managed to survive, however, and continues to spread the movement's messages. Odena Güemes shows how the entire apparatus was to work for the Partido de la Mexicanidad, meant to launch Nieva's political career in view of winning the presidency of the Republic, and how, under the cover of a movement for cultural actions, a genuine political program was constructed. Internal disagreements led to the introduction of the term "culture" into the party's name in order better to establish its project. From "Restaurador del Anáhuac," it eventually became "Restaurador de la Cultura del Anáhuac." The movement's experts included codex decipherers, prophets, and "native priests." Among other activities, the Apaz-Uilmiztli baptism was celebrated, either publicly or privately, during which a name from the ceremonial Mexica calendar was given, which sealed one's joining the movement. The celebration known as Izkal-Ichpotzintli, or "Celebration of the Young Woman of the Spring," involved floral offerings, dancing, and a singing contest with prizes awarded. The Anauaka Yankuik Xiuitlor "Anahuac New Year" from the Mexica calendar, was also celebrated. These were all events related either to key moments of the cycle of life or the succession of the seasons.

The movement's organization chart underlines the way in which, in the minds of those that designed it, the Mexicayotl, the new Mexicanity, was supposed to promote a genuine political party on the institutional stage. This is the haziest, most mysterious aspect of its history, which emphasizes just how difficult it is to assess its real audience. There are no credible figures to assess the number of its activists. Internal disagreements and the very subversive nature of its anticapitalist and anti-imperialist message go some way to explaining the decline that occurred as it moved from a radical but institutionalized form to a far less violent, depoliticized form. This failure sheds light on the way in which, throughout its history, the MCRA has been continually torn between these two doctrinal currents, one violent, racist, and sectarian and the other pacifist, ecumenical, and pan-American. To begin with, it used the directional diagram with the calpulli as a basis within the framework of an association-type mode of functioning. However, we do not have any accounts to know whether or not these calpulli really functioned as units at the service of the Partido de la Mexicanidad or whether its members also joined other, official political parties (as was authorized by the movement's statutes). It seems that this virtual organization was essentially used to define the movement with regard to "foreign policy," as expressed in large international congresses to which it was invited. Although the

"cultural" branch eventually stifled the militant fringe, it is striking to note that the MCRA quickly retreated into a dogmatic "Anahuacentrism,"[16] which ruined any chance it may have had to attract the "Indian minorities" of the central high plateau and surrounding areas, especially the Otomi, some communities of which have now joined the suburbs to the Northwest of the capital. In fact, the MCRA entirely reconstructed the history of the region from a Nahuatl-speaking angle, which, surprisingly, found resonance with the theories now defended by academic historians such as Enrique Florescano, building on the hypothesis that the Teotihuacan populations were mainly Nahuatl speaking.

The MCRA's odyssey shows the extent to which, in the Mexico of the first half of the twentieth century, it was difficult for a movement of ideas to find sufficient political space, hemmed in by the Institutional Revolutionary Party, which controlled all of the state apparatus both institutionally and ideologically and which monopolized for its own benefit a national history that was revised and corrected by including its Indian foundations, while still making use of "revolutionary" phraseology. The MCRA's extreme xenophobia clashed with its inability to expel entirely the mixed-race aspect of the middle-class population, who might have supported it, hence the recurrence of patriotic diatribes on the theme of "The motherland is in danger" because it risks "annihilation under the blows of the imperialist apparatus of the Judaic Anglo-Saxons allied to the political clergy and hispanism," although "the Mexican subconscious forbids us from spilling blood needlessly"[17] or "The social explosion is heralded by Yankee computers but the Mexican people must resist and the government must break off its diplomatic relations with the United States."[18]

With hindsight, we may wonder about the audience of a philosophy that tramples official historiography with such insouciance—and not only the history of pre-Hispanic societies—by inventing an extremely watered-down version of the Aztecs' imperialist ideology and transforming their theological/bureaucratic institutional system into a society of equals and "brothers," not to mention the diffusionist theories about the movement of people and ideas in the world during the pre-Hispanic era, as well as transatlantic theories showcasing the Egypt of the Pharaohs or the civilization of Atlantis.[19] The embarrassed silence of the academic world regarding such theories is in stark contrast to the garrulous exuberance of the religious heresies that thrive on Mexican soil. At the crossroads of all forms of religious hybridization, whether they are of Pentecostal, Shamanic or other tendencies, Mexicanist ideology (whose institutional apparatus has crumbled over recent decades) found a solution through an ideological "entryism" in alternative forms of therapy and metaphysics tinged with New Age notions.

There is no doubt that the MCRA is a political movement insofar as its cosmological messages are refracted in anticolonialist positions and proposals to combat poverty, corruption, and social inequality combined with the aim of making pan-Indian alliances, added to which are reflections on "ethnic" character. Imperialism is thus rejected as it signifies "the extermination of the human race through a lack of love."[20] "Our culture, although Western, has its foundations in the collective subconscious and unconscious with deep indigenist and pre-Cortesian (*prekuauhtemotzinas*) roots, and it is totally counterproductive to give ethical value to something that does not have this (Cortés)."[21] The failure of the attempt to gain access to political power, that is, to the presidency, and the movement's dormancy tend to show that it is its ideas more than anything else that provide fertile ground for isolated and informal groups. For Odena Güemes, this is middle-class nationalism exploiting the idea of nation in order to make it coincide with the idea of race,[22] which is a characteristic shared by nativist movements and sometimes millenarian groups too. Above all, the idea of nation resembles an unstable marker that one can slide along a cursor to encounter the most established and rigid institutional variants of political demands through to the most militant forms of social reform, not to mention the fact that historically (during the colonial era) the term "nation" meant the ethnic groupings of tribes, which were more or less confederated. The posterity of the MCRA is not to be found with the Indian peasantries, where its message has never really managed to take root, but instead with a cosmopolitan international socialism receptive to its esoteric discourse rather than its social and political demands. We are thus witnessing a decontamination, a deactivation of the MCRA on a national political level, creating a cultural spearhead of a new pan-American religion. It would appear that the MCRA has never freed itself from its own contradictions, which are those of Mexican society, from the working classes to the elite—the contradiction of an unfailing assertion of a dubious nationalism. This nationalism tears itself apart with its dual tropism of a boundless admiration for the technology and culture of Western, North American and European societies, and an absolute incapacity to grant true citizenship to the Indians and put an end to their state of permanent poverty. Genuine empathy with the Indians implies admiration for the works of their civilization, albeit in a sanitized form within the sterile framework of anthropology museums. The underlying "Indophobia" combined with horror of a primitive lifestyle marked by violence and despair, when not expressed violently, appears as the miserable awareness of anthropological circles. The MCRA is no exception. The time has not yet come for its liberating and laudatory message to blend into native cosmologies and ontologies that have a totally different rapport with autochthony, space and time, ancestors and the internal and external. Odena Güemes adds that during the first half of the twentieth century, middle-class Mexican nationalism

was obsessed with the idea of racial degeneration, not only as induced by the presence of immigrant, Jewish, *húngaros* (Hungarians),[23] black and Chinese populations, but also the degeneration peculiar to the Indians, who were advised to avoid unions with regressive races and to encourage their "whitening" and "improvement."[24] Anti-Semitism is also a leitmotif running through the MCRA's ideology, generally as a kind of amalgam, starting with the Spanish: "They drove the Jews out of Spain but allowed them to settle in Ixachillan" (i.e., on American soil).[25] Usually they are considered as the driving force of a duality, the "*anglosajones-judaicos* whose action is obvious in major events of international politics: "What has been accomplished by the Jewish Anglo-Saxons to justify their genocide in Iraq leaves us speechless, but our hands are not tied [and we will strive] to recover our Mexican territory and our political and economic freedom."[26] If we consider a prestigious character of Mexican history, one may note that anti-Semitism seems to be the "dark face" of José Vasconcelos's late works, in particular through a review in *Timón* that spread some assumptions of national socialism in Mexico during World War II, according to Itzahk Bar-Lewaw.[27] Furthermore, as mentioned by José Jorge Gómez Izquierdo, the nationalism of Vasconcelos was supposed to expand to reach a continental dimension, promoting the "Catholic and Spanish identity of Iberoamérica" (Gómez Izquierdo, 2005: 167). In the same way, the effects of the Free Trade Agreement with the United States and Canada give rise to violent diatribes—the treaty acknowledges the "alliance between Mexico's traditional enemies: the *hispanidad*, with the political clergy and now the country's exploiters, the Anglo-Saxon Jews, to exploit nonrenewable resources."[28] If we look back over history, we find the same thing in the mexicanista perception of the Conquest: "In 1492, the Spanish [*gachupines*] here in Ixachillan, now known as America, then allowed the Anglo-Saxons to enter with their perverse intelligence and in the footsteps of the school of crime established by Spain, which led to Ixachillan's being a victim of an invasion by a pirate Mafia."[29]

The failure of the MCRA is the failure of society as a whole to assimilate and integrate its pre-Hispanic heritage into the modern-day world. It thus finds itself in an intellectual deadlock, suffering from a kind of schizophrenia that freezes current social reality by obscuring the marginal yet turbulent role of Indian communities in the country and fixating on the past. The MCRA has retreated into the unsolvable contradictions of Mexican society that it reveals, and can only conceive of its autochthony by reinterpreting the national history, interrupted at a given moment of its course. In spite of the particularisms of the history of state nationalism in the country, the MCRA's bible has merged smoothly into New Age ideology and its American substitutes. This is also why these ideas have managed to find an unexpected resonance, a saving grace to the delusions of the new activists of the religions of salvation.

There is here a "therapeutic" dimension to the movement that cannot be ignored, the expression of "the physical and moral suffering of the Mexican people" (which can be seen in connection with that of the Cuban people caused by the American boycott), which underscores the "pathological psychic state" of having denigrated its own culture with regard to foreign cultures.[30]

We are well aware that numerous questions remain in the shadows. What is the sociological basis of such a movement? From which social strata do its intellectual leaders originate? Which public does it address? Which echoes of economic tensions are reflected in this political ideology, a veritable myth in Claude Lévi-Strauss's sense? Are there class alliances (to borrow the Marxist terminology still in vogue in Mexico) with social protest movements, not only with peasant movements but also with the amorphous grouping of the Zapatista movement in Chiapas?[31] It is important to put things in perspective and make the distinction between the MCRA and the unorganized forms of ritualization that make up "mystic tourism." For the first, one needs to look back to the Mexican Revolution and the modes of expression of state nationalism. As Odena Güemes observes, this conservative nationalism is distinct from the truly revolutionary forms that advocate social transformation. In addition, nationalism as it is practiced by the middle classes is divided into two parts—one part emphasizes its Hispanic, Western heritage and the other looks back to its indigenous past.[32] The Columbus/Cortés/Iturbide series is opposed to the one composed of Cuauhtemoc, Cuitlahuac, and Benito Juárez, the first Indian president of the Mexican Republic. Only from a historical perspective can one clear up some of the contradictions that weigh upon the MCRA. Over the last few decades we have witnessed its mutation into an ethnicized movement with a whiff of eugenics attached to the primacy of the Aztec race, turning its back on messianism, which led to its deactivation, becoming a simple pressure group with a cultural vocation.

This opens up a whole debate about the idea of revolution in Mexico in the twentieth century, which was commandeered by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional, the dominant and extremely conservative party, and which became bound up in the state's ideological apparatus, securing the prosperity of a wheeling and dealing elite. Following Cardoso de Oliveira, Odena Güemes opts to oppose the ethnic identity (to designate the mode of self- representation of a group) and the ethnic ideology of the MCRA, which favors an ethnocentric mode of representation. "We find ourselves faced with a case of ontogeny in which we seek and fashion the Mexica identity and we also find ourselves faced with a case of ethnicity by virtue of which the ethnic ideology (the conception of self) and the ethnic identity (Mexica) constitute the movement's support base."[33] Odena Güemes suggests escaping from this impasse by imputing the MCRA with "ethnicist leanings" to differentiate it from the tendencies

of Indian communities in the strictest sense. This suggestion, as seductive as it may be, is not totally satisfactory, since it is founded solely upon the explicit, declarative aspects of the definition of the self. The contrast between the MCRA and the Indian communities lies not only in the fact that they are two totally distinct segments of national society—it is also due to the fact that, for the neo-Indians, the "ethnic" criterion reflects a fantasy construction of history whereas for "authentic" Indians, it can only be reconstructed a posteriori after the painstaking deciphering of what constitutes a worldview in an autochthonous society—its conception of time and space and its notion of the person. The history of Mesoamerican Indian thought does not require a favored channel of expression and, as we have already pointed out, always relates to the community and the ancestors without passing through "ethnic" or supraregional constructions.

Mother Earth versus Coatlicue

In the end, the MCRA's strength is not due to the impressive hierarchical construction invented by those who devised it, based on the imaginary calpulli headed by a supreme council—the fragility of a political project such as this cannot help but make one think of the Aztec Empire defeated by the Spanish. It lies instead in the evocative power of cult images from which the militants feed on references at the very source of Mexico's deepest popular religion. One central figure overshadows all the others—Mother Earth, nostalgia for whom stretches over centuries, from the terrifying Aztec Coatlicue and her skirt of snakes to the consoling image of the Virgin of Guadalupe.[34] Support for the mexicanidad dogma naturally slips into this tangled web of symbols and powerful images without necessarily going through membership of the institutional apparatus of the MCRA. This is precisely what gives the movement its status of living memory and the archives of neotradition. A look at maternal fate in these new mythologies of ancient and modern Mesoamerica will convince us of its importance in the neo-Indian galaxy.

It is well known that the figure of Mother Earth inhabits a great number of cosmologies in the Americas. Although she is practically absent from the worldviews of the fishing societies on Canada's northwest coast (Kwakiutl, Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit, among others), she is nevertheless evoked in a discreet way in the Amazonian forest in the societies of former hunters (the Plains Indians) and in a more marked way in settled agricultural societies (especially in Mesoamerica). If we look at the Andean highlands, her presence becomes particularly overwhelming with the formidable Pachamama.[35] The recurring themes in different local versions of stories describing the figure of Mother Earth have been attracting the attention

of historians and anthropologists for a long time. This involves an entire complex of ideas concerning death, rebirth, fertility and the origins of time, borne by deities whose attributes, status, and position in the cosmological arena vary considerably from one society to another.

In Mexico, the neo-Indian version of Mother Earth is transformed beyond recognition, not only because several distinct deities worshipped in the pre-Hispanic era are combined under this one name, but also because she has been reconstructed in a pure form, decontaminated from the impurities of the colonial tradition and Christianization in order to restore her "authenticity." From the outset, this raises a question that has led to heated debate and controversy—the question of human sacrifices. Here we need to take up the thread of indigenous logic in the Mesoamerican world. According to pre-Cortesian tradition that resisted Westernization, the Earth is a primordial entity that requires feeding at regular intervals. She demands ritual offerings without which she cannot guarantee the survival of the human race. A great many communities interrelate the impoverishment of the soil and a lack of "belief" or "custom." What the Earth demands is "strong" nourishment offered to her in a "sacrificial" way. The human body is very specifically the vector of this operation. Since the pre-Hispanic era, local mythologies emphasized the poignant fate of the Sun, who, every evening, is swallowed up in the West by the earthly deity before making a subterranean journey to reemerge, regenerated and metamorphosed, in the East. This "sacrificial" notion is a truly integral part of the primitive philosophy of the ancient Mexicans and their descendants. Although, with the Conquest and colonization, the practice of human sacrifices disappeared from the ritual horizon of native societies, the concept itself has in some ways survived and has been updated in the hybrid forms of religion and made more acceptable in the eyes of the dominant society. However, in the circle of influence of neo-Indian trends, a version is becoming established that is not only "revisionist" but resolutely "negationist" of human sacrifice, an unquestionable historical reality.[36] One of the most striking advocates of this trend is Peter Hassler. He is the author of *Menschenopfer bei den Azteken?: Eine quellen- und ideologiekritische Studie* (1992), a summarized version of which he presented in two articles of the journal *Ce-Acatl* entitled "Sacrificios humanos entre los Mexicas y otros pueblos indios: ¿Realidad o fantasía?,"[37] as well as in various journals and periodicals. Drawing on both indigenous iconography and the writings of chroniclers, the author confirms the absence of critical analysis of the sources on the part of Western historians and anthropologists, who, he claims, confused symbolic representations of death with ritualistic murder. Doña Eulalia Guzmán (who discovered Cuauhtemoc's remains) had also developed this theory according to which the idea of pre-Hispanic human sacrifices was nothing but the "calumny of the invad-

ers."[38] Hassler writes, " 'The phenomenon is not the supposed human sacrifice in itself but the deeply rooted belief that they occurred and were carried out daily by the Mexicans and other Indian peoples, including by opposing all the contradictions of the sources."[39] Hassler's theory is, unsurprisingly, wholeheartedly rejected by specialists in ancient and modern Mesoamerican religions. It is interesting to note that the author has conveniently found an avid readership among the neo-Indian trend. With the authority bestowed upon him by the title of Doctor of the University of Zurich and his references to German historical science methods, Hassler brings academic pseudosupport to the debate reopened by neo-Indians who are trying to reformulate pre-Hispanic history from an "ecologist" perspective, divested of violence that they attribute to the West alone.

Indirectly, as it were, after this detour via the question of human sacrifice, the conception of Mother Earth the neo-Indians now offer to the public is that of an entity deprived of its terrifying, castrating, and "thanatogenic" attributes in order to reconcile it with an image of a benevolent, fostering mother, conveyed by both the North American beliefs of Indian movements and the most recent version of European environmentalism. It is surprising to find accounts of this sanitized conception of Mother Earth in the journal *Ce-Acatl* in articles such as the one entitled "Tlaltzin tochantzinko zan in yuh ziwatl" (The Earth, our home, is like a woman). Extending the feminine metaphor, she is attributed with a life cycle that moves through phases of immaturity, productivity, and depletion.[40] There is no sign of the deadly image of Tlaltecuhtli, "The Lord of the Earth" in his Aztec variant that was based on Cipactli, an Ophidian monster and the world's base, as described in the mythologies of the ancient Mexicans, or Coatlicue, the cannibal version of Mother Earth—neither is any mention made of the warrior aspects, passed on by the Northern Nahua, of a monstrous being with jaws wide open, receiving the setting of the Sun and the blood of sacrifice. Although Coatlicue represents a strong image of mother goddesses, like the parturient of Huitzilopochtli, she nevertheless has a certain number of traits in common with other entities such as Teteoinan, the "Mother of the Gods," Tonantzin, "our revered Mother," and Toci, "our Grandmother," the mate of Tota, the old god of Fire.

She also appears as a variant of the Earth deity in an eroticized version of the Huastecan Tlazolteotl, "Goddess of Filth," combining lunar and chthonic traits with vegetation and weaving. A mother, she is also marked by lust and presides over the confession of sins. She is at the heart of the polytheistic system of the Otomi, for example, as a sort of canopy of subterranean, infracorporal forces governed by the Devil. Curiously, however, these latter traits do not appear in the current depiction of the neo-Indian version of Mother Earth. Tlazolteotl represents an atypical if not subversive form of the "civilized" variant the neo-Indians present in their rituals. By

cross-referencing information gathered from observing rituals such as the spring equinox ritual and literature in the form of tracts, posters and self-published books, we see emerging a composite image of Mother Earth that has been cleansed of both the sensual and predatory aspects she possessed in pre-Hispanic times.

Interethnic meetings have been multiplying for over a decade, mainly with tribes from the United States and Canada invited to participate in big events celebrating the birth of the new Tenochtitlan such as the "Fifth Centenary of the Meeting of the Two Worlds." Sometimes regional shrines welcome groups invited to engage in private prayer and accompany local delegations with their prayers. For these delegations, Mother Earth has become one of the central images of these new ecumenical devotions. Indeed, the explicitly federative discourse of Mexican leaders planning a "meeting of calpulli from all over the world" has led to the harnessing of a global, unifying image of all of the original forces represented by Mother Earth. From beneath the faded finery of a religion that, only a few decades ago, seemed doomed to be fossilized in history books, we are witnessing the emergence of a new message involving hermeneutics of an unexpected and paradoxical kind. The protagonists of this affair are also accomplished exegetes who constantly rework and refine the concepts of the new religion. Indeed, observing the neo-Indians' rituals, it is clear that a huge effort is being made to educate both those within the movement and those outside it, aimed at the actors themselves and the audience, to comment on the approach of the masters of ceremonies, as if the discourse had a genuine performative scope. Because of the detailed explanations, the audience is, in a way, in a position to follow the ritual as it is being constructed. The exegetes act and entertain themselves by manipulating symbols in every direction. At the heart of these experiments, the new image of Mother Earth is being forged, with reference to sacred texts—the writings of indigenous scholiasts, history books revised and corrected, and the work of anthropologists and scholars as well as texts distributed by countless freelance authors. In this multidirectional field it coincides with the pan-American tenet, the dominant figure of which is Mother Earth. This hermeneutic logorrhea is akin to a constant obsession, tirelessly attempting to connect the past with the present and supplying a version of "pre-Hispanic religion" that is acceptable to the middle and working classes, a message taking us back to the indigenous golden age.

One of the dominant characteristics of this new mythological figure is now its lack of territorial anchorage. In contrast to traditional indigenous constructions, which constantly strive to localize and individualize the figures of their pantheon, this is an approach of a totally different nature, redistributing cultural characteristics over a vast area, an imaginary America without any political or cultural borders. What those devising the new religion of Mother Earth are looking for is the widest possible

dissemination through direct contact with the public as well as through countless publications, mimeographed texts, photocopies, and heterogeneous assemblages of documents taken from historical and anthropological literature. Next to established authors such as López Austin and Miguel León Portilla figure a great number of essayists and writers (often self-published) whose theories, as we have seen, are totally incompatible with academic history.

The key element of Mother Earth emphasized by the neo-Indians is respect for nature and life, which is supposed to have been the creed of the Aztec peoples—an idea that seems to be completely irreconcilable with a bloodthirsty people who, moreover, practiced cannibalism.[41] This touches upon a key element of the neo-Indian doctrine that has significant consequences. This reformulation of the concept of Mother Earth leads to a kind of tactical and political alliance with the ecologist philosophies of the American Southwest. Paradoxically, whereas in the United States both facets of the Indian are cultivated—the rebel of the plains, the resistance of Wounded Knee, and the hidden and alternative facet of the pacifist Pueblo—neo-Indians appear to focus only on the "civilized" aspect of the chthonic entity, the expression of nature respected. Indeed, this reformulation of the Aztec cosmovisión involves a huge amount of work revising and "decontaminating" it of all its violent aspects in order to preserve a doctrinal purity it never actually had. This undertaking is directly linked to the current fabrication process of neo-Indian ideology. It reveals a crucial preoccupation from the point of view of urban ecology in the Federal District, where the level of air pollution has been exceeding accepted standards for a long time. Neo-Indian priests unfailingly evoke this contamination in their prayers.

The concept all neo-Indians refer to is "cosmic energy." It makes up the core of their entire philosophy at the same time as it expresses the closest connection with the Aztec world, putting relationships between different planes of space in symbiosis, and above all giving Man a crucial role in managing the universe. Because of this, the very idea of Mother Earth is negotiated under a dual aspect: Vertically, the vision is as bedrock or foundation of the human world, where humans take root, from where they emerge and where they return. Horizontally, the cardinal vision of space is used as the basis for the representation of an oriented world whose central point has an "umbilical" role that indigenous religions still translate today. This affirms the existence of a "center" beneath our feet, the Aztec capital, which can be seen very clearly in the equinox rituals. The new vision of Mother Earth is a clear illustration of the force of this committed conception of History based on the continual exploitation of an imaginary past and a fragmented vision of time.

This terrestrial aspect of Mother Earth found an echo in the spectacular eruption of Popocatepetl that lasted for several days at the beginning of March 1996. The thick

smoke rising from the volcano rekindled communities' fears in the valley of Mexico. Many beliefs still circulate today about the volcano, which is the object of much anthropomorphization, including among local mestizo populations, as we were able to observe. A shamanic pilgrimage was even organized to the foot of the mountain by Nahua populations from the piedmont plains to anticipate the volcano's explosion. By pure coincidence, the phenomenon occurred while the big spring equinox rituals were being prepared. Thus ideas overlapped about a tectonic equilibrium, the echo of which appears in popular religion with the widely expressed fear of floods and earthquakes (the memory remains fresh of the earthquake in Mexico City in 1985, which claimed more than 2,000 lives). This fear is also widely expressed by the neo-Indians. There is no real solution of continuity between the two, since in Mexico, the Earth has always been the object of a specific sacralization, and this has remained an underlying belief in the religion of the metropolitan populations. The major natural disasters of recent years have only heightened the fear of the dysfunctional relationship between Man and Mother Earth. However, other figures from indigenous pantheons are linked to this entity. Mother Earth is an ontologically defined substance, a space that encompasses contents, that is, the ancestors, the dead who are said to intervene in the destinies of the living. Every year they emerge from her entrails to receive endless oblations of food during the exuberant Todos Santos, the Day of the Dead, magnificently celebrated in the Zócalo itself. Countless minor deities are also involved, especially the deities of vegetation. The most surprising thing about the event is the neo-Indian "entryism" into these devotions, fundamentally autochthonous and from "deepest Mexico," which bear little relation to the "Edenized" stereotype mentioned earlier. The neo-Indians have not entirely managed to evacuate the violent and destructive aspect of Mother Earth's close connection with death. The thanatogenic dimension of the Earth therefore remains doubly marked, as a "cannibal" trait and as the repository of the deceased, in their turn ancestralized.[42] The archipelago of neo-Indianity has produced from this an intergenerational matrix that transcends national cultural differences, sacrificed to constantly re-create the living and to receive to its breast all the children of the pan-American New Age.

Neo-Indian Writing

In order to fully understand the status of neo-Indian figureheads such as Mother Earth it is necessary to study the texts that fuel the ideological tenets of the Mexica priests in the Zócalo or at the top of the pyramids. A great number of Mexicanista organizations and groups are supported by a press that translates the principles and tendencies of their inspiration. First and foremost is Izkalotl, the periodical we have

already mentioned several times. *Resurgimiento del Anauak*, the official paper of the Movimiento Confederado Restaurador de la Cultura de *Anauak*, promotes the Movimiento Autoctonista de América. Its editor, along with its editor-in-chief, head of circulation, and head of administration precede their first name and surname with a Nahuatl name. Since it was established, the paper's logo is merged with a map covering the Southwest of the United States, Mexico, and Central America up to Panama. If one looks at previous issues, one can see that their construction and layout use a collage technique, juxtaposing articles that recurrently address the same topics—cosmological notes on the Aztec religion, celebrating the founding events of neo-Indian cults (the discovery of Cuauhtemoc's tomb), the history of the mexicanista movement, and the denunciation of the policy of "Anglo-Saxon Judaic Imperialism." The deaths of contributors (often those who contribute only occasionally) give rise to passionate obituaries in which death is seen as a "transmutation" or "return to nature."[43] By soliciting an entire series of symbols and making persistent reference to both moral values and flamboyant aesthetics, the authors try to persuade the reader that the Aztec culture is the only crucible of which this new philosophy can be part, ignoring every other Amerindian culture in the country. This tradition, whose transmission is encouraged by a "racially pure" group, is alleged to be the spearhead of the future Mexican society. A place—the Anauak (in other words, the valley of Mexico) is to become the center of a civilization area, extending to Spanish-speaking North America and Central America. Along the way, we can observe the reference to a kind of implicit evolutionism that denounces the serious blow to the Anahuac civilization's development at the time of contact with the West, development that will be revived to reach a higher stage than other civilizations (especially by promoting astronomical knowledge). The idea of a "millennium" is constantly linked to a commitment (which is not merely political) to combat foreign exploitation. As in all other revivalist movements, Mother Earth plays a crucial role—here, she is the "laboratory of the universe." This attachment to the soil, on a religious level, obviously has nationalist overtones. In fact, the reference to mexicanidad reveals an ambiguity due to the use of contemporary Spanish, since mexicanos are also *anahuacanos* (i.e., hypothetically just as much people of indigenous ancestry living in the Anahuac as citizens of Mexican nationality)—an ambiguity that crops up regularly in the journal. This notion of the homeland is in keeping with standard usage of political sociology, but at the same time it is also merged with that of Heimat—the "indigenous motherland," so to speak—either local or, on the contrary, in a wider sense—the motherland of a Spanish-speaking cultural space to the North of Panama. This is a liberating movement on a confederal basis, destined to expel the "mental" colonial part of Mexicans and retain the "racial" base, thus enabling nothing less than a "restoration of the

Anauak" and an erasing of four centuries of colonization. Curiously, the originality of this program of Cyclopean dimensions is that it is not part of a violent project to transform society, even if it intends to pursue the work of liberation movements. Its electoral creed implies that a subtle play of relations between revivalist movements and the Mexican authorities moderates liberating tendencies when they are not led by the party in power itself, the Institutional Revolutionary Party.

The journal *Ce Acatl: Revista de la Cultura de Anáhuac* best popularizes the theories of the mexicanidad. Its cover imitates the look of indigenous paper known as *amate*.[44] Unlike *Izkalotl*, *Ce Acatl* is a journal that benefits from distribution in the most prestigious bookstores in the capital, and is aimed less at a working-class audience. However, the journals have characteristics in common, in particular the cult of Mother Earth at the heart of a kind of primitive philosophy, and an obsession with calendars considered as remarkable accounts of the progress of Mexica civilization as well as instruments of divination. Also remarkable is the ideological commitment, with information on political and legal aspects of the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas. As one of the actors in the equinox ritual in the Zócalo told us, what we call Tezcatlipoca is not the simple figure from the Aztec pantheon but "the energy circulating between us when we hold hands." These concerns show a point of convergence between the various movements with ecologist leanings emerging in Mexico City today. It is no accident that comments about air pollution are made when describing the virtues of the Anahuaca cosmic dance, as this is a highly sensitive topic in the valley of Mexico at the turn of the millennium.

Themes are thus being established that make a connection between an area, a history, and current preoccupations in terms of the land management of a megalopolis with over 20 million inhabitants. The Mexicayotl's discourse remains deliberately vague because this allows it to bring together extremely contradictory interests. The cosmic dimension of the discussion, the reference to the "ometeotic" and Aztec duality are a sort of yin and yang, allowing all the social as well as psychic, individual, and collective events to be put into a global framework. This sort of holism is both the strength and the weakness of revivalist movements, which are still in their ascending phase and bolstered by their Aztecized baggage and which are attempting to invent a proper Mexican philosophy. Their ideology is not merely an attempt to restore the Anáhuac, but an endeavor to "decontaminate the world" in the literal sense of the word, by eradicating the noxious pollution left by the colonizers almost 500 years ago, hence the strong eugenicist tone noted earlier. We should also emphasize a permanent feature already noted, namely, that these ideological constructions based on the image of Mexican Indians, despite their Anáhuac bias, also have a continental goal. In its preoccupation with Mother Earth, we can recognize one of the powerful watch-

words of Indian Power with its own, equivalent Mother Earth (for North America), which the Andean Pachamama is beginning to echo.

The quest for identity is based on this paradox—shared by all pan-American revivalist movements—which consists of using the local for inspiration in order to universalize its message, particularizing topics taken up by the major indigenist movements. Mexico City is the nerve center of this Anahuacized, central driving force, where the Mexicayotl is based on the site where it was at its zenith before the arrival of the Spanish. This is used as a reference to establish the notion of a new homeland, including territories beyond the U.S. border—the ancient Aztlan. The territorial base of the Aztlan movement is the area that the Aztecs used to occupy according to their myth of origins, at the time when they were only hunter-gatherers. It is, therefore, the savage, primitive Indian that is the Mexicayotl's second center of reference when it attempts to justify the claim of territorial continuity. The image of the imperial Indian is therefore literally superimposed onto that of the primitive Indian, with no separation whatsoever, shrugging off layers of intermediate phases of central Mexico's history. Today's Aztlan—as it appears in the literature—is not, therefore, confined to recalling the period of its origins before the metropolitan civilization of Mesoamerica. In the journal *Ce Acatl*, there are also articles on speculative philosophy by scholars from Tenochtitlan and the opening of new calmecac. Just as the Mexica drew upon the collateral traditions of the societies that preceded them (especially the Toltecs),[45] the Aztlan movement is now nourished by this metropolitan past. We are, then, witnessing a strange center/periphery dialectic between Aztlan (i.e., California and its neighboring states) and the new Tenochtitlan, with the two sources of the new Mexican identity mutually feeding each other. Through a pendulum effect, the "Mesoamericanization" process of the northern border follows on from the "Chichimequization" of central Mexico.[46] Here, once again, it is important to understand how this ideological complex is part of a wider approach that goes beyond the indigenist movements themselves. It concerns the still fairly discreet way in which the State is trying to define the ins and outs of a proselyte millenarianism that could make Mexico a central part of the geopolitical strategies we currently see emerging in Indian nations on a continental scale. Evo Morales's election as president of the Republic in Bolivia at the end of 2005 is a striking illustration.

The Past of an Illusion: The Neo-Indians' Stranglehold on Aztec History

Antonio Gomora Xoconoxtle is an influential figure we are no stranger to. He is an adroit priest of neo-Indianity for export, who, at Vienna's Museum für Völkerkunde, continues to demand the return of Moctezuma's headdress to the Indian people

and who has become, in the process, "an icon of militant and radical Mexicanity on the European continent."[47] There is nothing surprising about the fact that a former guide at Mexico City's National Museum of Anthropology has turned into one of the most vocal propagandists of neo-Indianity. This media-hyped and rowdy intrusion in the cathedrals of culture of our ethnic museums begs the question of who the true protagonists of the history of native societies really are—ethnologists, historians, or Indians? Which ethnohistory is really involved when these contradictory desires intersect?

In Mesoamerica, academic research combines a secular interest in a Western-type, global, institutional history with an interest in the microhistory of events, using different conceptual tools. As for Mexicanist ethnohistory in the strictest sense, one of its striking characteristics is that it is being led, to some extent, by anthropologists who originate from the group under investigation, as is the case for the Nahua by Luis Reyes or Alfredo Ramírez, the specialist in ancient codices, including the Lienzo de Totomixtlahuaca from Guerrero, a pictographic manuscript that is yet to be deciphered. Anthropologists have seldom questioned indigenous conceptions of History, referring exclusively to the summary of their cosmogonies, all of which recall a primitive era, an Urzeit before the Flood—a common theme throughout Mesoamerica. In their conception of the temporal distance between the dawn of the world and modern times, Indians had no notion of the historicity of man, as though, in keeping with myth, once created, Man was fossilized in an Edenic kind of life, a static universe, undisturbed until the twentieth century.

The spectacular events of recent decades have brought to light the way in which indigenous groups perceive the contact with Europeans. We have already discussed the celebrations for the Fifth Centenary of the Meeting of the Two Worlds, which provided a fruitful opportunity for new discussions of History from a native point of view. For the militants of the MCRA, the chronology of national history (*historia patria*) can be divided into three stages. First, there is the "energetic, cosmogonic and scientific culture" in a society "in harmony with ecology and the cosmos-Earth relationship," destroyed in 1521 by the "Spanish Moors." Second, there is the "colonial" stage, characterized by genocide and an attempt to annihilate Mexica culture from 1521 to 1810. The third stage is "independentist," marked by the "heroic resistance of the Mexican people (*mexikano*)" from 1810 until today. The "anti-Imperialist war against Europe" now prevails.

In Mesoamerica the idea of a linearity of time coexists with a cyclical conception, but, in addition, in certain rituals a compression of generations can be seen, and a reorganization of different phases of the past. From this perspective, the ritual experience as it appears in Indian communities becomes a remarkable source to explain this

chaotic vision of temporality that pays no regard to the principle of noncontradiction. It is necessary, therefore, to broaden the field of written ethnohistory to include ritual acts that, one way or another, bring to light a specific representation of the past, without necessarily passing through the intermediary of writings. Some of these rituals deserve special attention because they are presented as exogenous, ad hoc creations whose scenarios were devised outside the community with specific ideological aims. Broadly speaking, indigenous conceptions of History in Mexico and the modes of representation of the Indian, based on ritual experiences, reveal alternative stereotypes: the savage Indian (e.g., the *meco*, Chichimeca), the Apache and the Comanche, living beyond the frontiers of civilization, who are the chosen actors of "rituals of inversion" (Carnaval). Also standing out is the civilized Indian, the conchero, the Aztec, all supporters of the Dances of the Conquest performed in the Zócalo. These players appear as strong markers of the country's history, enhanced in accordance with a cultural logic that varies from one Indian community to another. The most interesting aspect is that these characters mix with other actors of the colonial tradition or contemporary national culture.

Appearing in the Carnaval with the Otomi are, among others, countless local vegetation deities, the *charro* (Mexican *hacendado*), stars of the screen, engineers, Superman, anthropologists, Adolf Hitler, more recently Bin Laden, and the Devil, who serves as a link between the figures of the past and the present.[48] The question ethnographers and ethnohistorians may ask themselves is whether archived documents can bring to light such chaotic visions of temporality. In the description of the dynasties, the Aztecs rewrote their history by formalizing one version of their past to serve as a discourse to legitimize their power. We still do not know for certain what could, in Mesoamerica, have been a (popular rather than academic) theory of History, which would provide an alternative to these official histories. Nevertheless, we can imagine, as in the case of the Aztecs, that they combined a "savage," "Chichimec" tradition and a civilized, urban conception of a political order, promoting the *toltecayotl*, the Toltec, and the most "refined" version of their cultural heritage.[49] Recent ethnography has shown that cultures that do not have a written tradition have an implicit vision of their history, and these representations, however inarticulate they may appear, are part of their concrete vision of society.

We thus witness the overlapping of this reconstructed history (on the native side) with a rewritten national history. What is new in all this is that Indians from the communities are now joining this national quest, reproducing their own stereotypes. In Mexico and Guatemala, as we have seen, two series of stereotyped images (among others) stand out—the "lumpen" Indian (urban and rural), marginalized and abandoned on a low rung of the social ladder, and the anthropological, museographic

Indian, promoted as part of the cultural heritage. On the one hand, the history of Indians from the communities is denied, obscured and disparaged, and they are not granted any privileges in terms of economic power or control over the area. On the other hand, in national ideology, Indians appear as the foundation of the Nation, the paragon of autochthony. The self-valorization of the indigenous past is gradually gaining momentum, and at times this ideology coincides with the government's efforts to promote an official indigenism in line with the objectives of the party in power.

In the neo-Indians' wake we are now seeing the way being paved for a different history that the native Indians are constructing in agreement with the authorities and political forces who control national life. This is a cultural invention that uses ritual channels of expression. This history has very little in common with the fossilized subject, identified once and for all, which we find in indigenous documents, in particular in the codices. Just as in local *carnavales*, where chaos rules, this is a history that jumbles events and characters according to the requirements of a ritual scenario that does not acknowledge official chronologies defined in anthropological writings. Today this trend assumes a sociological significance of the highest order as it demonstrates the entrance of indigenous societies into History as Geschichte (the intellectual reconstruction of the past) in order to escape from the History suffered as Historie. Compared with the United States and Canada, where the desire for autochthony has become one of the most explosive and prominent demands over recent decades, the native societies of Mesoamerica are pursuing with difficulty the quest for a hybrid identity as they are solicited by both the official history of those in control and their own vernacular histories based on cosmogonies of pre-Hispanic origin. In all likelihood, the emergence of a cautious Mesoamerican nativism will increase this trend of a progressive "indigenization" of history produced by the Indians themselves. This movement may result in a convergence between the ethnohistory "from within" and, "from the outside," the observers' history and that of those observed embedded in the social memory. In fact, a conflict of worldviews is becoming manifest in this debate on the historicity of indigenous discourse.

Field observation highlights the violence of the dichotomy between two conceptions of History which cohabit in a compartmentalized way, the first being taught in mestizo schools and recognized in the urban world, and the second, more secret, passed down in native languages in commensal circles through shamanic experiences and conveyed by myths. Here and there we come across cases of blatant contagion between the accounts of prehistoric times told to schoolchildren and certain episodes interpreted by particularly zealous informants. What is new is this demand for primitivism that is slowly invading the indigenous world to "render savage" local

history—albeit in accordance with Western criteria—in such a way that Indians position themselves to comply with this and, if necessary, accept a process of "de-Westernization" in order to remain within the circle of the archaic. This new trend is becoming an epidemic, gaining ground in areas where tourist pressure is growing and accentuating the paralyzing of the indigenous world before the demanding gaze of the Europeans.

In the troubled landscape of ethnohistory in Mesoamerica, it is hard to identify marked trends and theoretical leanings. Two epistemologies find themselves face to face, one the classic epistemology of academic history and the other that of the Indians, produced from their own cosmogonic concerns and their perception of historicity. Changes are occurring not only in the intellectual choices of academics but also because of this social anamnesis that enables native peoples to be increasingly aware of the political and ideological use they can make of an in-depth understanding of their own history. This is where neo-Indian movements of urban origin come into their own, encouraging a return to tradition whose malleable capacity is put to the test to shape new forms of religious experimentation. This is a militant history, whose aims consist of reconciling a quest for origins with a social teleology that is at times tinged with millenarianism in order to achieve the repatriation of a hidden History, carried off by the conquerors along with Moctezuma's headdress. Despite being produced far from academic circles, this history has a growing impact in metropolitan areas. It has succeeded in stimulating the Indians' current questions about a cultural tradition that is often in shreds. For its part, anthropology offers a vast field of reference likely to satisfy the expectations of the actors we can make out in their public discourse and in rituals. Specialists of the past have yet to rise to the challenge presented by this new desire for History. All the writings flourishing on this backdrop of an exuberant mexicanidad are destined to become a genre apart, like certain hybrid literary forms, at the crossroads between the oral and the written, and which today are classics of popular expression in Latin America, such as the *literatura de cordel* in Brazil, booklets combining text and pictures hung from strings (hence the name), which recount anything from heroic medieval events to gang wars and romance with a background of AIDS and *telenovelas*.[50] Behind the literary form, however, there is definitely a new way of reconstructing the past, making it part of an apocalyptic conception of the future in the wake of a religion of salvation by means of a merciless reassessment of the West's role in the destiny of the American peoples.

This entire and vast movement to resurrect the imperial Indian is supported by the emergence of new Messiahs, guides and interpreters of ancient thought, such as Octavio Romero Arzate, the "messenger" of Moctezuma II and a resident of the suburbs of Azcapotzalco. Don Octavio experiences visions of Moctezuma and

Cuauhtemoc informing him of the whereabouts of archaeological pieces that he himself has brought to light, notably obsidian. Don Octavio refers to the Sixth Sun, the era we are about to enter—at least, those of us who survive the next cataclysm.[51] Like the Maya, Don Octavio has already been in contact with extraterrestrials and has recorded his conversations with them. His auditory hallucinations have foretold of the coming of a new Sun, which "will untie the chains of the mind." Whirlwinds or an Indian figure appear in photographs he has taken. This textbook example highlights one of the new figures of religious discussion in Mexico today. We know how huge the audience is in this country for popular literature on the arrival of extraterrestrials who were supposed to be responsible for pre-Hispanic civilizations or who were in contact with them. With the emergence of this neo-Indian ideology, the "galactic" dimension of figures of the Indians is becoming more substantial. We can imagine how, paradoxically, the urban model imprisons the Indian world in its archaisms while at the same time launching it into the global, pan-American universe. It exploits the attempts to construct an ad hoc image likely to serve the new interests of local communities by taking over, in its own way, the fate of the autochthony. A centrifugal movement is thus taking shape, destined to move away from "endured" Indianity, as well as a centripetal movement trying to impose a kind of official, typical Indianity everywhere.

As the bearer of another philosophy of History, neo-Indian discourse is characterized by a universalist, multiethnic aim, even though it is fundamentally centered on Mexica tradition considered as its hub. The pre-Hispanic deities are in some way humanized, trading their status as terrifying creatures for a status of familiar and above all civilized entities with whom human beings have harmonious relationships. We can see here the influence of the Amerindian creed, dominant in the United States and Canada, which has recast local traditions in the melting pot of an ecologist, geocentric ideology in complete contradiction with the beliefs particular to societies of cultural areas of the subarctic, the northwest coast, and the plains. It is, therefore, via this detour that the neo-Indian message reaches out to the (autochthonous) universal. By the same token, the Nahuatl language becomes a kind of idiom of prestigious civilization, although it is still the vernacular for more than 1 million marginalized Indians. Here we have a global, conquering project aiming for maximal expansion beyond cultural, social, and geographical barriers and linking up with both the North and Californian Chicano movements as well as the South and the new Inca cults in Cuzco. It is an open project, capable of incorporating at any moment new elements of identity in order to assert its authority and does not hesitate to draw upon pre-Socratic doctrines, Nietzschean thought, or Jungian Tiefenpsychologie, while at the same time absorbing some of the guiding principles of urban environmentalism.

This discourse is not the exclusive fruit of an oral tradition passed down in accordance with its own historical logic, but instead a "knowledge" based on decontextualized indigenous exegeses or even learned texts and commentaries (from the colonial period to the current day) or on writings by charismatic leaders, some of whom are total strangers to the Indian universe. It is a discourse aiming for collective redemption through the celebration of the pre-Hispanic past, whose message impresses itself onto the worldviews of the middle and working classes, concurrently with or in substitution for the Catholic religion.

If we attempt to go further toward elucidating neo-Indian ideology in the footsteps of Freud, it seems that it is based on an illusion, a kind of hallucination of a past preserved to protect itself from the forces of earthly nature by humanizing it and giving it a civilized, pacified attire. This is why human sacrifice has been rigorously denied—the Spanish have been accused of a naïve, literal conception of the indigenous past; according to neo-Indian priests, they quite simply missed the symbolic dimension of the ritual act. This palimpsest, the fiction of a recomposed, reconstructed past is adorned with a teleological dimension. The Mexican neo-Indians are also under the illusion that they can break away from the constraints of urban civilization. In line with Freud's conclusion, we can see how this group believes that an enlightened minority is paving the way to mastering physical forces and is sharing this message with the masses.[52] Religious ideas become the expression of the struggle against natural forces, such as the illusion of Christopher Columbus seeking a route toward the Indies, a metaphor opportunely recalled by the founder of psychoanalysis.[53] This illusion attempts to reconquer a fantasy prehistoric history. This innate tendency is in perfect harmony with the nationalists' illusion, singled out by Freud, for whom the Aryan people (Indogermanen) were "the only human race capable of civilization" (die einzige kulturfähige Menschenrasse).[54] Freud had no doubt that these illusions would have a great future. The neo-Indian illusion proceeds in the same, regressive way, constantly delving into the history of societies of the central altiplano. This crisis in contemporary thinking is interesting because it is not taking place within an educated inner circle. It makes sense because the creed of neo-Indian thought is shared by followers, most of whom do not have access to academic knowledge and do not feel the need for a truly coherent expression of thought. It is not surprising, then, that different currents of ideas of European origin are solicited together with the presuppositions of Aztec thought, especially the most easily exported version of psychoanalysis—Jung's "universalist" and "symbolist" version—through patterns of archetypes, and even the Nietzschean theories about the decline of the Christian West.

In addition, the neo-Aztec creed resembles numerous religions of salvation in taking responsibility for the body, of which it assumes a "savage" control in terms of

circulating flows of energy. We should bear in mind that in Mexico today there is an entire proliferating series of therapeutic, spiritual currents and Protestant sects tinged to varying degrees with shamanic practices that use the body as a ritual medium. This phenomenon of the "incorporation" of belief, or "embodiment," according to Lakoff and Johnson, shows how ideology is incorporated "in the flesh," to borrow their metaphor.[55]

The neo-Indian current is the uncontrollable and vociferous symptom of a crisis of beliefs of societies caught between the first and third worlds. It is also a reconsideration, in our society, of the criteria of truth of discourse. The delusion of an imaginary past poses an ethical problem for anthropologists and citizens now that it has left the ghetto, stirred up by a handful of ecstatic activists to fuel a social demand for psychic repair, on a very large scale, of the "prejudices" or "lesions" (in the clinical sense of the word) inflicted on the social body. This concerns the consequences of colonization for all the Amerindian peoples, the scars of which are still visible today. Freud very appropriately uses the term Schädigung, which covers the two meanings, prejudice and lesion.[56] Its cost cannot be assessed at the moment, but can be counted among the failures of this planetary recomposition of patterns of identity, of which the neo-Indians are the most expressive heralds. This is not a schismatic form with regard to a dominant orthodoxy, but rather the refashioning of the archives of a civilization whose history is well known on a scientific level. This does not trouble the neo-Indian scholiasts in the slightest as they rewrite the Aztec past in accordance with their canons. There is, therefore, a certain discontent in the civilization, but also among those who are supposed to write their history.

The Peruvian Quest for Autochthony

The Incaism we observed in the Inti Raymi celebrations of the Sun can only be understood if we also examine the role played by the figure of the Inca and the imperial city of Cuzco in the representations of the Peruvian Nation, particularly with regard to establishing autochthony.

The invention of a nation assumes a memory shared by the "imagined" community of which it is composed.[57] Most notably, it requires the definition of an autochthonous group with values that are both specific and superior. A presentable ancestor must therefore be found, and facts that are likely to exalt national values must be retained, whereas those that might contradict them should be eliminated. Historians of nineteenth-century Europe were very careful in their selection to consolidate the nations. Procedures to select a suitable memory were rapidly imported by the young Latin American nations, but when they won their Independence, two problems arose.

First of all, the autochthons whose liberation was celebrated had to be defined. The obvious solution would be to attribute this role to the Amerindians, but this contradicts the status of racial inferiority within the new republics. The "scientist" Nicomede Antelo attributes to the native brain an incapacity to comprehend republican liberty as, according to him, it weighs between 5.7 and 10 ounces less than the brain of individuals of the pure white race.[58] Adopting the Indian as the autochthonous figure would therefore doom the Republic to certain failure, as certified by science. Furthermore, this solution would put the Nation's leaders (who were obviously of Spanish descent) in the uncomfortable role of usurpers. How can the nation be given an identity snatched from Independence? What autochthony can people of mixed blood aspire to, when neither of their two possible origins seems appropriate to define their nationality?

The populations called upon to form these nations are extraordinarily heterogeneous, which casts doubt on their presumed unity—Indians invented by the colonizers; Creoles born in the country; descendants of the Spaniards; populations of African origin, imported as slaves; and all kinds of combinations of these categories, giving a vast array of incredibly varied racial mixtures. Is it possible to transcend these chromatic combinations with a unique image of a superior civilization? Although the colonial government established a sort of replica of the Iberian society in the New World, everything remained to be invented for the American republics in order to create an identity with such disparate elements while distancing themselves from their European origins. Myths were created for the occasion, which then became traditions to be continually reinvented.

National Andean figures

It was during the nineteenth century, when they separated from the Spanish Crown, that the Andean nations had to find a basis for their identity. A powerful "Bolivarization" movement called for the liquidation of the indigenous heritage, presented as an archaism of which a modern Nation should rid itself. The Indians' exclusion from the national identity by the Creole elites claims to have a scientific basis. White domination was considered beneficial in that it established the survival of the fittest, thus encouraging the progress of the human race.

From this perspective, the Indians (who were, at the time, mostly of mixed race) were regarded as a degenerate humanity that needed to be eliminated, if not physically, then at least from the representations of the "modern" national identity. The scientific basis for these theories could supposedly be found in the work of Darwin.[59] "Socio-biological" essays were published to demonstrate the "pathologization" of

the society,[60] while literature celebrated the submission of Indian females to the virile Spaniards, "these demigods of the Peruvian conquest who captured the terrorized women on the hindquarters of their warhorses."[61] These ideas legitimized the widespread plundering and massacres of the Indians who, as a result of Bolivarian decrees, were no longer protected by colonial legislation, and who bore the brunt of the invasion of their land. The ideas developed with increasing vigor since, even before Independence, Indian movements had undermined the domination of the Creole elites. The rebellions led by the (biological or ideological) descendants of the Inca aristocracy—Santos Atahualpa at the end of the seventeenth century in central Peru, later Tupac Amaru in the region of Cuzco, and Tupac Katari in Bolivia—had occasionally demanded the reestablishment of the Inca Empire defeated by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. They gave rise to representations that were taken up again a century later as part of a national project by the very people who had fought against them.

The exclusion of indigenous people seems to have gone without saying for the Creole elite who took control of the republics at Independence. However, when the time came to move from the colonial tribute system to a republican taxation, they began to count the Indians and realized that it was necessary to find a place for this taxable mass of people in republican representations. Indians were not a minority in Andean countries as they were in other South American countries, where they had been massacred long ago—here they formed the majority of the population and somehow had to be incorporated into the republican national identity.

Despite the significance of the "Bolivarization" movement, another current was at the same time attempting to include the Amerindian culture in the construction of a national identity. Following in the footsteps of the racist trend, it was based on a former colonial representation—"the sadness of the Indian people." This melancholy was celebrated by intellectuals as a specific trait of the indigenous character.[62] It was not of social origin, but rather some kind of ecological trait, blending into the landscape with an aesthetic dimension. This representation, exactly like the Darwinist tendency, indisputably resulted from European influences while strongly denying them—examples would be the ideas of Las Casas, the famous Spanish Dominican, who defended the indigenous people from the very beginning of the colonization, or the cult of melancholy in nineteenth-century French romanticism as expressed in François-René de Chateaubriand's *Atala*.

In nineteenth-century Cuzco, some families proclaimed the nobility of their Inca origins with exorbitant claims. Manuel Sixto Lasa demanded of the National Congress that his mother be recognized as a descendant of the Incas and that the assets the Spanish had surrendered to the last successors of the conquered nobles be returned to him.[63] In similar vein, the cleric Justo Apu Sahuaraura Inca Tito Atauchi

declared himself to be the seventh descendant of Huayna Capac and bore his "coat of arms" as he took a seat as deputy in Congress in 1825.[64] In his claims to Inca ancestry, he rivaled the hero Tupac Amaru.

Cuzco's indigenist thinkers such as Luis Valcárcel and José Uriel García, who founded the School of Cuzco in the 1920s, were certainly influenced by these "last living Incas." They claimed a social and political Inca heritage, and the image of the Indian they constructed helped to hold together the representations of the Nation, especially through their influence on José Carlos Mariátegui, founder of the Peruvian Socialist Party.

Peruvian indigenism gave a historical dimension to "the sadness of the Indian people," interpreting it as a nostalgia for the Inca Empire destroyed by the Spanish in 1532, a nostalgia that the entire Nation could identify with for its construction. The fanciful reasoning of nationality was presented as follows:

- the Indian is sad by nature;
- this sadness can be explained by the destruction of the Inca Empire;
- the Nation identifies with this sadness.

National sentiment was thus presented as a contagion of sadness, which was expected to metamorphose into a contagion of autochthony.

This national nostalgia for an idyllic Inca Empire had one fundamental consequence—it was neither the colonial Indian, pagan and politically ungovernable, nor the republican Indian, wretched and archaic, who were introduced into the new representations, but the Indian "civilized" by the powerful Inca state, the representative of a glorious past that had to be invented—the imperial Indian. National ideology was thus founded on a paradox. Whereas in the eighteenth century the utopia of a perfect Inca Empire had mobilized Indian resistance, in the following century it became one of the foundations of a national identity from which the Indian people were absent. The equation of this new representation can be presented as follows:

The melancholy of the modern Indian + the nobility of the imperial Indian = the national Indian = the Peruvian Nation

This representation is obviously of European origin. In Leblanc de Guillet's tragedy written in 1763, the Emperor Manco Capac, a model of the good despot of Enlightenment, declares that the Inca Empire represents "the good and egalitarian nature of mankind." Jean-François Marmontel's *Les Incas*, which was published and widely circulated in 1777, a year before Jean-Jacques Rousseau's death, portrayed the Inca's government as quasi-institutional and "full of generous love," and the cult of the Sun as "the most forgivable of errors."

In the struggle for Independence, the myth of the Inca Empire serves certain *libertadores.* The whole of America was to be liberated by an Inca savior, declared Marshall Belgrano, a hero of the Independence of Argentina, where the Indians were systematically eliminated. Uruguay's national anthem still declares its faith in the Inca Messiah, even though the country has no Indians:

Al estruendo que en torno resuena
De Atahualpa la tumba las palmas
Su esqueleto ¡venganza! gritó.
Los patriotas al eco grandioso
Se electrizan en fuego marcial
Y en su enseña más vivo relumbra
De los Incas el Dios inmortal.

In a thundering storm
At the glorious tomb of Atahualpa
His skeleton cries for revenge!
To this great echo, the patriots
Rise in martial attire.
In their lively emblem shines
The immortal God of the Incas.

In the 1920s, the intellectuals of the Peruvian Left reinvented this myth of the perfect government—the Incas had created nothing less than socialism, and the need to return to this great era emerged as both a nationalist creed and the indispensable condition for the advent of a Workers' International. For these Peruvian scholars, the Inca Empire was a "socialist State organized in accordance with the characteristics of a modern State." It tallied perfectly with the "indigenous conscience" in which, they believed, "there exists a deeply-rooted conviction of popular government and the principle of free will and, in parallel, a conception of social cooperation and community fellowship."[65]

We do not need to describe the Inca Empire in detail to recognize the utopian nature of these representations. The intellectuals emphasized the absence of private property and the collective farming of local communities' land, the redistribution of state assets stored in depots to widows and orphans, the reputedly fair government of a good-natured king, the incorporation of defeated deities into the state pantheon . . . They ignored the bloody wars through which the Empire established itself, the human sacrifices that fed its deities, the absolute domination of its aristocracy (which made the conquistadors seem like choirboys), the forced labor and deportations of Inca subjects, and so on.

Gradually, these representations were taken up by the entire educated Left. In 1932 a socialist member of parliament addressed the Peruvian National Assembly with these words: "Land will be returned to the hands of the indigenous people [*indígenas*], just as they were ours [*nuestras*] when they were confiscated from us when Cajamarca was taken in 1532,"[66] referring to the capture of the Inca Atahualpa by Pizarro. This declaration is a good illustration of these fanciful representations. There is no mention of Indians as real human beings treated with disdain, but only of "indigenous people," a desociologized term, purified of its pejorative connotations. The words "Indian" and "indigenous" are worlds apart—the distance between reality and fiction. The most effective way to expel the "Indian" from his original territory is to expel him from reality, transforming him into an imaginary creature, an indigenous person or, better still, an Inca.

Furthermore, a subtle semantic shift transforms the lands "of the indigenous peoples" into "our" lands. Robbed of its reality and deposited into the imaginary, the Indian transformed into an indigenous person can serve as identification for mestizos and Creoles. This is illustrated in the "us" of "confiscated from us"—the twentieth-century socialist mestizo thus identified with the imperial Indian defeated by the Spanish in the sixteenth century.

By using the word *indígena* in the place of *indio* and identifying their project with that of the glorious Inca Empire, the indigenists accredited the autochthony that was lacking to the Nation they intended to form. They were not referring to the cholos, the Indians cut off from their traditional communities, who often migrated to the cities and were more preoccupied with their social ascension and de-Indianization than with questions of national identity. By socialist logic, they should have been called upon to carry through the class struggle!

The other myth of this indigenism based on the utopia of a perfect Inca Empire was the legend of an ideal pre-Hispanic community, which it saw in the institution of the ayllu, the collective ownership of land.[67] The reasoning behind this quest for autochthony is understandable—if the Inca Empire was a socialist state before its time, this is because socialism, like melancholy, was allegedly inherent to the Indian soul. The pre-Hispanic "indigenous peoples" would, therefore, have practiced "natural" communism within the framework of the ayllu. By this logic, there was a perfect harmony between, on the one hand, this natural communism at the bottom, and, on the other, the socialist Inca state at the top.

For some intellectuals of the anticommunist left, the Soviet administration was merely a degenerate copy of true Inca socialism. It was this innate rather than acquired communism that they wanted to reestablish to protect themselves from this other European (and therefore pernicious) influence of the Soviet Union. The

ayllu that had to be reconstituted was for Andean nations what the *mir* was for the Soviet Union—the basis of a national, autochthonous socialism free from foreign pollution.

Intriguingly, in the same period, this idea gave rise to a variant in right-wing circles. For them, combating communism meant combating the Indians, who were naturally communists, and so the defense of capitalism involved dismantling indigenous communities. In these different versions (communist, anticommunist socialist and conservative) we can see the extraordinary fate of the myth of the egalitarian ayllu, which had to be either reestablished or suppressed. Along with the representation of the idealized Inca Empire, the ayllu constitutes an image of the construction of the Peruvian national identity.

The strangest characteristic of this invention, however, is the combination of nationalism and internationalism in a single representation of autochthony, and the peculiar understanding of time and history that it illustrates. An ethnic image of the past is exploited to create a nation in the present and an internationalism for the future. The imperial Indian carries within him the destiny of the homeland and thus appears as a shortcut for the nation's future.

Along with these two fundamental ideas (a perfect Inca state and a community-based ayllu) appears a whole series of mythical corollaries that were widely disseminated, in particular through the indigenist novels that were flourishing at the time. It was with cosmic joy that the members of the ayllu worked the land inhabited by the beloved and fertile goddess Pachamama. Far from being merely an economic asset, the Earth is seen as the metaphysical basis for life. This "good mother" is adored, contrary to the abhorred "bad mother," the Motherland (Madre Patria) as Spain was paradoxically known. This myth of the deified Earth, peddled in literature since the 1920s and by schoolteachers in the field, was an instant success. It emerged in revolutionary movements in the 1960s to the liturgical cry of "Tierra o muerte," and later in the Peruvian land reforms of the 1970s led by the left-wing Peruvian military government. Even more recently, it has been at the heart of contemporary Bolivian Indianist movements, taking on a subversive metaphorical value since it refers to the Indians' autochthony confiscated by the mestizos. This brings to mind the current success of the deification of the Earth by North American ecological trends that have spread to most movements in defense of the Indians, even among those who never worshipped any deity of the Earth because they lived from hunting and gathering. It has taken such a hold in the national Andean fervor that even anthropologists now refer to it, although in reality it appears very rarely in pre-Hispanic sources, and the Pachamama of the real Indians, hungry for sacrifice, is far from being as pleasant as she is made out to be by intellectuals desperate for autochthony.

Contemporary movements inspired by the New Age have taken up from the anthropologists (who inherited it from the indigenists) this maternal representation of the Earth, disseminating it among Indians, who are now informing ethnologists of a benevolent Pachamama "*made in the USA*." . . . Thus the perpetual reinvention of this tradition continues. What we need to keep in mind is that this is the foundation of autochthony for the mestizos who could not, objectively, lay claim to it. The new Pachamama is to the insatiable Mother Earth what the imperial Indian is to the wretched Indians of the haciendas and communities. Thanks to these inventions, indigenism offers a possibility of identity to the Andean nations and a way to avoid copying the Europeans entirely (Figure 3.1).

The Three Mother Figures of the Peruvian Nation

The birthplace of Peruvian indigenism was Cuzco, the capital of the former Inca Empire and the ancient seat of the perfect government. The environment there is particularly favorable. There existed in Cuzco—and still exists today—a middle class and intellectuals smitten with what could be called the "Incaism syndrome." All Cuzquenians have the sentiment that they are in some ways Inca, especially those from the middle class, and specifically the intellectuals, who are both "white" and poor, who have neither the oligarchic origins of the large landowners nor any relationship with the community-based social system of the Indians. They are often militants or sympathizers of left-wing parties and unions, including the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA), which hoped that the "indigenous conscience" would spark the pan-American revolution. Indigenism expressed itself explicitly in the major reform of the University of Cuzco in 1909, which was later taken up by the University of Lima in 1919. Opposition to the centralism of Lima, a city seen as Creole and effeminate, was its crucial driving force. The idealization of the Inca Empire, which arose in the eighteenth century, flourished with the Cuzquenians' identification with their glorious ascendants. The taste for antiques in Cuzco's high society was manifest at the end of the nineteenth century in large private collections later sold abroad, and this was accompanied by a pre-Hispanic glorification that fanned indigenist fervor. When archaeology and history acquired a scientific dimension, they also took on an apologetic form, particularly in the works of Julio César Tello. Research into indigenous peoples began to be developed at the University of Cuzco from 1909 onward.

It was here, in the heart of the Inca Empire, that Luis Valcárcel (1891–1987) outlined a fabulous Incaist epic in the 1920s and invented the "Andean mode of production." He described the people of the Cordillera as a "cosmic race" through which a

FIGURE 3.1. The high priest from the Inti Raymi, his arms covered in blood after sacrificing the llama. Note his eclectic clothing. *Photo Antoinette Molinié.*

synthesis of all the peoples of the world should emerge in America. Above all, the great Americanist was convinced that Andean studies should reveal the perfection of the Inca Empire and free the whole of humanity. In his book *Tempestad en los Andes* published in 1927, he presents an apocalyptic vision of the return of the Incas. His ideas were widely disseminated by schoolteachers to the Indians themselves. His inspiration was certainly romantic, but he was also concerned with the concrete problems faced by Cuzco's Indians. In 1926 he founded the Resurgimiento group, which carried out extremely innovative actions in defense of Indians.

José Carlos Mariátegui (1894–1930), the "Father of Peruvian Marxism" and founder of the Socialist Party of Peru, gave Cuzquenian indigenism the national and even international dimension that set it apart. In 1926 he founded the journal *Amauta*, which played an essential role in disseminating indigenist ideas. His success can be explained by the originality and vigor of his thinking, his charisma, and his endearing mystical nature. His trips to Europe played a key role in the creation of the new tradition; Gabriele D'Annunzio in Italy (from where he brought back his wife); Georges Sorel, who gave his socialism a religious dimension; Richard Wagner, who was the inspiration for the name of his son Siegfried; Rosa Luxemburg (whom he compared to Saint Teresa of Ávila), who showed him the dissolution of the bourgeois world. . . . It was José Carlos Mariátegui who gave "Indian nostalgia" a revolutionary and national quality,[68] and it was under his influence that the Cuzquenian group Resurgimiento welcomed Indians to its lively meetings. Through him, the "Indian problem" became a problem of land distribution and Peru became the "Land of the Indians."

Cuzco's indigenists—in particular Valcárcel, with whom Mariátegui wrote the famous article "The Indian Problem"—gave the indigenist invention its mythical Incaist dimension, while Mariátegui and the Marxists (whom many Cuzquenians rightly accused of misreading the Indians) gave it a political dimension. We should also mention the indigenism of the APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) and its founder Víctor Haya de la Torre. He also believed that the indigenous community was essentially socialist and that it bore the seed of a "Peruvian communism of the felicitous Inca kingdom" that would be exported throughout the American continent.

It is thus through a dual movement of the politicization of myth and the mythification of politics that the foundations of national representations were produced. On the one hand the myth of a perfect Inca Empire was politicized, and on the other the political unity of a Nation (which was, in fact, deeply divided on both social and cultural levels) was mythified by giving the right to autochthony to its promoters. In this dual process, intellectuals and scientists assumed a role that, to a certain extent, could be qualified as magic. The national spell can be summed up as follows:

- the land of the Incas belongs to the Incas and not to the Spanish whom we drove out at the time of Independence;
- we discovered the Incas;
- we therefore identify with the Incas, whom we discovered, we have a right to the land confiscated from them, and we hand it over to the Nation we represent.

Here we have an example of a magic treatment of history that produces a myth to generate national identity. This myth is the myth of autochthony, and, as can be expected, it makes use of maternal images.

One figure emerges as essential in Cuzquenian Incaism and its national fate—Garcilaso, who is both a great Spanish writer and a documentary source on the Inca government, frequently taking an apologetic turn. In his *Comentarios reales*, published in 1609, it was the Ideal City that the chronicler described to his neo-Platonist readers.[69] As we have seen, the scenario of the Inti Raymi was largely inspired by his description of the Inca cult of the Sun. Born in 1539 to a Spanish conquistador and the Inca princess Chimpu Occlo, Garcilaso de la Vega appears as the emblem of the mestizo conscience, the principle that drove the founders of the Nation. However, we should not under any circumstances describe a Cuzquenian as mestizo, even though Garcilaso himself claimed to be one! For some of Cuzco's indigenists, and particularly for Valcárcel, miscegenation led to the moral degeneration from which, for example, the inhabitants of Lima suffered: "A new hybrid being who does not inherit the ancestral virtues, taking over instead its vices and defects. The hybridization of cultures produces nothing but deformities,"[70] and later, "Alcoholic drunkenness is the highest institution of the mestizo people."[71] Even a man of the Left such as Mariátegui tempered his exaltation of Indianity with disdain for the "formless and hybrid" mestizo.[72]

This is the reason why Garcilaso de la Vega is still considered the product of two pure lineages—that of his father, the noble Spanish knight, and that of his mother, Chimpu Occlo, descendant of Inca Huáscar. There is no doubt that (in semantic opposition to her knightly husband), it is she who is the biological mother of the new national autochthony. From this princess of royal blood stems the blood, both Indian and imperial, of the Nation's members. Peruvians are therefore to some extent members of her royal ayllu.

Another maternal figure catches our attention—the Pachamama, the Mother Earth who plays a role of autochthony. She quivers and is fed in the entrails of the Andean soil. The blood of Chimpu Occlo, the belly of Pachamama . . . all that is missing to produce a specific unit is the alter ego—the constituent of identity—the antithetic Other that defines the self in a relation of opposition and thus produces its identity.

The Incaism of Cuzco's inhabitants was accompanied by a virulent anti-Hispanism. Nonetheless, the ancient Spanish metropolis is designated by the surprising expression Madre Patria. Spain is thus also a maternal figure that plays the negative role of alterity. Is there, in this maternity, an explanation for the paradox of the name of this Mother who had to be defeated? Could it refer to an umbilical cord that had to be cut at the time of Independence?

This is why, in national representations, the "good mother,"[73] in the figure of Pachamama (Mother Earth), is adored, while the "bad mother," in the figure of the Madre Patria, or Motherland—signifying Spain by a paradox that is logically necessary—is detested. There is something inaccessible about the "good mother," for the Spanish Conquest, the first founding act of nationality, relegated her forever to the domain of the mythical. In the second founding act of nationality at Independence, the "bad mother" was rejected to the domain of the historic. This opposition, within a maternal figure, between Tierra and Patria (Earth and Homeland), between myth and history, was used to define the new autochthony, thus celebrating the birth and then the emancipation of the Nation.

There are, therefore, three maternal figures who contribute to the invention of the Peruvian homeland—Chimpu Occlo, a founding Inca mother through her blood ties (*jus sanguinis*); Pachamama for her ties to the earth (*jus solis*), and a Mother Land to give a name to the antithetic identity, the intimate enemy that every Nation must have.

This triptych, the projection of an imaginary construction, forms an original iconography of the Peruvian Nation. Its maternal nature is expressed in numerous accounts, only one example of which we will give here in the writing of Juan Guillermo Guevara, the founder and director of the indigenist journal *La Sierra* in the 1920s. Having extolled the city of Cuzco as the "matrix of Americanism," he added that it was "the generous mother in whose womb mankind is burgeoning or rather the new generation which will accomplish the repressed desire, the miraculous social transformation of Peru that will show America the new path to follow in the future."[74]

Bolivian Variations on the Neo-Indian Theme

The Peruvian Nation thus found its autochthony in the invention of its pre-Hispanic history both through its identification with the imperial Indian and through a fantasy matrilineal ancestry.

In neighboring countries such as Bolivia, the problem of founding the Nation arises in a similar way but the elements are different. The Amerindian population there is even larger than in Peru, and the relationship between it and the white people

even more difficult. However, here it is hard to resort to the imperial Indian since the Qolla, the ancestors of today's Bolivians, were under Inca authority in the pre-Hispanic era. The State Indian is not, therefore, a possible reference in this case.

In Bolivia, the indigenists' Indian does not correspond to the imperial Inca but to the indomitable Aymara, "as harsh as the Andes, disciplined and anti-intellectual," as described by Dante Nava,[75] in rebellion against the Inca state and then against the Spanish Crown, and finally against republican taxation. In order to construct the imperial Indian, at the start of the twentieth century, Peruvian scholars engaged in archaeological excavations, linguistic conjectures, and pseudo-historical exegeses of Spanish chronicles. In the same way in Bolivia today, anthropologists and ethnologists carry out apologetic research into an "Aymara culture" about which we know very little. As its history is even less well documented than Cuzco's history, Aymara studies oddly refer to the Inca Empire. This lack of information mainly serves an Aymara-centered image of the Bolivian Indian, produced by scholars and seized upon by the Indianist movements—the finest example of this is the Indian mobilization by Evo Morales, the current president of what is now known as the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

The Bolivian Indianist movement shares with Peruvian indigenism the idealization of pre-Hispanic society and the invention of neorituals. A Festival of the Sun is held in Tiahuanaco to show the Cuzco "Incas" that they merely copied an Aymara cult. President Morales was symbolically inaugurated at this prestigious site in January 2006 in identification with the cult of the Sun. However, unlike the Peruvian indigenists, the Bolivian Indianists condemn the tyranny of the Inca Empire and are opposed to any national centralism, in keeping with what they consider to be Aymara tradition.[76] They take for inspiration the hero Tupac Katari, who led a heroic struggle against the Spanish colonizers in the eighteenth century. He was captured and quartered in 1781, and the revolt he led ended in a bloodbath. Today he is the martyr of the Aymara and the hero of their Indianist and unionist organizations. In its more extreme forms, Bolivian Katarism calls for a Nación Aymara, which would regroup the Bolivian Aymara from the Peruvian Altiplano and those from the North of Chile. Generally speaking, Bolivian Indianist movements are fighting for a federation of ethnic groups that would bring together the Aymara, Quechua, Chiriguano, Campa, and other *naciones*. These are not demands from marginal groups as they are in Amazonia, but a mass movement that broke away from Katarism in the 1990s to become *originario* and more specifically ethnic. The turning point came during the long March for Territory and Dignity, which lasted for over a month and brought together organizations from the tropical lowlands and the Aymara to a countercelebration of the Fifth Centenary of the Spanish occupation in 1992. In 2003,

the Indianist movements managed to oust President Sánchez de Lozada. In 2006, President Evo Morales was elected as the Indian leader at the head of the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) Party.

As he was sworn in before members of the Congress of the Nation in July 1993, President Sánchez de Lozada wore various clothes of the Bolivian "nations" (a feathered crown, a *cushma* that failed to hide the sleeves of his jacket and his tie, multicolored necklaces, etc.), whereas Vice President Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, the first Indian to hold this position, wore a traditional Aymara costume for the occasion. More recently, Evo Morales took the Indianization of the presidency one step further when he was inaugurated at the archaeological site of Tiahuanaco in January 2006 in a shamanic ceremony with a distinctly Aymara flavor. Although the president of Peru enjoys taking on the role of an Inca, as we shall see, the Bolivian president presents himself as a generic Indian composed of elements of the different ethnic groups that make up the Bolivian Nation. Whereas the indigenist tradition seeks representations of the unity of the Peruvian Nation through the figure of the Inca, Bolivian Katarist movements, in contrast, seek representations of its dismantling in favor of Indian naciones that disregard national borders (which are sacred for South American countries) and call for a federation of ethnic groups. The word "nation" has very diverse meanings today, depending on who uses it. The meaning given to it by movements inspired by anticolonialism is, paradoxically, the very same meaning it had during colonization when *naciones* referred to the different ethnic groups that made up the viceroyalty.

In parallel to the antinationalism of the Indianist movements, we can observe in Bolivian towns the creation of complex common rituals that we shall now examine. They are often rooted in practices of indigenous communities and undergo interesting transformations.

In Europe we have been witnessing a folklorization of rituals for several decades—rural festivals have been losing their religious dimension and becoming shows for entertainment. In Bolivia, the transfer of elements of indigenous culture to urban environments has given rise to sumptuous metamorphoses. In towns, festivals are transforming Indian culture into celebrations of pre-Hispanic origins, and, in turn, these take on patriotic significance.[77] Intriguingly, the elites who heartily despise the Indians take part in these patriotic ceremonies devoted to the cult of Indianity. This is celebrated in an urban environment, the very same environment in which Indians try to hide in the guise of cholos, urban Indians in search of social ascension.

The magnificent Oruro carnival is the finest example of these events. It is here that the *diablada* and other dance groups (comparsas) perform, representing ethnic groups such as *negritos*, *caporales*, and *morenada*, portraying the black populations;

the *llamerada*, miming the inhabitants of the Altiplano; and the *toba* and *ch'unchu*, who dance as "savages" from the forest. The ethnicity of the Bolivian Nation is thus choreographed. The Oruro carnival also celebrates the subterranean deity of the mines to whom the comparsas offer their dances. This deity is the mining representation of the deity of the Earth, and, during the carnival, offerings are made via two deities who might appear irreconcilable—during the Mass of the Virgen del Socavón,[78] and during a public séance of shamanism in front of a toad monument that represents the deified Earth for indigenous people. The cult seems to be directed at a divinity with two faces—the Virgin Mary and the toad, each of them being the object of devotion in one of the two cultures.[79] Like the comparsas who dance as a group with their specificities, here the deity of the Earth presents the diversity of its two faces in its chthonic uniqueness.

In Bolivian cities, Indians are invited to celebrate particularisms that obviously undergo transformations. The sublime costumes and choreographies of the diablada, morenos, or toba have little in common with the ethnic groups they are supposed to represent. They have been transformed to blend into the melting pot of nationality. A particularly striking example of this transformation can be found in one of the choreographies, which stages a custom we observed in its place of origin in the Potosí region.

The *tinku* celebrated by the ethnic groups of the Potosí region consist of violent confrontations between young men from the two moieties that usually make up these dualistic societies. The ritual battles are held during religious festivals in village squares. The battle frequently ends with the death of a warrior from one side or another, and this is considered as an offering for the fertility of the Earth. These battles have now been banned in their collective form, and the army even intervenes to prevent them. The "decent" people from the cities see them as acts of barbarism and cite them as proof of Indian savagery. They readily exaggerate the violence of the blows and emphasize manifestations of cannibalism.

Despite their indignation, "decent" people have nevertheless incorporated a scenography of such battles into their urban festivals such as the Oruro carnival. In Cuzco, during the Inti Raymi, we observed a choreography called *chiaraje* that "collected" and "de-Indianized" the ritual battles from the province of Canas in order to incorporate them into the new cult of the Sun (see above). Nevertheless, this was merely intended as entertainment, even though the protagonists took it so seriously that it ended in a real fight. Here in Oruro, the tinku can be considered as a ritual since it is danced in devotion to the Virgin. Tinku dances are now performed with other dances such as the diablada, the morenada, or the caporal. The choreography presents two lines of dancers portraying the two moieties of the ethnic group, which

move forward *en quadrille*. The combat that, traditionally, is extremely violent, is here remarkably sublimated. The warriors still wear the typical tinku helmet,[80] and still hold their arms out wide like warriors in battle. But when the enemies leave their ranks and perform arabesques and move closer to each other, it is to perform a pas de deux and dodge one another. A major role is given to the female dancers, which does not correspond to that of the *imilla* at the head of the troupes of indigenous tinkus. In layered miniskirts and tight-fitting bodices, they still sing with the shrill voices of the warriors' young companions, but they adopt coquettish postures and prance around the virile fighters instead of remaining on the sidelines, inciting them to fight with their singing as they do in their communities. At the end of the choreography, the boys simulate the abduction of dancers from the other side, and thus the savage Indian combat denigrated by the bourgeoisie becomes an urban, civilized, and acceptable choreography.

This artistic production borrows ethnographic elements from communities, reproduces details of clothing and body movement, and stages indigenous customs that are usually strongly condemned. During these exceptional moments of celebration, the "decent" people from the cities appropriate the indigenous savagery they despise for the rest of the year. Moreover, the Oruro carnival dances are offered to the Virgen del Socavón, the subterranean deity of the mines who also represents the chthonic deity in its mining version. The dance of the tinku thus incorporates the sacrificial dimension of traditional killing, since, during ethnic ritual combat, the bodies of warriors killed on the battlefield are offered to the goddess of fertility.

We would like to demonstrate the structural continuity between the two forms of the tinku in its traditional and urban versions, one celebrated in the ethnic groups of the North Potosí and the other performed at the Oruro carnival.

The two moieties that make up the ethnic groups of the North of Potosí constitute an archetype of the dualism that characterizes Andean societies. They are divided by the terms that distinguish them—one is "high," the other "low," one is "right," the other "left," one is "masculine," and the other "feminine."[81] Above all, however, unlike most dualistic societies, these two moieties are endogamous (at least in theory). Wives are chosen from the various ayllu (kinship groups based on *ego*), which make up each of the two moieties, but not from the other side. Each year in the South of Peru and in Bolivia, bloody ritual battles pit these two halves of dualist societies against each other during certain religious festivals. The ethnic groups turn up in "troupes," and the moieties engage in combat, the issue of which is a "good death" on one side or the other, depending on the year. But tinku, the Quechua name for these warlike encounters, is also used for sexual union. Generally speaking, the word means "encounter," but the verb *tinkuy* refers more specifically to sexual relations. With its

double meaning of mating and confrontation, the word *tinku* used to designate ritual battles thus refers to both the circulation of women within each moiety and the circulation of death between moieties. Both meanings correspond to the ritual, as some women from the conquered moiety are raped or abducted by the triumphant warriors at the end of the battle, thus confirming the endogamy of the moieties through a practice that is antithetic to marriage.

Although the two moieties do not exchange women, they do, on the other hand, exchange death during the ritual battles. This exchange of blood by death between the two sides is what links them to each other to form one and the same ethnic group.

Lastly, the ritual combat operates using two simultaneous mechanisms defining two levels of otherness. First, the reciprocal killing, year after year, of a warrior from the other side produces the identity of each of the sides, like mirror images of each other. This use of symmetry brings to mind the "endo-war" of Amazonian societies. It is with this perspective in mind that we should interpret the acts of cannibalism that follow the combat—sometimes the victor tears off parts of the victim's body and consumes them, especially the eyes or testicles, which occur in pairs, but also the liver and tongue.[82]

This anthropophagy completes the construction of the otherness of each side in the battle by a process found in Amazonian societies enabling the other side to be incorporated and internalizing the difference by a ritual transformation of the Self:

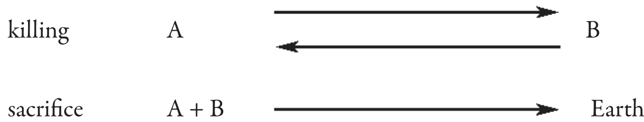
> Assimilated from the victim are the signs of his otherness, and what is sought is this otherness as a point of view or perspective on the Self, in other words, a relationship. But if what is devoured (in a real or imaginary way) of the enemy's person is this perspective on the Self from the aggressor group, it could be said that the *socius* is formed at the interface with the exterior or, to put it another way, it presents itself as essentially determined by exteriority.[83]

We have just determined the first level of otherness, the otherness of each of the two sides. In addition, the victim of the ritual battle is offered up to the deity of fertility—more specifically, his blood is spilt in libation to the Earth. The "good death" resulting from the combat is therefore an offering, and tinku appears as a sacrifice. There is an inextricable link between the different actors of the sacrifice—moiety A of the offerer and executant; moiety B of the victim; the recipient of the offering, that is, the deity of the Earth. This then forms a second level of otherness that allows the two halves to define themselves as a whole with regard to a third party, here Pachamama or Mother Earth.

We see that the production of the "good death" relies on two simultaneous operations based on two levels of otherness:

- by exchanging deaths, each of the moieties A and B retain their identity through opposition to their symmetric image. The killing thus defines each moiety.
- by offering the dead to Mother Earth, the moieties A+B form a unit via this sacrifice.

We can summarize the two complementary operations of the traditional tinku in the following manner:



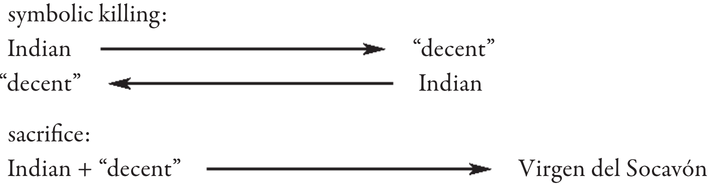
Both operations are part of the tinku, just as the ideas of meeting and division come together in this word. Two mechanisms can be observed in this one ritual act. The killing brings about a disjunction between the moieties—the Other is the enemy. Sacrifice establishes a conjunction between the moieties—the Other is a god. The moieties are at the same time united in connection to the deified Mother Earth, and separated from each other by the killing. A single rite—a single death—produces, at the same time, the identity of each of the moieties through opposition to one another, and the unity of the dualist society.[84]

Let us now take a look at the urban tinku as it occurs at the Oruro carnival. As in other urban festivities in Bolivia, such as the Gran Poder in La Paz, the Virgen de Urkupiña in Cochabamba or Sutillos in Sucre, the Indians and the "decent" people (i.e., the mestizos of the city) take part in these rituals. Belonging to opposed classes in everyday life, they form endogamous groups and we can consider them as two moieties that merge in the festival in a patriotic Nation-building event.[85] The opposition of these moieties, Indian and "decent," can be analyzed according to modalities comparable to those of the traditional tinku. To a certain extent, the urban tinku offers a national version of the traditional tinku—the warring moieties can be identified as the Indian moiety and the "decent" moiety of the Nation. Clearly the dance of the tinku does not involve a band of Indians confronting a band of white people—people celebrate during these festivities, and no one is killed. Or at least, this is no longer the case—but there used to be a time when Indians and Creoles really did confront each other during carnival celebrations.[86] However, since we accept that during these festivities a hybrid national image is being constructed, a kind of intermediary between the two origins, it is, to a certain extent, a battle of meanings through the medium of dance.

Based on this hypothesis of a ritual battle suggested by the indigenous origin of the choreography, the model of the urban version of the tinku is comparable to that of

the traditional tinku. We could consider the elimination of the cultural characteristics of both halves (Indian and "decent") as a form of killing to reach an intermediate, mixed-race formula. Indian women thus abandon their traditional *axsu* and "decent" women their *falda* to adopt elements of each other's way of dressing. In the dance of the tinku, the very short *pollera* imposed by the choreographer is medial between the two clothes.[87] It is designed to be comparable to those worn by the young women who dance in other comparsas, whether this is the *diablada*, the *morenada*, or the *caporal*. Similar to the two moieties of the traditional tinku, who alternately lose a warrior, here, each year, the Indian or "decent" moiety loses, for a time, its own identity, sacrificed to the Bolivian Nation. This sacrificial dimension is expressed in the dance offered up to a deity who is also intermediary—the Virgen del Socavón before whom the comparsas prostrate themselves is both the Indian Pachamama and a "decent" Virgin at the same time. She is a deity shared by both moieties just as the Pachamama to whom traditional tinku warriors offer their dead is shared by both warring moieties. As in the traditional tinku, the result of the operation is the union of the two endogamous moieties, Indian and "decent," in an offering to a common entity that acquires a role of otherness with regard to the whole.

The model of the urban, choreographic tinku would seem to be comparable to that of a traditional, warring tinku:



In the traditional tinku, the category shared by the two endogamous moieties through Pachamama is the ethnic group; in the urban tinku, the entity shared by the two moieties, Indian and "decent," through the sacrifice to the Virgen del Socavón, is the Nation. We thus see how, through ritual, the ethnic group supplies an image that is appropriate to the Nation.

Gradually constructed is the intermediate and common image of the Bolivian Nation, a society deeply polarized between two social, ethnic, and cultural moieties who have often been—and still are—at war. We can see the emergence of a system of transformation of the ritual, from its local dimension of ethnic identity to its national dimension of patriotic identity.

If we return to the processes of the iconographic construction of the Bolivian Nation, we can see two trends that may appear contradictory but from which may,

perhaps, arise an equilibrium generating a national identity. On the one hand, a festive culture, which we could call "mixed" (for want of a better term) is being constructed in cities. It is produced jointly by indigenous migrants and a middle class that imports Indian customs and remodels them in order to create an autochthony. We have just seen one of these processes at work in the tinku revised by choreography. We can see two operations in this process. The first consists of a dramatization of national diversity through the variety of those comparsas that have an ethnic dimension. This involves disjunction. However, this diversity is displayed in a unity of space and time—in a shared festivity celebrated on the same day. The procession of the comparsas follows the same circuit and crosses the squares and streets whose names celebrate the battles of liberation and the heroes of the Fatherland. What's more, although the comparsas are extremely diverse, they are nevertheless united in worship—in Oruro, of a Creole Pachamama incarnated by the Virgen del Socavón; in Cochabamba, of the Virgen de Urkupiña; in La Paz, of the Cristo del Gran Poder, and so forth. The second operation is that of conjunction. The process can be compared with that of traditional ritual battles. In both cases we have two operations—disjunction and conjunction—in a single ritual act.

In order to acquire national figures, Bolivians and Peruvians (like all populations that form a Nation) engage in manipulations. Bolivians rewrite their ethnography in their rites, whereas Peruvians manipulate their history in their myths. Although it is true that in Cuzco we observed a phenomenon of the city's Indianization during the *desfile cívico* on the eve of the celebration of the Inti Raymi, there is a fundamental difference between the two ritual acts in Cuzco and in Bolivia. In Bolivia, ethnic diversity is celebrated in the choreographic groups, whereas in Cuzco it is one Indianity and one alone that is celebrated—that of the imperial Indian, into which the members of the desfile cívico are transformed. Instead of marking community differences (as is their traditional role), the ponchos worn by the "decent" people blur community borders as there exists one model, which could be called an "intermediate poncho" shared by everybody. Whereas in Bolivia, the big festivals magnify the diversity of costumes and dances, in Cuzco the only event to bring together the more or less "decent" categories of society celebrates, on the contrary, a sartorial and behavioral unity in a single parade—that of the State Indian.

In this way, representations of the Nation's unity and autochthony (whose problematic characteristics in Latin America we have already described) are constructed in comparable but nonetheless different ways in Bolivia and Peru. In both cases, ethnic group is offered as a model to the Nation, but according to two very distinct modalities. In Bolivia, an intermediary figure of national value is created through the ritualized staging of ethnic diversity. In Peru, the imperial Indian represents the

original group through the myth of the perfect Inca Empire and the egalitarian ayllu. Although Bolivians construct national figures by magnifying a manipulated ethnicity, Peruvians construct theirs by celebrating an invented unique origin. These figures are more than mere fantasy. They play an important role in social relations, demands, and assertions. In Bolivian social and political life, we can observe not only the ethnic variety expressed in festivals, but also ethnic assertions that rarely take a common path. On the contrary, in Peru, this ethnicity is denied for the benefit of shared union demands. It is likely that the Peruvian Left was too busy defining its position with regard to the Shining Path, which plunged the country into a terrible civil war for twenty years. Above all, however, ethnicity was used so intensely in Peru to create a national identity through the figure of the State Indian that it has become very difficult to draw up demands for specific indigenous identities. At the time of Peru's land reforms in the 1970s, Indian figures such as Tupac Amaru took on a national dimension in Peru that was totally different from the Indian dimension of Tupac Katari in Bolivia. In Peru, colonization took the Indians' land away from them. The Republic confiscated their identity in order to assign it to the representation of the Nation in the form of the imperial Indian.

Cuzco's Neo-Incas

The identification with the Incas we observed in the Inti Raymi and elsewhere is deeply rooted in the representation of the Peruvian Nation. The images have their origins in the idealization of the imperial Indian instigated by the indigenists during the early twentieth century, in what came to be known as the "School of Cuzco," and especially by Luis Valcárcel and José Uriel García.

It is interesting to note how the two authors, categorized in the same indigenist current, took contradictory positions. Luis Valcárcel sees in the "telluric Indian" an expression of the harsh, tormented landscape of the sierra.[88] Degraded by the humiliation of the Conquest, the Andean must win back a purity, both biological and moral. The future of the entire American continent depends on this regeneration, which takes on a dimension that is more mystical than social. José Uriel García also glorifies the Incaist past, whose art he examined in a thesis presented at the University of Cuzco in 1911.[89] However, in his main work entitled El Nuevo Indio, he gives a more realistic image of the Andean. Although it is true that the Incaist past is idealized, Uriel García nevertheless reasserts the worth of the mixed races so scorned by Valcárcel and most of the indigenists. However, even today it is Valcárcel who remains the "patriarch of social studies in Peru"[90]—obviously the father of Peruvian indigenism and the spokesman for Indians could not be a promoter of mixed race.

During the 1920s, the thought of the School of Cuzco reached a national audience. Little by little it gave the Peruvian Nation a figure of autochthony—not that of the glorious mestizo, heir of the Incas, portrayed by Uriel García, but a figure of original Indian purity born of Valcárcel's messianism. The Utopian Indian's preeminence over the pioneering mestizo is all the more surprising because the dissemination of this national figure of the Indian was essentially carried out by left-wing militants, notably J. C. Mariátegui, founder of the Socialist Party, in his journal *Amauta*.

The group Resurgimiento, founded in Cuzco in 1926, gave the indigenist movement a political and national dimension. Its aim was to take charge of the immediate task of protecting Indians "until the ideology of the New Indian is defined and becomes reality, which must bring about his spiritual transformation by declaring and resolving the problem of the indigenous *resurgimiento*."[91]

At the time, Indian uprisings against the region's *latifundia* (large landowners) were widespread, especially the movement of the shepherds from the Canchis highlands against their subprefect, and the serfs of the Lauramarca *hacienda*. However, even within the framework of political support for insurgent Indians, the Utopian dimension of the indigenists remained predominant—they spent much time discussing indigenous music, languages and crafts, but little mention was made of the distribution of land for which Indians were fighting to the death against the Leguía regime. Identification with real Indians was difficult because of the indigenists' social origins; they belonged to a dominant class of professionals and intellectuals who hoped to rise to the ranks of the oligarchy (mostly made up of large landowners); they were characterized by a marked endogamy, with exceptions occasionally made when white foreigners were involved, such as Albert Giesecke, a North American who in 1909 undertook a major reform of the University of Cuzco that greatly stimulated indigenism. Until it disappeared with the land reforms of the 1970s, Cuzco's landowning oligarchy and its intellectuals were characterized by an ideology that Marisol De la Cadena shrewdly analyzed in terms of "decency."[92] It was based on a high income and a high level of "education" involving not only university studies but also a certain refinement in social relations, far removed from indigenous barbarism, and, above all, it was based on "innate morality."

The indigenists seem to have taken over the ideology of the ruling class, of which they were members either by birth or adoption. Their image of the Indian was marked by moral ethnicity and "decency." They generally believed that the racial inferiority of the Indians came from the interruption of their natural evolution by the Spanish invasion.[93] They did, however, believe that education could improve their race. It was the "evolutionist" dimension of this belief that stirred them into

action in favor of the Indians. At the same time, the education of the indigenous people ought to have enabled them to fight against the *gamonal*, the enemy of the indigenists and of the social elite made up of the *hacendados*, the reputedly decent landowners. Until the latest land reforms, a gamonal was a large landowner lacking in "decency," seen as mestizo, excessively exploitative, and vulgar. The indigenists rebelled against the gamonal, never against the hacendados, who, according to them, did not excessively exploit the Indians and who were presentable on a national level.

This community of interest shared with Cuzco's oligarchy prevented the indigenists from leading a genuine movement of Indian emancipation. Indigenism thus produced images rather than a program for society, essentially taking on an aesthetic and intellectual dimension. This was expressed in the form of the glorification of cuzqueñismo, when the Day of Cuzco was established in 1944 and the neocult of the Sun was invented, the aim of which was to "promote a genuine spiritual revolution among the children of Cuzco in particular, and of the country in general, with regard to the significance of our homeland . . . it is an honor to be born in Cuzco and to belong to a country whose people have given birth to such a great civilization."[94] Here we can see cuzqueñismo taking on a sense of national patriotism based on its glorious ancestors. This inspiration can be found in countless lyrical articles: "The destiny of this Imperial City of pure and stainless lineage rotates around History with a considerable weight and soon, in its admirable steadfastness, it will inexorably be fulfilled."[95] Neo-Incaism from Cuzco generated figures of Indian identity that were exploited in representations of the Peruvian Nation.

In Salons and on the Street

Although it took on a national significance in the city of Cuzco and its region, Incaism reproduced a local culture that is still evolving today, in contact with international and in particular New Age trends. This contemporary neo-Incaism has its own concepts, symbols, myths, and rituals. As we have already described, it is a culture that is still in the process of being created, whose main characteristic is undoubtedly a unique blend of extreme localism and wholesale globalization combining community traditions, urban reinventions, and an Andeanity globalized by New Age mysticism websites. We shall now take a closer look at this process.

Neo-Incaism is neither a church nor a sect, and even less a political or philosophical trend. It permeates the entire social and symbolic life of Cuzco's inhabitants and manifests itself in their day-to-day lives. Each social category experiences it on a different plane. Certain members of the middle class identify with an imperial aris-

tocracy whose lineage they maintain. The Incaist conscience of the members of this regional elite is made up of more or less reinvented Andean ethnography, somewhat similar to the indigenists of the early twentieth century. They had access to Indian culture through their connections with the laborers on the large ranches (*haciendas*) owned by their parents or grandparents. These haciendas were expropriated by the land reforms in the 1970s, but the former owners maintain close relations with the region where they spent much of their childhood. These days, the elements of Andean culture that are familiar to them were transmitted by their parents. The latter often brought a servile population to Cuzco, employing them as domestic servants. The neo-Incas sometimes retain ritual ties with their parents' haciendas and are godparents to children from the communities, establishing close ritual kinship (*compadrazgo*) based on both deep-rooted intimacy and a strict hierarchy based on clientelism. Indian culture as seen by middle-class neo-Incas is subject to constant remodeling in the melting pot of indigenist ideas.

Can what occurs in Cuzco be described as popular neo-Incaism? The consciousness of belonging to a community descending from a glorious empire is widely transmitted at school, to which large sections of the city's population have access. This occurs to such an extent that every Cuzquenian believes that he or she descends in some way from glorious ancestors, as testified by the monumental statue of the Inca Pachacutec erected in 1993, the streets named after memorable sites of the Inca Empire, and, above all, the yearly splendors of the Inti Raymi that they can follow in Quechua. There is, however, a time when the consciousness of belonging to a chosen people becomes far more concrete—every year during "Cuzco Week," the desfile cívico invites every Cuzquenian into the street to demonstrate his or her "Inca-ness."

The neo-Inca manifesto is primarily expressed by the choice of the day—the desfile cívico is held on the eve of the Inti Raymi, which generated and now condenses the entire "Inca-ness" of the imperial city. We have seen how Corpus Christi has given the neocult of the Sun a religious dimension and how the desfile cívico transforms the people of Cuzco into Incas. The two ceremonies are closely connected, not only because they are celebrated during Cuzco Week, but also because of their comparable scenographies.

During Corpus Christi, the districts' brotherhoods parade with their patron saints that are supposed to represent the ancient Inca lineages that, like the saints of the procession, correspond to different districts of the city. Jorge Flores Ochoa believes that the contemporary Corpus Christi is structured around the eight "Indian parishes," which tallied with the Inca districts in the sixteenth century, four of them corresponding to the (High) Hanan moiety of the imperial city and four to the (Low) Hurin moiety.[96]

Colonial Parishes	*Inca Divisions*
Nuestra Señora de Belén	District of Cayaocachi
“Naturales” Hospital (San Pedro)	[nonspecified]
Santiago	District of Chaquilchaca
Santa Ana	District of Carmenca
San Cristóbal	District of Colcampata
San Blas	District of Tococachi
San Sebastián	Sañu Ayllu
San Jerónimo	Uma Ayllu

Today, the fifteen images carried through the city during the procession come from the eight parishes thus defined, the Linda representing the cathedral, the former parish of the Spanish. According to Flores Ochoa, this corresponds to the *axis mundi* of the Inca city. It appears to have been a figure symmetrical to the Cristo de los Temblores (the Lord of the Earthquakes), who protects Cuzco’s inhabitants from quakes.

This strange image of a crucified Christ in a purple velvet skirt is very old. It is believed that Philip II gave the city a superb image that disappeared in a storm during its transfer and was replaced with the current Cristo de los Temblores, which is said to have been made from an animal skin. Some say in secret that it was really human skin, thus suggesting a connection with an Inca mummy. The cult to this Christ is extremely old, as it dates back to a miracle that limited the damage caused by an earthquake in 1650. Since then it has been the main deity of Cuzquenians from all walks of life and is known as Taytacha (Little Father).[97]

During its most recent restoration, letters were found in its body through which the faithful addressed their requests. They had been slipped into Christ’s wound, using it as a mailbox. This major god for Cuzquenians is celebrated on Easter Monday in a mystic atmosphere. As night falls, an impressive crowd gathers in front of the cathedral to await the Christ accompanied by his brotherhood. When he appears, the crowd is in trance. Harrowing cries rise up into the night of the full moon; the Indians feverishly unbraid their hair, the fire department vehicles parked around the square train their headlights on the procession, and sinister sirens ring out into the night. A neo-Inca interpretation of the procession is gradually evolving. About twenty years ago, it was already claimed in intellectual circles that the Taytacha Temblores was an image of the Inca. He is, indeed, decorated with *kantuta* flowers (a local thorny plant) as the divine king used to be. This Inca is supposed to bring about the collective trance of Easter Monday—the Cuzquenians’ lamentations

are said to reproduce those of their ancestors when the Inca passed away. This interpretation, though it lacks foundation, may appear plausible to the spectator as this procession is unlike any that can be observed in Spain; the emotion displayed here is particular and bears no relation to the emotions expressed during other apparitions of Christ and saints. Nevertheless, the neo-Indians take this even further. The Christ has become a deity of the *ukupacha*, the infraworld in the Andean division of the universe, and is thus connected to "negative elements" residing underground. This new interpretation of an eminently popular cult shows remarkable casualness with regard to Andean culture; the ukupacha is not the realm of evil but that of the deities of the infraworld and, in a certain manner, of the past, and earthquakes are rarely attributed to it. This is, then, an example of the manipulation of Andean concepts for the purpose of "re-Incaizing" the space of the city of Cuzco.

Within the framework of this reinterpretation, the Cristo de los Temblores is presented as complementary to the Linda de la Catedral, according to an ideal of sexual complementarity that is a crucial principle of neo-Inca culture; it is thus believed that an indigenous concept is being taken up. About ten years ago, this interpretation of Cuzco's contemporary festivals in pre-Hispanic terms was limited to a few intellectuals in academic circles. Today it is expressed in the media, tourist brochures, school textbooks, bars and salons, and it would be somewhat impolite to undermine this by pointing to the lack of documentation to support it, or to mention the Hispanic contributions to Cuzco's rituals. Academic discourse is now out on the streets and is taken as official history. As many Cuzquenians have only recently had access to reading and writing, this is the version of their culture that they transmit. In the third world, the transmission of tradition usually moves from oral to written transmission, thus endorsing the veracity of stories, whether they report on events or give meaning to customs. In neo-Inca Cuzco, the relationship between the oral and the written seems to be inverted. The meaning of indigenous customs, the ancient cult of the Sun, and the configuration of the city's districts—everything involving Incaism—have all been the subject of extensive writings, most of them apologetic with regard to the indigenous period. These writings have given rise to theatrical inventions or rituals that stage a largely invented tradition. They gradually generate an "oral tradition" bearing no relation to contemporary indigenous discourse and even less to pre-Hispanic issues. Produced through writing, the oral tradition is following a path that leads from the universities to the most isolated communities, where it will be expressed in Quechua and where academic writings will be revived and enriched with improvised variants.

After moving from the written to the oral, the neo-Inca exegesis of Corpus Christi also affects the production of the social. We have seen how, during the traditional

Corpus Christi, the city Indians or cholos take charge (cargo) of the celebration of a saint or Virgin, which gives them a heaven-sent opportunity for social ascension. They thus acquire "decency" and move closer to the misti. Furthermore, since the patron saints are considered as pre-Hispanic ancestors, the "decency" acquired by these city Indians in charge of the celebration is no longer merely that of the misti. Not only are they "whitened" by taking a cargo, but also, as a bonus, they benefit from the "Incaness" attributed to the patron saints. The promotion of these Indians also benefits from the prestige of the imperial Indian that is embodied in the patron saints they celebrate. To a certain extent, by becoming "decent," the cholos also become slightly "Inca," like the Cuzquenians from the middle class to which they aspire. They do not become mestizo as a careless observer might believe; they abandon their Indian nature in order to acquire a dual filiation that is doubly pure, like that of Garcilaso de la Vega—the purity of both Spanish "decency" and imperial nobility.

On the day of the Eucharist, the "Inca" communion of the "decent people" and those elevated by a cargo is expressed by the festive consumption of a dish that is supposed to bring together the delicacies of each region now identified as Inca. *Chiriuchu* is only eaten during *Corpus Christi*. Made from Andean produce, it includes roast guinea pig, smoked llama, grilled corn, corn flatbread, stuffed peppers (*rocotos rellenos*), and various root vegetables. After the monstrance has passed, displaying the body of Christ for consumption, the Cuzquenians rush with almost mystic enthusiasm to the dish of the day offered by saleswomen. It is a very similar meal to the dish that unites those attending the Inti Raymi, on the ruins from where they watch the cult of the Sun, but since this is a picnic, its composition is obviously less comprehensive than that of the chiriuchu. While listening to the high priest addressing prayers to the Sun, people savor roast guinea pig with local roots and chicha, just as they do for Corpus Christi. It is as though this festive consumption establishes a link between the two celebrations linked by historians through their timing in the calendar and their solar dimension.

As we have seen earlier, the desfile cívico is celebrated the day before the Inti Raymi. We have already identified the processes through which it transforms Cuzquenians into Incas—the obligatory poncho becomes an almost liturgical stole. Although it takes the colors and motifs of the Indian communities, having lost its classificatory role because of the arbitrary nature of its adoption, the poncho no longer corresponds to the traditional communities that it identifies elsewhere. It thus assumes a local quality, as its motif is necessarily the motif of such a locality. The disorder of its utilization, however, lends it a globalism comparable to that of the mythical Indian. A sartorial communion follows the communion of the chiriuchu.

Nevertheless, the poncho is not a disguise but a mark of collective identity, all the more so because, traditionally in Cuzco, social belonging is expressed through clothing, enabling one to spot immediately whom one is dealing with. The "decency" of the bourgeoisie and the middle classes is expressed in the *caballeros*' suits and *señoras*' straight skirts. Cholas wear voluminous superimposed skirts, the number of which is a sign of their prosperity. On their heads they wear high white hats decorated with a colored ribbon that marks their belonging to the class of mestizas so disparaged by the elite. Indians from communities wear handwoven clothes, ponchos for the men and shawls for the women, with motifs that vary according to their origin. During the desfile cívico, social categories are hidden under the heraldic poncho. We see, here and there, behind union or NGO banners, "real" Indians who have come from their communities. Their clothes are not completely lost in the mass of average ponchos, as it is obvious that these people are dressed rather than dressing up, and their bare feet in *ojotas* (sandals cut from tires) are a giveaway. Next to the gaudy ponchos borrowed for the parade by the Cuzquenians, the ethnic clothing worn by the Indians takes on an ambiguous and eventually negative dimension—although the indigenous poncho corresponds to the community of the man wearing it, it is also the model of those worn by parading neo-Incas. However, it functions in a different classificatory register and, ultimately, it excludes the one wearing it from imperial Indianity.

If we look at the Corpus Christi procession and the desfile cívico together, we can see that the first deconstructs the imperial city into Inca lineages represented by the patron saints, whereas the second reconstructs the dismembered city into a republican city of state institutions. During the brotherhoods' procession, Corpus Christi transforms the Cuzquenians into descendants of Inca lineages, whereas the desfile cívico puts "Inca-ness" at the heart of the Nation and modernity. The two rituals illustrate two stages of pillaging Indian culture and history. Corpus Christi transforms the saints worshipped by the Indians into invented ancestors, whereas the desfile cívico promotes the latter's Inca identity on a national level.

Language, Symbols, and Emblems

The neo-Inca city of Qosqo was given a new name in 1990 on the day of the Inti Raymi. The naming was inspired by the two fundaments of Incaism. The reference to an authenticity of Indianity expresses the preoccupation for autochthony, whereas the use of the past allows it to be situated not in the despicable culture of contemporary Indians but in the glory of the imperial Indian. This is expressed in no uncertain terms in two articles of Municipal Agreement 78 of June 23, 1990, through which the city changed its name:[98]

> That the original name of our city is Qosqo, as it is currently pronounced by the monolingual and bilingual Quechua people of the South Andean region. That the way to express respect for and loyalty to the linguistic tradition of the word of the people is to restore the historical and original name of the city which is the mother of the New World and the most ancient of the continent, whose life has been uninterrupted for at least thirty centuries.[99]

Changing the name led to heated debates that were reported day after day in the local press. In fact, it was merely a question of giving the name "Cuzco" a Quechua pronunciation, although this appears totally incongruous in a sentence in Spanish. The neo-Incas have often tried to translate Qosqo with well-intentioned moral principles: "Since the time of Inca Pachacuti, Qosqo has been the center and pinnacle of human spiritual energies . . . It can, therefore, bring together the diversity and cultural variants of all human groups."[100]

However, these notions are also tinged with New Age ideology, and, if necessary, references are made to a more-or-less invented Andean shaman. Thus, in Quechua, Qosqo is also claimed to mean "solar plexus, the integrating axis of the world and organizer of the forces which make up the Andean world." The word is also supposed to indicate the "solar, social and political center of civilization" as well as "the preternatural [*sic*] category through which the Kuraq Akulli organized the spiritual world and carried out their valuable mission for the benefit of their fellow men."[101]

Continuing to call it "El Cuzco" is considered by neo-Incas as colonial deference, and one has to take care when addressing them by mail. One can, at a pinch, call it "Cusco." Thus there are degrees of political correctness for the three terms, Qosqo, Cusco, and El Cuzco, in descending order.

Qosqo has a new flag as well as a new name. The seven colors of the rainbow it bears are said to correspond to the Inca deity Kuychi. Just as with the flag of the homosexual community, it has led to a number of misunderstandings. Be that as it may, it is older than the new name of the capital. Indigenist societies began to use it in the 1920s, and it was later adopted by the Aprista Party. Cuzco's City Council made it the official representation of the city in 1978, and Cuzquenians believe that it really was the flag of the Incas, which they supposedly displayed during their wars and ceremonies, although there is no evidence of this. Today it flies above the Presidential Palace in Lima next to the national flag. This dual Peruvian flag appropriately matches the dual identification of the nation, both Republic and Tahuantinsuyu.[102] It is now carried by demonstrators, schoolchildren, football players, and even those officiating at certain Catholic rituals.

Like its flag, the Cuzco coat of arms was attributed on the eve of the Inti Raymi, June 23, 1986, to "proscribe any heraldic representation imposed by the Spanish conquest"

(Municipal Agreement 63). It represents the "placa de Echenique" said to have been offered to President Echenique in 1853 by a descendant of the Incas whose name has unfortunately been forgotten. It thus enjoys a mythical autochthony, even if the "placa de Echenique" is now in New York. This golden disc with feline outlines is now seen as characteristic of Inca art, even though it manifestly has features that correspond to the pre-Hispanic Huari civilization that controlled the Andes before the Incas.

Endowed with a flag and a coat of arms, the city of Qosqo lacked only an anthem. The Municipal Agreement 17 of June 11, 1984, officialized the anthem written in 1944 for the first Inti Raymi by the Cuzquenian poet Luis Nieto and Roberto Ojeda Campana:

Qosqo, Qosqo willkasqan sutynki	Cuzco is your sacred name
Inkapachaq Tayta Intin hina	Like the Sun of the immortal
Empire *Teqsimunun ahasqonpi apasunki*	All carry the name in their hearts
Haylli taki unanchanta hina	Like a hymn or triumphant flag.
Mana llallin sanankia pukaran	Invincible bastion of the race
Llaqtakunan much'ankusunki	The standing people extend their greetings.
Sunutaqmi ayllunkiwan samisqa	The Fatherland honored by your lineage
Mat'inkiman pilluta churan[103]	Puts a laurel crown on your forehead.

It is obvious that this Incaist hymn acquires a national dimension, thus illustrating, like many other neo-Inca symbols, the Cuzco origin of representations of the Peruvian Nation.

The Quechua wording of this text was certified as authentic by the High Academy of the Quechua Language. Founded in 1987, succeeding an earlier institution established in 1953, the academy provides guidelines and contributes to the creation of an imperial Quechua supposedly spoken by the Incas. This academic Inca language has been deliberately elaborated to be distinct from the Quechua spoken by today's Indians. Its dictionary does not hesitate to present the two distinct languages:

> *Qhiswq simi:* Some chroniclers note the use of a superior language called *qhapaq simi* (language of those who have the power) used by the governing elite so that the people could not have access to State secrets.[104]
>
> *Qhapaq simi:* classical Imperial language spoken by the Incas and governing nobility, also known as *Inka simi* (the language of the Inca). Now known by the name of Quechua.[105]

> *Inka rimay*: language of the Inca nobility, the *hamawt'as* (masters) and ruling class. The people, or *pamparuna* spoke *runa simi* (the language of men) which was later known as Quechua.[106]

The neo-Incas want a language of their own imbued with the autochthony they demand, while distancing themselves from the language of Indians that suffers, in their opinion, from the impurities of miscegenation as it includes Hispanisms. It therefore has to be "re-Incaized." The dictionary mentions the notion of "purity" several times in its definitions, echoing the scorn miscegenation inspired in most indigenists: "The aim of the Academy is to safeguard the purity of the Quechua language . . . It is necessary to adhere to a pure and original usage of the language."[107]

It is undoubtedly through this purging of the language that the cultural pillage of the indigenous people is most visible. The transformation of the nation's natural autochthon into the imperial Indian takes on almost technical dimension in the mutation imposed on its language. The *Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua* dictionary creates unnecessary neologisms to express notions that have no place in the Andean world.[108] The appropriateness of entries such as "lecture hall," "bactericide," or "seaside resort" is doubtful, to say the least. The authors often confuse neologisms with borrowings from Spanish that they have chosen to ignore. Moreover, a great number of proper nouns are recorded that refer to the pre-Hispanic era. The dictionary therefore becomes an apologetic encyclopedia for the Inca government and a local atlas of unknown place-names that are not in the region. Some distant cities are included, but it is always noted that they were conquered by the Incas. The word "Inca" is present in countless entries: César Itier retains "Inkas del Tawantinsuyu y sus esposas," "Inkas de Willkapampa," and "Inkas según los cronistas."[109] All these definitions are obviously idealized. For the entry "Inkas," it explains that they "governed the Empire with wisdom and great political, social and economic capability, advised by skilled technicians and scientists, in a community-based form, and their work still provokes worldwide admiration today."

Furthermore, the dictionary makes use of five vowels despite there being only three in Quechua (a, i, u). This is obviously to demonstrate the wealth of the imperial language compared with that of the Indians. This inflation will hardly come as a surprise to those who have read certain books published by Cuzco's City Council in which Quechua, Aymara, and Sanskrit are presented as the three origins of Indo-European languages. We should also note that the etymology of the proper nouns is often unreliable. An example of this is that the name Espinar, a province of Cuzco, is translated as Kiskachay, which in Spanish means "wounding with thorns" when in fact it is the name of Captain Ladislao Espinar, a hero of the War of the Pacific.[110] Moreover, vocabulary specific to Cuzco is so predominant that the dictionary must be difficult to use for Quechua speakers from other regions of the Andes. It ignores dialect variants of Quechua in order to impose its Inca origins, as the principal intention of the dictionary is to "re-Incaize" the language and attribute the entire Andean culture to

the glorious ancestors at the expense of the Andeans whose culture is ignored. Entries concerning them refer back to the Incas, and, when an element is involved whose contemporary nature cannot be ignored, it is treated as folklore. The terms used to designate the Indians are not innocent—*aborígenes* and *nativos* are particularly pejorative terms in the Cuzquenian context. Better than any other document, this dictionary illustrates the constitution of a neo-Inca culture that asserts the domination of the misti through their identification with the ancient nobility of Cuzco. However, there is a difference with respect to the neorituals that we have analyzed. Although these are subject to reinventions with elaborations that are, at times, creative, the imperial language as it is presented in the High Academy of the Quechua Language's *Diccionario quechua-español-quechua*, if compared with the numerous dictionaries compiled over three centuries, advocates an impoverishment of the runa language and its manipulation for apologetic purposes; an Inca language has been invented that is distant from the language of contemporary Indians.

However, the transformations introduced into the Quechua language are not only those of the neo-Incas in search of nobility. As we shall see, partisans of the New Age have seized upon numerous Andean beliefs—the Andean deity of the Earth has been merged with their universal Mother Earth whom, according to them, even the hunter-gatherers worshipped; the city of Qosqo is now a kind of solar plexus of the universe. In the 1990s, Qosqo's mayor believed that the magnetic center moved from the Himalayas to the Andean Cordillera; healers are increasingly taking on the anonymous face of the prototypical shaman invented in California. The Quechua language is not spared this influence, and it is now seen by some as an esoteric language from which the Children of the Age of Aquarius can draw Inca wisdom:

> Our research has led us to conceptualize Keshua [*sic*] in a new dimension which transcends its traditional functions as a language. This means that Keshua should not be perceived as a means of social communication, nor merely as a means for cultural transmission, but instead it should be considered as the very source of knowledge for in Keshua is buried the ancestral knowledge of the people of the In-k-as [*sic*].[111]

We have included this citation because it offers a particularly telling example of the confiscation of runa culture. The language of the Incas as it is promoted by Cuzco's High Academy is increasingly remote from the Indian phrases murmured in intimate rites for the fertility of the earth, during desperate lawsuits in Cuzco's courthouse, in prayer during the processions of saints and Virgins, and so on. Its very nature as a vehicular language is now contested—allegedly, it is a simple corpus of esotericism. Although the neo-Incas wish to make it the basis of autochthony, the New Age activists

see it as "the language of the gods" (the title of the text quoted above). Moving from the Incas to the gods, the vocation of Quechua seems to be to tamper with the meaning of words. One needs to read the linguistic analyses of the author quoted above to understand that his interpretations have no limits insofar as they are based on the supposedly scientific knowledge of an elite with nothing but scorn for the ignorance and idleness of the indigenous people, and which thinks in their stead: "The reader will undoubtedly have noticed that some words in our analysis are not recorded in any dictionary, but in accordance with the laws governing biograms, they are justified and their significance seems obvious, thanks to the different types of analysis which emerge from the agglutinate nature of the Keshua language, which would take too long to explain here."[112]

The Role of the Anthropologist

In these transformations of indigenous culture, the role played by local anthropologists is crucial, not only because of the knowledge that some of them have of Andean culture, but above all because of the role of arbitration and academic validation that they come to play to establish a neo-Inca truth. We should not ignore the fact that it is often through attachment to traditional culture that universities carry out an operation of decanting. They observed this traditional culture "in the field," sometimes among the workers at their grandparents' haciendas, where they often returned until the 1970s. Neither should we ignore the fact that, for many of them, Andean myths and beliefs were stories they used to hear as children.

The two main processes of the metamorphosis of indigenous tradition "promoted" to a neo-Inca culture are purification and idealization. We have already identified them in the works of indigenists such as Valcárcel and Mariátegui. The delusions are all the more difficult to perceive as Andean ethnography in the field is not highly developed, and it is hard to define a single tradition for the Cordillera as a whole. This was the aim of the notion of *lo andino*.

Formalized by John Murra in the 1970s, it is heir to the indigenist current.[113] At the time, it gave Andean studies an undeniable impetus, highlighting the originality of the region's social organization. However, the notion lo andino suggests a certain homogeneity of the cultures of the Andean highlands and thus leads to a hasty generalization of ethnographic data under the pretense of a hypothetical Andean identity. Furthermore, it assumes a continuity between pre-Hispanic and contemporary cultures: "What is *lo andino*? Above all, it is an ancient culture which should be considered in terms similar to those used for the Greeks, Egyptians and Chinese."[114] Even though the author adds, "For this, the concept must be cleansed of any mystification,"

we can still pick up the apologetic nature of the definition and the desire to raise the Andean culture to a level reputedly of a "high civilization." Like today's neo-Inca project, the ideology of lo andino rehabilitates the Andean not as a contemporary indigenous person, but as a State Indian.

Hasty generalizations, an apologetic project—it is easy to recognize the characteristics of the neo-Inca doctrine that absorbed the legacy of the indigenists and anthropologists of the 1970s. Although Andean anthropology evolved rapidly in the 1980s,[115] it appears that the earlier stage of lo andino research was fossilized and ideologized in the neo-Inca *doxa*. For example, recent work on the ayllu (the pre-Hispanic patrilineal lineage) had no effect whatsoever on the vision of an atemporal community that was perfectly regulated by a characteristic that inhabits the neo-Inca universe just as, not long ago, it was inhabited by lo andino: reciprocity. It is claimed to have ruled not only the work of the Andean populations but also the relations between the state and the subjects of the Inca. The neo-Incas' insistence upon the peculiarly Andean nature of reciprocity is in striking contrast to the spectacular inequalities among the region's inhabitants. To support this, they do not miss any opportunity to cite a few traditional communities, where, it is true, mutual services (*ayni*) still appear to be practiced with rigor. They ignore the fact that the services exchanged are not always of a comparable nature—these days one can, for example, trade a day's labor for a sack of fertilizer offered by the Agricultural Branch Manager to his compadre for his child's baptism. Nonetheless, the "spirit of the *ayni*" is now taken to be the "divine precept" of the Incas, as preached by Pachacuteq, "Sharing beyond what we possess, sharing what we are."[116]

In general, the neo-Incas seek out laws and principles that resemble the legislations and precepts used in the West—in their eyes, they are the sign of civilization. They often take their inspiration from anthropology, and thus the ethnographers' *Ayni* is written with a capital letter and has been raised to the rank of an Inca law, on a par with the tablets of Moses. In a similar vein, children are being taught at school that the imperial government, apart from being run on principles of redistribution, was ruled by the precepts of "ama sua, ama qella, ama llulla" (do not lie, do not steal, do not be idle). However, these principles cannot be found in any document.

More recently, emphasis has been on the divine gifts the Inca gods gave to humans. The neo-Incas now propose to develop *munay*, *llank'ay* and *yachay*, which represent, respectively, the power of emotions, work, and knowledge. Every person possesses the seeds of these powers and should develop them harmoniously. These three principles are sometimes interpreted as the ages in the history of the world. The Incas lived in *munay* (harmonic love), and this was followed by the age of work, or *llank'ay*,

of the Inkas' servants, and then the age of *llanchay* (knowledge) during the Spanish colonization. The age currently approaching is that of a great unification of these qualities (that were until now disconnected) through a worldwide ayni. In other versions, llank'ay is said to correspond to the prehuman ancestors, llanchay to the Inca Empire and the Spanish colonization, and munay to the return of the Incas with the resurrection of Inkarrí. Some people add that the first era is the age of the Father, the second is that of the Son, and the third is that of the Holy Spirit, thus echoing the Franciscan perspective of Joaquin de Fiore in the Middle Ages.[117]

This theory of three complementary principles that nature gives to each individual lends itself admirably to developments inspired by the New Age. The three gifts attributed by the Incas are identified as three energies that must be developed harmoniously, the person's equilibrium depending on the balance between them. Western culture is, of course, accused of putting too much emphasis on the development of llank'ay and llanchay and not enough on munay. Some of the runa are said to have retained knowledge of the three "energies" and are able to reestablish the balance between them through ritual.

A continuum appears to exist between the reinvented Inca cosmovisión and contemporary indigenous practices. However, this almost cosmic role of an intermediary could not be given to the archaic and wretched Indian from the communities, and an elite worthy of this historic role of go-between had to be found.

The Indian Descendants of the Incas

The chosen people are the Q'ero group living in the Cuzco region, the only ethnic group to exist as such in Peru. The Q'ero were "discovered" or "invented" in 1955 during an academic expedition to a hacienda in the region that was, at the time, an illustration of the feudal exploitation of Indians. The academics offered to free the Indians with a plan that would have been arranged by the Indigenous Institute in partnership with the University of Cuzco, and at the same time they intended to conduct an ethnographic study. The work carried out was of enormous value, and tribute should be paid not only to the multidisciplinary nature of the expedition,[118] but also to the courage of these professors who refused to be intimidated by threats from university and police authorities. As the plan involved closing down the hacienda, it was never carried out, but articles were published and it was not spared expropriation in 1963, which was unimaginable at the time. The work resulting from this expedition played a fundamental role in the invention of the neo-Inca tradition.

The Q'ero held several trump cards to become the indigenists' Incas. First, they lived in a fairly inaccessible region to the West of Cuzco on the eastern slopes of the

Cordillera. It was assumed that they had remained "pure" and free from miscegenation, an indispensable condition to claim Inca identity, as we know that the indigenists did not care much for the mixing of races. In addition, the Q'ero still practice a kind of "ecological control of multiple levels," which brings them close to the model of the pre-Hispanic vertical archipelago later established by Murra.[119] Their habitat extends from the *puna*, the highlands at an altitude of 5,000 meters to the *ceja de selva*, the mountainous tropical forest at 2,000 meters above sea level. They combine raising camelids on the highest level with growing tubers on the middle level and corn on the tropical level. This production system makes them comparatively autonomous so that they constitute a relatively self-contained society free from outside influences. For the region's communities, the Q'ero constitute a particular ethnic group, and this rather special status was greatly reinforced by anthropological studies carried out by Cuzquenian indigenists.[120]

Before the 1955 expedition, Luis Yábar Palacio, a member of one of the most powerful landowning families in the region, published a study in 1922 in which he presented the Q'ero as "the legitimate sons of the Sun" and identified them as the descendants of the Incas. This tradition was taken up by the Cuzquenians and even by anthropologists, as the book in which the work of the 1955 expedition is published presents the Q'ero group as the last Inca ayllu.[121] However, the Q'ero refute this lineage, and are more inclined to describe themselves as a people conquered by the Incas. Their rituals point to origins in the tropical foothills. They attend major ceremonies such as the Qoyllurit'i dressed as ch'unchu, the "savages" of the Amazonian forest, wearing feathers of the *ara* bird. The ara is a well-known bird of the tropical forest, but has no relation with the Quechua q'ara, which means naked. Moreover, we know that this region has always been in direct contact with the Inca state,[122] and the hypothesis of the tropical origins of the Q'ero cannot be ignored.[123]

Nevertheless, the Inca identity attributed to the Q'ero seems to have taken root, despite theories based on evidence. It is reinforced by their proximity to a violent and earthly nature, as Valcárcel described it. The extremely harsh Andean landscape at the heart of the Q'ero scenography undeniably leads to an autochthony, which is transferred to Cuzquenians through the rituals in which the Q'ero specialize.

They are now considered experts of propitiatory rites called *pagos* and of divination with coca leaves and introduced these practices into the heart of the city of Cuzco, where they became widespread. It is true that in the city, there have always been offerings to the gods and magic cures among the populations from communities, especially among servants who were regularly brought in by large landowners from their haciendas. Twenty years ago, these superstitions were perceived as shameful, and people hid to practice them. Now, it has become chic to make an offering to

Mother Earth when inaugurating a bank, to examine the future in coca leaves before getting married, to consult a "traditional" shaman for healing, and to study esoteric knowledge. And it is undeniable that the Q'ero have played a crucial role in bringing about this change.

The construction of their image illustrates one of the ways in which tradition is invented. In the 1950s, they were identified as the purest of the Incas' descendants—despite being the most wretched of Indians (serfs in the country's most feudal haciendas). However, they also had autochthonous qualities because of their environment and isolation. As Inca descendants, they gradually became the guardians of pre-Hispanic ritual knowledge in the eyes of the very same people who designated them as such, and who resorted to using them in order to "re-Inca-ize" themselves, asking them for "shamanic" rites, "messianic" myths, and "esoteric" initiations. At the same time, however, they continued to see the Q'ero as dirty, drunken, archaic Indians. Apart from the rituals they performed, they were held in contempt. One day they are taken to luxury hotels to read coca leaves for the tourists (the knowledge of Inca descendants is a goldmine!) The next day they are driven from the filthy hovel where they have been accommodated in Cuzco. The day after that, they return to their community, near their wives, who never go to town and who take care of the crops and animals. The Q'ero thus move to and fro between their distant community and Cuzco's five-star hotels to read the *gringas*' future in coca leaves. In some ways, for them, the city of Cuzco is one more island in the archipelago formed by their different ecological levels. They raise llamas on the top level, harvest corn on the lower level, gather tubers on the intermediate level and dollars in the city. But this interpretation is idealistic, and their life is undoubtedly deeply disrupted. The dismemberment of their lives is symmetrical with the ideological division of the neo-Incas who exploit them for their fantasies of autochthony. The neo-Incas oscillate between elation at the discovery of their ancestors and awareness of their contempt for those who are more Indian than the Indians. The impression ethnologists often have in Cuzco's salons and lecture halls is one of the public's constant veering between fascination and disgust for the ethnographical information they hear. This attitude is in some ways related to the schizoid autochthony of the neo-Incas, who, in the end, usurp the identity of the people they despise—they know that the Indians are closer than they are themselves to their glorious ancestors. In many respects, this schizophrenia has a national dimension—the only possible material evidence of the ancestor of the Nation, identified as an imperial Indian, is a filthy creature who must be purified; his language, history, and gods must be cleansed. The promotion of the wretched Q'ero to the rank of Incas is a metaphor for this acquisition of autochthony and the nation's split personality.

From Indians to Neo-Incas

By devoting themselves to traditional rites, the Cuzquenians perform as Incas by the same paradox. Divination using coca leaves is now widespread. Traditionally, the operation involved dropping coca leaves from clasped hands onto a coin representing the person whose fortune was being told. Readings were based on the characteristics of the fallen leaves, their direction, which side faced up, their relation to the other leaves, and so on. In communities, divination with coca leaves is part of an offertory rite, either to the deity of the Earth, or to the gods of the mountains for a cure. Today in Cuzco, people have their leaves read in the same way as one reads cards. Luxury hotels offer this service along with a restaurant, a hairdresser, and a Jacuzzi. The Q'eros are also recruited to make offerings or pagos for the prosperity of a bank, an institution, or a store. The pago involves first placing on a special cloth a certain number of ingredients, laid out in a highly codified manner.[124] This is then offered to Pachamama or the Apu with prayers, and the shaman burns the offering at a favorable site. Packs containing all ingredients for a pago can be bought in Cuzco's market at specialist stands, which are more and more numerous every year. Thirty years ago in Cuzco, these rites were practiced in secret—it was not done to display one's Indian side, and it was only in very "decent" intellectual circles that one did not need to hide the fact that one had consulted a runa expert. Now, however, the practice is encouraged—it is seen as an act of autochthony rather than idolatry. Even official organizations now carry out pagos to accompany football teams at important matches, inaugurate monuments, or pass exams at university. This kind of ritual used to be performed in the secrecy of an apartment a few years ago, but now sites imbued with Inca identity are sought at Inca ruins such as Sacsayhuaman or Tambomachay. During these events, experts from the communities are less common (they do not see the value attributed to these ruins) than urban neoshamans. The neoshamans generally claim to have been initiated by an indigenous master, and sometimes even claim, as tradition dictates, to have been struck by lightning to be designated as shamans. They have their own special paraphernalia with a personal touch to build their reputation, such as, for example, a bottle containing water from a sacred glacier, a puma's claw, or an archaeological object bearing witness to their direct link with the Inca. Sometimes they invent rituals in addition to the pago, or simply insert it into a ceremonial sequence.

This was the case for the cure we witnessed near Cuzco. It was carried out by a very well-known neoshaman, Aurelio Carmona, who was the rector of the University of Cuzco in 2002.[125] He was accompanied by two assistants, two students who addressed him as "Apu" (Lord). This title is reserved for the deities of the mountain peaks to whom a cult is offered, and suggests that this neoshaman had reached the highest

rank of the hierarchy of practitioners and was thus possessed by one of the mountain gods with whom he worked in order to perform his cures. The patient had flown in especially from Lima. He requested a propitiatory rite in order to find a wife.

After walking for several hours, we reached the foot of the Picol, one of the most powerful sacred summits (apu) of the region. The ceremonial area is idyllic, on the banks of a river, facing a waterfall. The neoshaman often performs his cures here. First he performs a pago to Apu Picol. The ingredients are placed with great care on a *misa*, a special fabric upon which is first placed a piece of paper later used to wrap all the offered ingredients. The healer has brought some *vino de misa* for Apu Picol—there is a pun on the word *misa*, which in Spanish means "mass" as well as "table" when pronounced in Quechua (*mesa* is pronounced *misa*). In fact, Apu Picol prefers port, but there was none to be found today in Cuzco, so he makes do with communion wine. For those of us attending the ceremony, at each stage of the pago's composition, we are offered a sip of whisky. The neoshaman then offers up *quintos* (bouquets of three coca leaves) to each Apu of the region. He proceeds to read the coca for the patient who discovers that he will find a wife—she will be rich and will already have a child with another man. Next the healer prepares the pago, placing each ingredient in the appropriate position. We recognize the different elements of traditional pagos—coca leaves, llama fat, various dried wild plants, rice, sugar, peanuts (the Apus' favorite snack), gold and silver paper foil (*qori libro* and *qolqe libro*), a skein of rainbow-colored thread, pieces of cotton wool, candy, grains of maize, confetti, some earth from sacred sites, and so on. The neoshaman then dons his *unqu* (pre-Hispanic tunic) and pours some wine into a cowry, inviting the Apu to help himself. All the ingredients are wrapped in the paper on which they had been placed, and the package is ceremoniously burnt with offertory prayers.

We then move on to the second step of the cure. We have never observed anything like this in the communities, but this step resembles certain descriptions of shamanic initiations in the northern Andes. We are on the banks of a magnificent waterfall. The patient is totally naked and the Apu healer is wearing striped shorts, an Inca tunic and ceremonial *chuyu* (Andean woolen bonnet). Despite the cold weather, the patient is taken under the icy water of the waterfall to purify him. In the Quechua prayers we recognize traditional beliefs such as the reference to an Indian mermaid under the waterfall. The patient then has to stretch out on the ground for the Apu to perform a ritual called *seq'esqa*, which we had never heard of. He ties the patient's entire body tightly with two strings wrapped around several times as though trussing a chicken. One string is red and the other white, the first being the masculine and the second the feminine, just like, adds the healer, the two carnations in the pago and the two colors of the Peruvian flag flown during traditional ceremonies. The

patient's body is now completely tied up. The neoshaman explains that the red and white strings are *ceques*, hence seq'esqa, the name of the ritual. This reference to an Inca system is interesting.

At the Temple of the Sun or Coricancha, 41 lines (ceques) converged from 328 shrines (huacas). The points on the horizon to where the shrines' alignments or ceques were directed have been determined by astronomical observations. The lines thus fanned out from the Temple of the Sun depending on the position of the stars, and the ceques corresponded to the months, forming a gigantic calendar around the city of Cuzco.[126] Rites were celebrated at these aligned shrines on the date to which they corresponded on the calendar. Each of Cuzco's social units was in charge of the costs and organization of the rites, each responsible for a certain huaca or ceque. The alignments of the shrines and ceques were thus not only an immense calendar radiating out from the imperial city but also a set of geographical markers in the Cuzco region and a register of the social units as they divided up the cults performed in each of the aligned shrines. The system structured the imperial space, regulating time with the ritual calendar it formed and structuring the society which performed the ceremonies.

Let us get back to the shamanic cure named seq'esqa. The rector finds our question about the connection between the Inca ceques and the trussed body of his patient incongruous—how can we fail to understand that the ceques, the alignments of sacred sites, are, in fact, "energy lines"? To him it is obvious that they will cure his patient! The strings tied around his body create circuits of energy just as the ceques did around the imperial city. This Inca energy cannot fail to cure the patient. Suddenly, with an abrupt movement, the neoshaman cuts the strings, shouting "Kutiy! Kutiy! Kutiy carajo!" as Indian healers do during their cures. We are thus witnessing a process to Inca-ize a ritual that otherwise would have been sullied by its Indian origins. Obviously, today, in a traditional runa magic cure, there is not the slightest reference either to the Incas or to the ceque system—and even less so to the notion of energy, which comes directly from the New Age.

The three steps of the cure we have just observed illustrate how the neo-Inca continually veers between the contemporary Indian and the imperial Indian—the first part corresponds to a traditional pago—only the whisky consumed by the participants would seem exotic to a runa, who willingly offers sweet wine to the mountain gods if the patient is wealthy. Unlike the neoshamans from Cuzco, our friend directs his pago to the gods of the mountain in Quechua—not in imperial Quechua but in the Quechua of the runa. In the second step of the cure, we note traditional beliefs such as those of the *sireno*, who is an indigenous masculine form of a mermaid and who lives in the waterfall, a somewhat diabolical spirit who can take away the breath

of a person, yet who can endow musical instruments with timbre. However, alongside these traditional elements are numerous inventions. The terms the healer uses when speaking of the purification through bathing in icy water echo Christian baptisms, while the "energy" supposedly provided by the waterfall is a New Age reference. As for the third step of the ritual, it appears to be totally invented. We later learn that similar practices referring to the ceque system are carried out by other neoshamans in Cuzco—an excellent example of the neo-Indians' appropriation of anthropological knowledge. This third stage of the ritual also gives us a perfect example of contagion by the New Age. The notion of "energy" replaces indigenous sacredness, giving it a universal value. The process goes as follows: an idea linked to the Incas is retained (here, the idea of the alignment of shrines in the ceque system) and removed from its pre-Hispanic context; it is then applied to an indigenous belief, or, as in this example, a rite that is totally foreign to the idea. Finally, in the cry "Kutiy! Kutiy!" we can recognize the infinitive of the Quechua verb meaning "to go back," and the healer explains that this is how he orders the negative energy to leave, not unlike we used to say, "Get thee behind me, Satan!" It thus refers to a traditional ritual known as *kutychi* involving a pago for the return of a soul carried off by the *soq'a*, the negative and deadly figure of the prehuman ancestor. However, the reference to an element of indigenous culture is also taken out of context; the neoshaman laughingly suggested that for English-speaking patients, the final sentence of the ceremony is interpreted as "Cut it! Cut it!" an allusion to the brusque movement to cut the strings binding the patient's body. We shall never know whether he was joking or if this is an ingenious adaptation of an Andean rite for his Californian clientele. Although this part of the cure appears to be totally invented, the first stage uses traditional acts and appears authentic with regard to certain ceremonies organized for tourists. This is also the case for another particularly spectacular celebration that we were able to attend on two occasions—the sacrifice of llamas offered up for the prosperity of the University of Cuzco's Anthropology Department on August 1 during the Festival of Pachamama (Figure 3.2).

This was also officiated by the rector of the University. He was in the center of the Anthropology Department's courtyard, surrounded by professors, students, and faculty staff. As with the cure we have just witnessed, he was assisted by young students wearing sexier versions of traditional clothing—very short, multicolored, flared skirts and laced riding boots. The sacrifice of the llamas is preceded by a long offertory ritual. The rector wears his ceremonial tunic and traditional bonnet, kneeling on the ground over the *mesa* on which he places the ingredients for the pago.[127] He is well versed in its indigenous uses, which he reproduces with care, but there are far more ingredients than is usual. In fact, he has combined the ingredients of various offerings

FIGURE 3.2. A llama sacrifice in Cuzco University's Anthropology Department. The rector officiates as the sacrificer, assisted by two students. *Photo Antoinette Molinié.*

to Pachamama, the mountain deities, the soul's return, and so on. Although each of the ingredients placed on the mesa does indeed correspond to a traditional offering, their combination results in an invention.[128] Does the neo-Inca pago operate by simply piling up elements? This would correspond to a sort of general pago comprising all the elements that go to make up the variety of specific pagos in the same way as a *lengua general* synthesizes dialects. What's more, whereas the traditional pago is somewhat minimalist and private, the rector's pago is spectacular and public. Incense burns around the mesa, and we note the wooden ceremonial vases (q'ero), unlikely to be found in a traditional pago because these are archaeological pieces. Their presence "Inca-izes" a ritual that, without them, would be nothing but an Indian ritual.

While the rector is invoking the mountain gods, the llamas graze serenely in a corner of the courtyard, and we admire the students dressed as *ukuku* or *capac qolla*, ritual dancers often present at religious festivals. Some of them are members of comparsas and dance regularly in choreographic groups devoted to the worship of holy images. Not only do they add a note of authenticity to the sacrifice we are attending, but also a genuine dimension of devotion as they also dance for the brotherhoods

during patron saints' festivals. The llamas come forward for the sacrifice, their ears decorated with woolen indicators of the communities they come from. The shaman rector gives them chicha (corn beer) to drink, as is done by shepherds in the communities when the herds are branded. He then slits their throats with disconcerting ease and the llamas' blood trickles to the ground of the university. It is collected in large, ancient vases said to be Inca vases, and we move on to the next two rites.

The first rite is similar to the one still practiced during llama sacrifices. We had observed it on the Bolivian high plains in the Potosí region during the preparations for a ritual battle (tinku). The man performing the sacrifice dipped his fingers in the llama's blood and, on the face of those attending, drew a thin line from one ear to the other, across the nose. The ancient Aymara painted faces with the blood of vicunas for the *sukullu*, or initiation of children.[129] The gesture is performed with less delicacy at the University of Cuzco—the sacrificer smears the faces with obvious relish. Does the neo-Indians' exaggeration enhance the symbolic effectiveness of reinvented practices? It should be noted that the anthropologists celebrating the llama sacrifice here are not paying much attention to the authenticity of their terminology—in the Cuzco region, this ceremony does not go by the name of *wilancha* as it is called here in the Anthropology Department—the few shepherds who celebrate it at very high altitudes call it *pacha t'inka*.[130]

The second ritual sequence evokes the Inca festival of the Citua celebrated in September in Cuzco. Four hundred men representing the four districts of the empire are dressed as the soldiers responsible for driving pestilence from the imperial city while foreigners were temporarily expelled.[131] These warriors, 100 for each district, had to transport a package containing the diseases by following the alignments of the huacas of the ceque system. Each group thus followed the lines corresponding to its district. At certain specific points of the ceque, other "warriors" took over, as in a relay race. They passed on their great battle cries to those replacing them, who then carried them farther and farther to one of the region's large rivers, where the disease was eventually immersed. During the second phase of the Citua, the foreigners returned to the city, where they were all invited to share the *sankhu*, a corn paste mixed with the blood of the sacrificial llama. This is what the Cuzco academics are now doing—the rector makes the ceremonial sankhu with flour and the blood of the sacrificed llama, enthusiastically offering it to the participants despite a certain reluctance in some of them. With bloody faces, professors and students commune religiously in what appeared as an Inca Eucharist to the conquistadores. Once again, a reinvented rite—here the llama sacrifice—includes an Inca ceremony, as if, each time, it were necessary to purge Indian practices by inserting those of the imperial Indian.

The process of promoting neo-Indianity now appears clear. First of all, the local indigenous culture is "Inca-ized." This transformation makes use of several procedures. Runa customs find themselves associated with Inca origins—for example, the ayllu becomes the idyllic community-based institution of the Inca Empire. At times, a peasant institution takes on a philosophical or moral value, and then becomes part of pre-Hispanic thought—for example, the ayni, which in Indian communities involves the exchange of mutual services, becomes the first commandment in the Inca moral code. Another process involves inserting elements of Inca origin into contemporary traditional rituals. This may consist of archaeological objects to ennoble the scenario, such as the offertory vase at the university, or an Inca ceremony isolated from its pre-Hispanic context and adapted to a contemporary ritual act, such as the sankhu of the Citua consumed at the University after the llama sacrifice. Conversely, it is possible to insert contemporary gestures or elements into reinvented ceremonies such as offering chicha to the Earth, the high priest's reading coca leaves, and the dance of the *ch'unchu* around the king's throne in the Inti Raymi. These actions, being Indian in their original context, become imperial through their insertion into an Inca setting. In each case, it is a question of finding intermediate iconographies between the Indian representation and the imperial figure in a way that ennobles the first and renders the latter autochthonous.

The second phase involves giving this imperial figure (once rid of indigenous culture) a national value, for example in the Tahuantinsuyu flag that represents the Inca deity Kuychi but flies next to the national flag on the roof of the Presidential Palace in Lima. However, it is undoubtedly the Inti Raymi that has the greatest symbolic national effectiveness—the Inca of the cult of the Sun summons the mayor of Cuzco! He, then, makes his report to the king, listens to his advice, and joins the national authorities, prefect, captain, and ministerial representatives. Lastly, in modern versions of the myth of Inkarrí, who predicted the resurrection of the Inca, this takes the value of a national project, such as in the 1970s under Velasco's government, when the land reform was applied making constant references to Tupac Amaru, the revolutionary Inca. This national vocation of neo-Incaism was clearly formulated by Daniel Estrada, Cuzco's mayor during the 1990s, who identified with the Inca Pachacutec—"It is here in the Qosqo of the Incas and the Peruvians that patriotism and nationality begin, and everything that concerns Qosqo concerns the whole of Peru."[132] We shall see later how a president of the Republic himself laid claim to these imperial figures.

A subtle connection is thus made between the Indian from the communities, the "decent" Cuzquenian and the Nation—a transfer from indigenous culture to neo-Inca inventions, adding "Inca-ness" to "decency," and finally to the construction of an autochthony through the imperial Indian. It is true, a cultural circuit also exists

in the other direction—Indians increasingly have access to electricity, listen to the radio, watch television, drink beer, and wear jeans and baseball caps with a bank's logo. They become cholos, that is, city Indians, and are then even more excluded than they were when living in their communities and inspired the fantasies of the very people who now despise them. The transfer of Indian images to national representations via Cuzco's neo-Incas enriches the neo-Incas with a mission for autochthony, while, conversely, the Indians' acquisition of models of "decency" robs them of the sole reason for not being considered as animals—their power to inspire fantasies of the imperial Indian through their clothing and rituals.

Every year since 1995 in Huasao, about twenty miles from Cuzco, a festival of *curanderos andinos* (Andean healers) is held, known as the K'intu Raymi (the ceremony of the k'intu) after the small bouquet of coca leaves (k'intu) offered up to the mountain gods.

This event brings together experts from the South of Peru and Bolivia, whom the people of Cuzco and the tourists can consult. The village where it is held has always been famous for its "sorcerers" as they are called by the "decent" people who are not highly "Inca-ized." The festival offers a variety of stands closed off with what look like plastic shower curtains, behind which a "shaman" performs all kinds of supposedly Andean rituals. Sometimes a poorly written poster lists their specialties. There is an entrance fee, which, from the outset, excludes the majority of the population from attending the K'intu Raymi. With the ticket, one buys the coca leaves needed for divination and offerings, albeit more expensively than at the market. The public is made up exclusively of "decent" Cuzquenians, most of them women, and a few tourists from Lima and abroad. In their booths, behind the curtains, the experts are highly diversified—from the traditional paqo who speaks only Quechua, to the Cuzquenian converted to more or less tourist activities and the New Age gringa who gives out the energy she has not been able to sell to her peers in the city. Here we have the entire array of new Andean mysticism, from its Indian source to its New Age globalization via the new "Inca-izing" "decency." However, unlike other reinvented rituals, there is no creativity here. The rites are reduced to merchandise sold from stalls hidden by closed curtains to differentiate them from those at Cuzco's market and perhaps also to hide the silent disappearance of Indian culture. In the courtyard we are surprised to observe the three stages of this planned death—a Tahuantinsuyu warrior in Inti Raymi costume, a dancer from a folk group, and a member of a community who has made a trip to the valley that seems especially lively that day. The stages of the neo-Inca genesis are thus represented—the Indian plundered of his culture, the product of this, folklorized with a view to a regional culture, the imperial Indian offered an autochthony to the Nation, and lastly, having paid the entrance fee

and behind the plastic curtain, the undifferentiated globalization of ritual practices of indigenous origin. The microphone blares "El condor pasa," illustrating through music the inexorable destiny of the runa culture.

The following year in Ecuador, during the "Retorno del Sol. Encuentro de Yachacs (Shamanes), Curanderas y Medicina Tradicional,"[133] the horizon of the passing condor is far broader. This international meeting offered four symposiums and a festival entitled "Práctica Medicina Tradicional: Limpias (Cuy, Huevo, Hierbas), Curaciones (Mal de Ojo, Espanto, Mal Aire),"[134] which presented a whole range of South American "shamanic" practices. The discreet exoticism of Andeans in jeans did not stand a chance against the unsettling foreignness of the Amazonian "savages." The stars here are the Jivaro and the Tsachila, with their copper nudity, feathered headdresses, and hair streaked with scarlet. One of the stands announces, "Shuar Pueblo de las Cascadas Sagradas."[135] A short distance away, three of them have formed a team—two "shamans" are healing left, right and center, while the third hands out business cards in the name of "Professor R.W., Head of the Foundation of Shuar Culture in Ecuador," with addresses in Amazonia and Quito. Further on, a cross stands on a prodigious altar—African idols, plastic Buddhas, skulls, and the *tsansas* of bucks,[136] as well as kitsch pictures of saints—this heteroclite material is constantly doused with diverse beverages as powerful incense plunges those participating into a cataleptic state. At the end of the cure, for a few dollars, patients can buy a tract entitled "Curaca Blanco, El Gran Shaman Rolex" which is little more than a simple horoscope.[137] These ritual supermarkets are very different from the mesas of the runa communities of the Cordillera with their minimalism and austerity! As in Huasao, those officiating wait in their booths, separated from each other, but one does not cross the barrier to consult them—on the contrary, the spectacular nature of the cure attracts the customer. We thus discover the value of Huasao's shower curtains the year before. It is true that the rituals there were plasticized, but the intimacy of the local atmosphere was preserved and able to resist globalization. We are reminded of the Q'ero warriors hidden behind their curtains in front of their small mesa and their coca leaves, receiving their customers who were welcomed, feared, and hated all at the same time. Here at the festival of Cotacachis, they sell themselves much better. The public is very diverse. In the morning we observe peasants from the region who have traveled a long way—at times we have the impression of a genuine ethnic exchange. In the afternoon, expensive cars arrive from Quito. The festival is taken over by the gilded youth hesitating between the unexpected distraction of the "authentic shamans" and the seriousness of a request for "positive energies." The "sorcerers," as they are known, answer questions gladly and are delighted to have their photographs taken. However, it is clear that this is not just any merchandise; the

Indianist organizations are there to give conferences on its value. With their presence, anthropologists emerging directly from the International Congress of Americanists lend scientific backing to this supermarket of the supernatural. We can see here both militant and mercantile dimensions that are absent in Huasao's shamanic festival. In the symposium organized in a nearby hall, an attempt is made to defend a cultural specificity that is then sold in market stalls—publicity for a "Protected Designation of Origin" of the Amerindian culture that has entered into the global marketplace through the door of Western dreams.

Notes

1. In Xochimilco, in the South of the Federal District, the anniversary of the movement's founding is celebrated "with all the ancestral autochthonous ceremonies," the "cosmic ritual," the allocation of Nahuatl names accompanied by the "*Mexicanidad* song" and the national anthem in Nahuatl. *Izkalotl*, March 1984.

2. Lina Odena Güemes, *Movimiento confederado restaurador del Anáhuac* (Mexico City: CISINA [Cuadernos de la Casa Chata, 97], 1984), 167.

3. *Izkalotl*, May 1995. The denomination "pre-Cuauhtemoc ethnic groups," common in MCRA vocabulary, applies to populations who did not experience the Spanish Conquest before the war led by Cuauhtemoc against the invaders.

4. De la Peña, *Los Hijos del Sexto Sol*, 11.

5. *Izkalotl*, January 1974.

6. Ibid.

7. De la Peña, *Los Hijos del Sexto Sol*, 107.

8. *Izkalotl*, January 1974.

9. *Izkalotl*, September 1992.

10. *Izkalotl*, January 1991.

11. *Izkalotl*, March 1998.

12. The death of Roldolfo Nieva on September 17, 1968, was hailed as a "return to nature" (*Izkalotl* 30 [1968]).

13. Lina Odena Güemes, *Movimiento confederado restaurador del Anáhuac*, 24–29.

14. Calpulli are local clan-based systems in Tenochtitlan.

15. *Izkalotl*, June 1975.

16. In other words, limited to the territorial boundaries of the valley of Mexico, the Anahuac.

17. *Izkalotl*, September 1992.

18. Ibid.

19. Atlantis is mentioned with reference to Plato, but it is considered as the melting pot of the Anahuac civilization, with the people of Atlantis being none other than the Nahua of the Teotihuacan era. The name "Atlantis" is alleged to be a Nahuatl term. *Izkalotl*, November 1964.

20. *Izkalotl*, January 1974.

21. Cortés quoted in *Izkalotl*, September 1977.

22. Odena Güemes, *Movimiento confederado restaurador del Anáhuac*, 62.

23. Term used in Mexico to designate the Tzigane populations.

24. Odena Güemes, *Movimiento confederado restaurador del Anáhuac*, 164.

25. *Izkalotl*, April 1992.

26. Odena Güemes, *Movimiento confederado restaurador del Anáhuac*, 164.

27. *Milenio Semanal*, April 19, 2011.

28. *Izkalotl*, November 1993.

29. *Izkalotl*, August 1991.

30. *Izkalotl*, November 1994.

31.The Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), an agrarian movement, partly "ethnic-based" (the Maya of the highlands) was born on January 1, 1994. Its political odyssey had enormous resonance both in Mexico and abroad thanks to the intense media coverage of its demands expressed through the charismatic figure of Subcomandante Marcos, who converted in 2005 to Delegado Cero.

32. Odena Güemes, *Movimiento confederado restaurador del Anáhuac*, 13.

33. Ibid., 16.

34. Eric Wolf, "The Virgin of Guadalupe: A Mexican National Symbol," in *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*, ed. W. Lessa and E. Vogt (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 149–53.

35. A major deity of the Earth worshipped in the Andean world.

36. See the essay on human sacrifice among the Aztecs by Y. González Torres, *El sacrificio humano entre los mexicas* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1985). See also the enlightening summary of the worldview of the ancient Mexicans by Jacques Soustelle, *La pensée cosmologique des anciens Mexicains* (Paris, Hermann, 1940). The historical continuity between the Aztecs and the modern-day Nahua, their descendants, is particularly striking in the Sierra de Puebla—Italo Signorini and Alessandro Lupo, *Los tres ejes de la vida: Almas, cuerpo, enfermedad entre los nahuas de la Sierra de Puebla* (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 1989—and the Huasteca—A. Gómez Martínez, *Tlaneltokilli: La espiritualidad de los nahuas chicontepecanos*—Mexico City: Programa de Desarrollo Cultural de la Huasteca, 2002.

37. *Ce-Acatl*, November–December 1993.

38. *Izkalotl*, January 1995.

39. *Ce-Acatl*, November–December 1993, 7.

40. *Ce-Acatl*, 1994, 24–25n59.

41. It is even more surprising, then, that the Zócalo's neo-Indians celebrate the "Solar" festival of Nauholin, which, in Aztec times, involved self-sacrifice. Cf. Diego Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España e islas de la tierra firme*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1967), 108.

42. Throughout Indian Mexico, the dead are especially feared and are the object of a huge popular worship each year in October and the beginning of November. The joyful and festive atmosphere of these celebrations should not mask the control they exercise over the living and the imperative need to honor them with pomp and splendor.

43. *Izkalotl*, December 1968.

44. Paper made of bark is still used for shamanic purposes in eastern Mexico. It is used to make *ídolos*, anthropomorphous figures used by the Nahua, Totonac, Tepehua, and Otomi. The latter have become producers for the peasant communities of Guerrero, especially in Xalitla, who give them a new aesthetic and political dimension by transforming them into pictures painted on the spot. A. Hémond, *Peindre la révolte*: *Esthétique et résistance culturelle au Mexique* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 2003).

45. This cultural complex incorporated into Aztec civilization was known as *toltecayotl*, a term that is reappearing in neo-Indian literature and rituals.

46. At the time of the Conquest, the term "Chichimeca" meant "dogs," i.e., Indian hunter-gatherers who traveled across the northern frontier of Mesoamerica, as opposed to the sedentary populations of central Mexico.

47. De la Peña, *Los Hijos del Sexto Sol*, 228.

48. Galinier, *The World Below*, 10.

49. Miguel León-Portilla, *Toltecáyotl: Aspectos de la cultura náhuatl* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1980).

50. Julie Cavignac, *La littérature de colportage au Brésil* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1997).

51. *Macropolis*, February 21, 1994.

52. Sigmund Freud, "Die Zukunft einer Illusion," in *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1999), 14:327.

53. Ibid., 353.

54. Ibid., 323–80.

55. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought* (Basic Books: New York, 1999).

56. "Es ist deutlich Erkennbar, dass dieser Besitz den Menschen nach zwei Richtungen beschütz, gegen die Gefahren der Natur und des Schicksals und gegen die Schädigungen aus der menschlichen Gesellschaft selbst." Freud, "Die Zukunft einer Illusion," 340.

57. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

58. Gabriel René-Moreno, *Nicomede Antelo* (Buenos-Aires: López, 1960), 142. Cited by Marie-Danièle Demèlas, "Darwinisme à la créole: Le darwinisme social en Bolivie 1880–1910," *Pluriel* 23 (1980): 14.

59. Ibid.

60. A. Arguedas, *Pueblo enfermo: Contribución a la psicología de los pueblos hispanoamericanos* (Barcelona: Vda de Tasso, 1909).

61. Ventura Garcia Calderón, "Amor indígena" (1923), in *Obras escogidas* (Lima: Edubanco, 1986). Cited by Demèlas "Darwinisme à la creole."

62. The first mention of this representation is found with regard to the rebellion of the Indians of Huarochirí. Juan-Carlos Estenssoro, "Modernismo, estética, música y fiesta: Élites y cambio de actitud frente a la cultura popular; Perú 1750–1850," in *Tradición y modernidad*

en los Andes, ed. H. Urbano (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1992).

63. As heir to the Inca kings, Sixto Lasa laid claim to the marquisate of Oropesa attributed by the colonizers to the last Incas, the properties of the big chiefs of Surimana and Cuñatambo, ten scholarships to the Colegio de Ciencias (the establishment responsible for the education of young noble Incas), and a third of the income from guano produced on the islands, which at the time was an extraordinary source of wealth. José Tamayo Herrera, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño, siglo XVI–XX* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1980), 127.

64. Ibid., 131.

65. Atilio Sivirichi, *Derecho indígena peruano* (Lima: Ediciones Kuntur, 1946), 21.

66. Manual Sarkisyanz, *Temblor en los Andes* (La Paz: MUSEF, 1991), 3.

67. The definition of *ayllu* changes depending on the ethnographer, the ancient chronicles, and the current indigenous people. It is sometimes defined as a kind of clan, sometimes as a patrilineal lineage, and sometimes as a territorial unit.

68. José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Lima: Amauta, 1928).

69. Ynca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, ed. Carlos Araníbar (Lima: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991 [1609]).

70. "Un nuevo ser híbrido, no heredó las virtudes ancestrales sino los vicios y las taras. El mestizaje de las culturas no produce sino deformidades." L. Valcárcel, *Tempestad en los Andes*, 111.

71. "La embriaguez alcohólica es la más alta institución de los pueblos mestizos." Ibid., 43.

72. José Carlos Mariátegui, "El problema de las razas en América latina," in *Ideología y política* (Lima: Amauta, 1981 [1929]), 34.

73. In the sense given to it by Mélanie Klein, *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis, 1921–1945* (London: Hogarth Press, 1948).

74. "El Cuzco es la generosa madre en cuyas entrañas se gesta el hombre o la nueva generación que realizará el anhelo contenido, la milagrosa transformación social del Perú que señale nuevos derroteros a la América en el provenir." *Revista de la Semana del Cuzco* 1, no. 1: 20.

75. Cited in Demèlas, "Darwinisme à la créole."

76. We make a somewhat arbitrary but useful distinction between an indigenist movement, which remains intellectual and relatively theoretical, and an Indianist movement, which adopts the concrete forms of a political struggle. Obviously, they are not in opposition, and some movements may have both features at the same time, as was the case for certain indigenists in the 1920s and 1930s in Cuzco.

77. Thomas Abercrombie, "La fiesta del carnaval postcolonial en Oruro: Clase, etnicidad y nacionalismo en la danza folklórica," *Revista Andina* 2 (December 1992): 279–325.

78. Gallery in a mine.

79. During the carnival, after the pope's visit to Bolivia in 1988, an enormous sign appeared reading, "Down with the Pope! Long live Pachamama!" Abercrombie, "La fiesta del carnaval postcolonial en Oruro."

80. They are made of leather and have the same shape as conquistadors' helmets.

81. Olivia Harris, "De l'asymétrie au triangle: Transformations symboliques au nord de Potosí," *Annales ESC*, 33, nos. 5–6 (1978): 1108–25; Tristan Platt, "Symétries en miroir: Le concept de *yanantin* chez les Macha de Bolivie," *Annales ESC*, 33, nos. 5–6 (1978): 1081–7.

82. Ibid. "The Andean Warriors of Christ: Confraternity Organization, the Mass of the Sun and Regenerative Warfare in an Andean Parish (18th–20th Centuries)," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 78 (1987): 139–91, and oral communication.

83. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, "Le meurtrier et son double chez les Arawete: Un exemple de fusion rituelle," in *Systèmes de pensée en Afrique noire*, cahier 14, *Destins de meurtriers* (1996), 98 (our translation).

84. Molinié [Antoinette Fioravanti-Molinié], "Sanglantes et fertiles frontières: À propos des batailles rituelles andines," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 74, no. 1 (1988): 48–70.

85. Abercrombie, "La fiesta del carnaval postcolonial en Oruro."

86. This happened in Oruro during the 1781 carnival, when the Creoles sought an alliance with the rebel Indians from the provinces to beat the Spanish, who were considered "Americans." (Abercrombie, "La fiesta del carnaval postcolonial en Oruro," 297. See also Fernando Cajias, "Los objetivos de la revolución indígena de 1781: El caso de Oruro," *Revista Andina* 1, no. 2 (1983): 407–28.

87. The *axsu*, *falda*, and *pollera* are the three variants of the Bolivian skirt that identifies the origin of the woman wearing it; indigenous, the axsu is an often handwoven band folded in front, the "decent" falda resembles skirts worn by Western women, and *chola* wear the pollera, made up of several panels of fabric—its volume is proportional to the wealth and prestige of the wearer.

88. Valcárcel, *Tempestad en los Andes*.

89. This nonpublished thesis was "El arte incaico en el Cuzco."

90. "Patriarca de los estudios sociales en el Perú." Tamayo Herrera, *Historia del indigenismo cuzqueño*, 86.

91. "Mientras se define y se concreta la ideología del Nuevo Indio, que debe operar su transformación espiritual, enunciando y resolviendo el problema del Resurgimiento Indígena, el grupo realizará tareas inmediatas." "Estatutos del grupo Resurgimiento," *Amauta*, January 5, 1927.

92. Marisol de la Cadena, "Decencia y cultura política: Los indigenistas del Cuzco en los años veinte," *Revista Andina* [Cuzco] 12, no. 1 (1994): 89–136; de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*.

93. The indigenists' ideas cannot be reduced to a monolithic school of thought—here we summarize their ideas.

94. "Mover una verdadera revolución espiritual en los hijos del Cusco en particular y del país en general con respecto a la significación de nuestra tierra . . . un honor nacer en el Cuzco y pertenecer a un país que cuenta en su seno a un Pueblo que fue cuna de tan grande civilización y cultura." Cited by L. Nieto Degregori, "Tres momentos en la evolución del cuzqueñismo," *Márgenes* 13–14 (1995): 133–34.

95. "El destino de esta Ciudad Imperial de limpio y puro linaje gravita en la Historia con peso enorme i pronto, en admirable constancia, se cumplirá inexorablemente." Roberto Barrionuevo, "La sinceridad del pueblo Cuzqueño," *Revista del Instituto Americano de Arte* 3, no. 3 (1944): 122–23. Cited by L. Nieto Degregori, "Tres momentos en la evolución del cuzqueñismo," 138.

96. Flores Ochoa, "Mestizos e Incas en el Cuzco," 26.

97. For a study of Taytacha Temblores, see Abraham Valencia Espinoza, *Taytacha Temblores, patrón jurado del Cuzco* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Andinos, 1991).

98. Garcilaso de la Vega asserts that in Quechua, *qosqo* means "navel." In fact, its etymology cannot be explained by the Quechua language. Itier, *Parlons quechua: La langue du Cuzco* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 152.

99. "Que el nombre original de nuestra ciudad es QOSQO, tal como lo pronuncian en la actualidad los quechua hablantes monolingües y bilingües del cercado y la región sur-andino; Que la manera de expresar respeto y fidelidad a la tradición lingüística del pueblo hablante, es restituyendo el nombre histórico y original de la ciudad madre del Nuevo Mundo, la más antigua del continente con la vida ininterrumpida desde hace por lo menos 30 siglos."

100. "Qosqo tiene desde la época de Pachacuti Inka el significado de centro y vértice de las energías espirituales humanas . . . por tanto puede conjugar en sí todas las diversidades y variantes culturales de todos los grupos humanos." Juan Núñez del Prado, "Opiniones acerca de la reivindicación del nombre Qosqo para nuestra ciudad," *Revista Municipal del Qosqo*, segunda época, 1, no. 3 (1991): 7, cited by L. Nieto Degregori, "Tres momentos en la evolución del cuzqueñismo," 154.

101. "Plexo solar, eje integrador y organizador de las fuerzas que constituyen el mundo andino." "Centro solar social y político de la civilización." "Qosqo es esa categoría preternatural con la que los Kuraq Akulli organizan su mundo espiritual, a partir del cual ejercen su labor benéfica en favor de sus semejantes." Ibid.

102. "Empire of the Four Districts," the Quechua name of the Inca Empire.

103. This is the version of the Municipality of Cuzco, solely responsible for its written form.

104. *Diccionario quechua-español-quechua* (Cuzco: Municipalidad de Qosqo, 1995), 489.

105. Ibid., 479.

106. Ibid., 183.

107. Ibid., 13.

108. C. Itier, "Una percepción folclorizada y arcaizante del quechua: *El Diccionario quechua-español-quechua de la Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua*," in *El regreso de los indígena: Retos, problemas y perspectivas*, ed. V. Robin Azevedo and C. Salazar-Soler (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2009), 265–85.

109. "Incas of the Tawantinsuyu and their Spouses," "Inca of Willkapampa," "Inca according to chroniclers." Ibid., 273.

110. Ibid., 274.

111. "Nuestras investigaciones nos han llevado a conceptuar el Keshua [*sic*] en una nueva dimensión que transciende sus funciones tradicionales como lengua, mejor dicho, el Keshua

no debe ser tomado como un medio de comunicación social, ni como un transmisor de cultura únicamente, sino que debe ser conceptuado como la fuente misma del saber; porque en el Keshua están inmersos los conocimientos ancestrales del pueblo de los In-k-as [*sic*]." J. Reátegui, "Keshua, la lengua de los dioses," *Dominical*, Lima, October 4, 1987, 8.

112. "Sin duda el lector habrá advertido que algunas de las palabras consignadas en nuestro análisis no están registradas en diccionario alguno; pero de acuerdo a las leyes que rigen los biogramas se justifican y su significado se evidencia, merced a los distintos métodos de análisis que emergen del carácter aglutinante de la lengua Keshua, y que sería largo de explicar." Ibid., 8.

113. John Murra, *Formaciones éconómicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975).

114. A. Flores Galindo, *Europa y el país de los Incas: La utopía andina* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1986), 12.

115. Radical changes then appeared in Andean studies. They are traditionally focused on Peru's central and southern Andes and more specifically on the region of Cuzco. However, in the 1980s, the Shining Path guerilla offensives made surveys almost impossible in these regions. Researchers therefore withdrew to Bolivia and sometimes the North of Chile and Argentina. Studies no longer involved the Quechua but instead the Aymara, whose cultural demands are expressed in a radical way. As a result, the link with the Inca Empire and ethnohistory vanished; curiously, although the civil war put an end to Peruvian ethnology, one could say that it allowed Andean anthropology to free itself from history. As a result, the essentialism of Andean studies faded with the variations of the theme of lo andino, and anthropological topics in the stricter sense of the term gradually began to emerge.

116. Carlos Milla Vidal, *Pachakuteq Inka Yupanqui: Anales del monumento* (Cuzco: Municipalidad del Qosqo, 1993), 25.

117. Juan Núñez del Prado, "Un mito de origen colonial, una profecía y un proyecto nacional," in *Q'ero, el último ayllu inka*, ed. Jorge Flores Ochoa (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Andinos, 1984), 202–30.

118. It included the anthropologists Óscar Núñez del Prado, Efraín Morote Best, and Demetrio Roca; the geographer Mario Escobar; the ethnomusicologist Josafat Roel Pineda; archaeologists Manuel Chávez Ballón and Luis Barreda Murillo; the photographer Malcom Burke; and a journalist, Demetrio Tupac Yupanqui. See Flores Ochoa, *Q'ero, el último ayllu inka*.

119. Ibid.

120. For a study of the links between the indigenism of Cuzco and the representation of the Q'ero, see Yann Le Borgne, "Evolución del indigenismo en la sociedad peruana: El tratamiento al grupo étnico q'ero," in *Etnografías de Cuzco*, ed. A. Molinié (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, Institut français d'études andines, Laboratoire d'ethnologie et de sociologie comparative 2005), 159–79.

121. Jorge J. Flores Ochoa, *Q'ero, el último ayllu inka* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Andinos, 1984).

122. France-Marie Renard-Casevitz, Thierry Saignes, and Anne-Christine Taylor-Descola, *L'Inca, l'Espagnol et les sauvages*, Synthèses, 21 (Paris: Recherches sur les civilisations, 1986).

123. Yann Le Borgne, "Evolución del indigenismo en la sociedad peruana."

124. For a traditional *pago*, see Antoinette Molinié [Antoinette Fioravanti-Molinié,], "Cure magique dans la Vallée Sacrée du Cuzco," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 66, no. 1 (1979): 85–98.

125. We acknowledge Aurelio Carmona for his cooperation and support.

126. The ceque system was described by T. Zuidema in *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organisation of the Capital of the Inca* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964) based on information collected in the seventeenth century by Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1956 [1653]), vols. 91–92. More recently, Brian Bauer, in *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), established a very precise cartography of this system through archaeological digs. See also R. Tom Zuidema, *La civilisation inca de Cuzco* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), 94, and *El calendario inca: Tiempo y espacio en la organización ritual del Cuzco. La idea del pasado* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú / Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2010).

127. This university custom appears to be becoming widespread. In 1998, the rector of the Pablo de Olavide University in Seville made an offering to the (Andalusian?) Pachamama for the inauguration of the campus. *El País*, May 15, 1998.

128. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

129. Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la lengua aymara* (Cochabamba: CERES/IFEA/MUSEF, 1984 [1612]), 323. Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, *La identidad aymara: Aproximación histórica (Siglo XV, Siglo XVI)* (La Paz: HISBOL/IFEA 1987), 233.

130. For a description of this sacrifice in the region of Cotabambas, see Ricardo Valderrama and Carmen Escalante, "Pacha t'inka o la t'inka a la Madre Tierra en el Apurimac," *Allpanchis* 9 (1976): 177–92.

131. Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 217–21; Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, 257; Molina el Cuzqueño, *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas*, 1:35–57.

132. "Es aquí en el Qosqo de los Inkas y de los peruanos que se inicia el patriotismo y la nacionalidad y lo que atañe al Qosqo incumbe al Perú entero." Daniel Estrada, "Presentación," *Revista Municipal*, no. 3 (1991).

133. "The Return of the Sun. Meeting of *Yachacs* (Shamans), Healers and Traditional Medicine."

134. "Traditional Medicine Practice: Cures (Guinea Pig, Egg, Herbs), Healing (Sore Eyes, Fright, Bad Air)."

135. Michael Harner, *The Jivaro, People of the Sacred Waterfalls* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

136. Shrunken heads.

137. We would like to thank Antonio Pérez, with whom we observed these practices, for his notes. Antonio Pérez, "La apoteosis de los despojados: Reportaje sobre una feria esotérica-gubernativa de supuesta medicina indígena," manuscript, 1998.

4

Mexico's and Peru's Diverging Forms of Neo-Indianity

There is an undeniable family resemblance between neo-Indians in Mexico and Peru. They share a marked taste for rituals in which they display intense creativity and both find an inexhaustible source in their pre-Hispanic past to redefine their identity, especially through the "imperialization" of traditions that, at times, verges on revisionism. However, it would be simplistic to draw up a comparative index and promote the idea of a shared "tropical supermodernity" in the wake of globalization.

In fact, the differences between the two neo-Indianities, mexicanidad and neo-Incaism, are such that they may seem to arise from two distinct sources of inspiration. Having outlined what they have in common, we would like to illustrate some differences and thus suggest that their trajectories, which take on worldwide proportions, can generate as many variants as the multiplicity of the traditions they draw upon.

We have selected two traits that seem to characterize the two orientations. In Mexico, the neo-Indians seem to be haunted by the idea of Aztlan, a fantasy territory that fits with the myth of origin passed down by the Aztecs. Although it is true that the close contact with the large neighbor to the North gives the mexicanidad almost mystical frontiers, we cannot ignore the significance of migrations of populations from Indian regions toward developed areas, urban centers, and supposed El Dorados north of the border, several thousand kilometers away. This is why we need to describe the ethnic background of immigration in order to understand the extent to which it is interlinked but also distances itself from the ideological *communitas* invented by the neo-Aztecs and children of the New Age.

In Peru, the conquering nature of the Incas is surprisingly minimized. The imperial Indian emerges from the ruins of Sacsayhuaman, where the Inti Raymi is celebrated to colonize not a territory but the national imagination. Since it was devised at the beginning of the twentieth century, it has acquired a political dimension that has now reached not merely the municipality of Cuzco but also, as

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we shall see, the sphere of the president of the Republic and its international image. Incaism even influences a Peruvian political party, whose leader lays claim to a very peculiar "Israelite-Inca" identity.

We have chosen these two variants of neo-Indianity, but they should not be considered as models. We cannot ignore the fact that Peru's neo-Indianity is spreading to neighboring countries such as Bolivia, where it is taking on specific aspects, especially since the election of President Morales. As for the mexicanidad, it has complex political ramifications that are still relatively unobtrusive but that are becoming increasingly pervasive.

Mexico: Autochthony and Transnationality

Mexican neo-Indianity is paradoxical in that it *simultaneously* makes use of the image of the original, primitive Indian, the hunter-gatherer of the Sonoran Desert on both sides of the current border with the United States, and the image of the imperial Indian, the paragon of civilization, builder of a monumental capital, Tenochtitlan. The paradox lies in the simultaneous presence of these two images in the ideology of mexicanidad without one (the imperial Indian) contradicting the other (the savage Indian). In spite of everything, this co-presence is in contradiction to the neo-Indians' evolutionist tenet, which considers the sons of Tenochtitlan as the bearers of a civilization at its peak, the mother of sciences and arts. The Aztec migration does not indicate a simple geographical shift but the passage from one cultural macro-area to another and a colossal mutation of politicoreligious and economic organizations, from hunting and gathering to agriculture and a supraethnic tribute system. However, this dual cultural constraint—a kind of Gregory Bateson's "double bind" consisting of worshipping both the savage and the civilized—does not seem to bother our exegetes in the Zócalo in the slightest. On the contrary, it feeds their ideology as it enables it to maintain the idea of a neo-Indian Lebensraum stretching from California to the valley of Mexico without any disruption of continuity.

The Dream of Aztlan

One needs to return to the role of Aztlan, the land of the ancestors, in the Mexican imagination today before examining the historical modes of constructing the image of the imperial Indian since the Spanish Conquest. Aztlan is the hypothetical place from where the Aztecs were said to have begun their migration, a place whose exact location is still the subject of academic controversy, situated somewhere in the modern state of Sonora. In this region allegedly lies Chicomoztoc, the "seven caves" from

where the Aztec tribes are said to have poured out into the desert and set out on their migration toward the South. The Mexican Americans have made this both their birthplace and a place of return, confusing cosmogony and eschatology in a single stroke. The particularly interesting thing about this approach is the process by which the populations of partly Indian origin (who are largely acculturated) try to recuperate the specific ethnic heritage of Nahuatl-speaking groups. With the return to Aztlan, we are, in some ways, witnessing a resurgence of the primitivism of the savage, natural, original Indian. The major difference is that this is a popular movement, far removed from academic circles that grapple with another history and different presuppositions.

The myth of Aztlan lies at the heart of a vast movement that seeks its foundations and origins to seal the union between Mexicans who have migrated to the United States and the area in which they live. For Mexican neo-Indians, chicano leaders have become allies in their struggle against American imperialism. Cesar Chavez, the farmworker and labor leader from California, thus became an extremely popular figurehead in the 1960s. We should make it clear from the start that this circle of influence only concerns the populations established in California, in rural areas (the braceros, seasonal workers) and urban areas (in districts near Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego). Americans of Spanish descent in New Mexico (*Hispanos*), however, remain attached to an archaistic cultural tradition of colonial origin that does not rely on any Indian elements of the region's history but, on the contrary, distances itself from the chicano movement. Historically, Mexicans who immigrated to Texas (formerly known as *pochos*) were not, strictly speaking, part of the chicano movement. Along the way emerged the concept of La Raza, which consolidated ideas about the common traits of this population, a concept to be taken in its sociological rather than biological sense. As we have seen, traditionally in Latin America, like in Spain, the Día de la Raza is celebrated on October 12, the day the American continent was discovered by Christopher Columbus. However, in Mexico itself, the Centro de la Cultura Pre-Americana A.C. is demanding that October 12 no longer celebrate the Día de la Raza and commemorate instead "the day of sovereignty, dignity and resistance of the Anahuac peoples." This demand was repeated during "cosmic ceremonies" in the Zócalo. For the members of the mexicanidad movement, the reasons for this opposition are as follows: first, "the continent has its own name, the Anahuac." As for 1492, this date does not represent its discovery, but a "historical accident." To sum it up, "Not a meeting, but a clash of races which ended in armed aggression; not a conquest but a predatory invasion. Not colonization but a rampage which now adopts a perverse form with the external debt and the manipulations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Not civilization,

but the destruction of civilization. Celebrating October 12 means celebrating the aggressors."[1]

For the chicanos, La Raza has become the uniting force for all populations claiming Mexican heritage, specifically because it connects the myth of origin with a particular area, merged with California. The origin of Aztlan is a classic theme in Mexican historiography, from Eduard Seler to Paul Kirchhoff. According to an account dating back to Moctezuma I, Aztecs who wished to share their wealth with their ancestors set out to find Aztlan, the site of their origins and the home of Coatlicue, the mother of Huitzilopochtli, with myth and history inextricably entwined. According to the Aztecs' account, Aztlan represented a place of abundance and eternal youth and was transformed into a hostile desert when it was abandoned by its inhabitants. Huitzilopochtli was supposed to return to the place of his origins once he had fulfilled his destiny as guide, as he had promised his mother. Even if he manages to return one day, humans, on the other hand, will continue wandering in search of a site whose location they have forgotten. Aztlan will remain a place for gods, not for men.[2]

The Californian Aztlan is now a major issue for all populations embroiled in migratory flows since the beginning of the twentieth century. It represents what could be described as a reconquista movement of the American Southwest, from San Francisco to Houston, a territory Mexico lost in 1848. The myth of Aztlan is, therefore, the foundation of the autochthony of the La Raza movement that specifically lays claim to this region, which receives a constant flow of migrants. To a certain extent, being Mexican means identifying with the Chichimeca Indian, the Indian of the desert, hence the paradoxical references to a group of hunter-gatherers without any defined territorial boundaries. What's more, this ontogenetic affiliation to the Children of Aztlan glosses over historical episodes whereby groups of hunter-gatherers were transformed into an imperial society. The myth of Aztlan appears as a political myth in which cosmogony and eschatology merge. Its imprecise location contributes to making it an "open" myth, susceptible to assimilating diverse, alternative claims of nationality. It bears the genesis of the chicano nation, nourished by the myth of Aztlan, through what it expresses of primordial unity and cosmic totality.

There is, therefore, a claim of Indianity for groups which are partly of indigenous origin and partly already mestizos, some of them originating from Central American republics or Peru. We may question the demographic importance of authentic Indians (originating directly from rural communities) who are part of these migrant populations. There are very few studies of this question, but we are nevertheless able to point out that along the border, in the corridor of adjacent cities from Tijuana to

Matamoros, the streets are filled with families from central Mexico selling cheap junk and native crafts, who continue to speak in their vernacular dialect, re-creating indigenous microsocieties all along the border. These discreet groups are not politically active, not only because of their precarious situation, but also because their indigenous tradition does not foster collective modes of organization extending beyond the community. The children of Aztlan are English or Spanish speaking, often mastering only English. The indigenous element is, partly, a sort of fiction, but the acceleration of the migration process and the settling—initially temporary, but often extended indefinitely because of reinforced border controls by the American authorities—of populations with strong ethnic characteristics (from Chiapas and Oaxaca) result in a progressive indigenization of the border region.

The Indians of the North, who eventually find the "Promised Land" in the valley of Mexico, adorn the country's cantinas with calendars displaying their magnificent physique along with Hollywood posters used for marketing beer ("The blonde that everyone wants . . . Superior!") This iconography can be found in remote Indian villages, where the *güera* (the pale-skinned European woman) has become the object of a genuine divinization as a being from the infraworld ("from the other side of the universe"). She thus forms a couple (without the slightest ambiguity) with the son of Aztlan.

From the Savage Indian to the Imperial Indian

The hunter-gatherer from the North is only one of the two facets of the image of autochthony that constitutes the neo-Indian pantheon, the other, of course, being the imperial Indian. To understand the genesis of this stereotype, we have to go back to its extraordinary vicissitudes since the time of contact and the Spanish Conquest. From the earliest encounters between Cortés's men and Moctezuma's emissaries, contradictory representations of the Aztec Empire have been forged, as seen in the abundant correspondence. First, we have Cortés's letters with their descriptions of Mexico City, highlighting the conquistador's astonishment at finding an extremely refined civilization,[3] and Bernal Díaz del Castillo's correspondence, using a comparison with books about Amadis de Gaule (written by Rodríguez de Montalvo), which measure the scope and splendor of Tenochtitlan, the "Indian Venice," compared with the large cities of the Old World, describing the amazement of the Spanish soldiers wondering "if this were not a dream."[4] Cortés's position is especially interesting as he defends Eurocentric arguments, taking the Old World or even "Hispanists" as a model of the great geographical and cultural similarities he discovered between Mexico's highlands and the Iberian peninsula, in contrast to the rest of tropical

lowland America. Differences between the various parts of the American continent were denied for the benefit of a global vision that contrasted it to Europe.[5] In truth, a number of crucial questions soon arose regarding the very essence of the Indians and their level of cultural development. In *The Aztec Image*, Benjamin Keen shows how the construction of the image of the imperial Indian since the Renaissance has taken a disconcerting path, accumulating stereotypes that are either unreservedly laudatory or fiercely negative, through all possible variants of evolutionism and ethnocentrism.[6] Clearly, these arguments are swept aside by the neo-Indian scholiasts who retain only one argument—the racial, cultural, and political superiority of the Anahuac Indians and their civilization at its zenith (Figure 4.1).

Today, the figure of the imperial Indian fits in admirably with the architecture of the Museum of Anthropology and History in Mexico City. The central position of the Mexica Hall is conspicuous, with two lateral buildings converging toward it. Bonfil Batalla has pointed out the striking similarities between the structure of the museum and a cathedral with its entrance, nave, side chapels, and altar.[7] Kazuyasu Ochiai, a Japanese anthropologist and specialist of the Maya culture, points out the extent to which the use of reflectors in the half light brings out "the spirituality, solemnity and exoticism of the objects."[8] The "Mexican" part of the museum does indeed enjoy special treatment. The building appears as a miniature universe with an axis mundi—the giant central parasol covered with glyphs, symbolizing the *ceiba*, the Mayas' sacred tree—linking the lower and higher planes of the cosmos, with plenty of bones and other accumulated artifacts stored in the basement as in the bowels of the earth. The mast, with its giant flag, also at the entrance, underlines the identity conferred upon the museum, which is visited every day by countless tourists and schoolchildren from all over the country.

Among the objects of the daily lives of Mexicans, a number of items stand out that bring to mind the world of the Aztecs, such as calendar images of Épinal. T-shirts, the Azteca chocolate (in contrast to Carlos Quinto, a better brand . . .), the Cuauhtemoc brasserie, the statue of a military chief, the Aztec Stadium, and Nahuatl toponyms that have resisted better than those of other vernacular languages. This exploitation of the Aztec image is one of the essential elements of Mexican nationalism, and its promotion remains in stark opposition to the lack of recognition of its descendants' identity and the quality of their cultural heritage. Wretched and confined to degrading labor, Indians haunt these prestigious sites, the museums and the Templo Mayor, selling meager goods to passersby.

The media coverage of the image of the Aztec is also in stark contrast to sociological theories of the 1960s about Latin American peasantry. Heavily influenced by Marxism, they rejected the presuppositions of cultural anthropology, examining, above

FIGURE 4.1. Iztaccuahtli ("White Eagle") addresses prayers in Nahuatl to the Sun at noon on the day of the spring equinox. He reproduces the ritual on request in New Age circles. *Photo Jacques Galinier.*

all, Indian communities' dependence upon global society and the Indians' position as peasants and members of the dominated class of the national population. From this perspective, the cultural specificity of the Indian disappeared from the foreground of observations. Implicitly, it emerged from these theories that the domain of Indian tradition remained a kind of superstructure tacked on to social and economic organizations, basically driven by exogenous constraints; local worldviews were not mentioned as basic building blocks to account for the transformations of these communities. The most politicized and extremist versions of these theories (defended by Mexican militants) implied that autochthonous beliefs were an obstacle to social progress and, consequently, to the emancipation of the Indians. We should add that this tendency to erase indigenous identity emerged at a time when there seemed to be no hope for Mexican natives to escape poverty apart from blending into the urban world and abandoning the use of their local language, beliefs, and traditional rituals. In rural areas, militant radicalism managed to adjust (to some extent) to the goals of the most "progressive" indigenous movements. The 1980s saw the emergence of new forms of *concientización*, influenced by several factors. Tourism has increasingly played a direct role in the "folklorization of folklore," to borrow Helmut Bausinger's apt expression describing the protection and fossilization of objects of tradition to make them comply with Western demands.[9] For several decades, entire regions have experienced this phenomenon, including the Chiapas highlands, the central valley of Oaxaca, certain touristic villages of the Sierra de Puebla (San Pablito, Cuetzalan) and the Tarascan region. Foreigners' interest has led to a reassessment of the indigenous self-image so undervalued in the daily encounters with their mestizo neighbors. Some regions, such as the Altos de Chiapas, have a very high density of anthropologists, in other words, individuals who promote the ideology of cultural relativism and whose professional ethics require them to transmit claims of equality formulated by their Indian informers. Media infatuation with certain themes regarding local religions, especially shamanism, has helped reframe Mexicans' image of themselves and not only in intellectual circles. A third factor that should be mentioned, which is also increasingly significant, is the activism generated in autochthonous circles by ethnic leaders who serve as a conduit between national and international indigenous organizations, especially in the United States, where their influence is growing. Groups such as the Yaqui have for a long time been incorporated into movements for autochthonous demands north of the border.

All these factors, albeit to varying degrees depending on the region, end up profoundly affecting the local image of the Indian. Highly marginalized areas (which coincide with regions with nothing spectacular to offer to foreign visitors) still remain unaware of these transformations. In this, anthropology directly fills a vac-

uum by redefining indigenous tradition. What's more, some groups do not hesitate to call upon ethnologists such as ourselves. After four centuries of colonization, there are no "oral archives" that would enable the reenactment of the complex ceremonial organizations that characterized the native communities of the valley of Mexico or the Maya region in the nineteenth century. Only the knowledge of historians and ethnologists can fill this gap. This artificial resurrection of the past may seem futile, yet this is where most ethnic revival movements are heading, and the phenomenon affects those areas of the highlands where imperial structures were dismantled immediately after the Conquest. The same resurgence characterizes the rituals celebrated in Sacsayhuaman in Peru and the celebration of the Fifth Centenary in the Zócalo in Mexico City.

The figure of the imperial Indian is constantly honored in Mexicanist literature. From the neo-Indian perspective, the imperial Indian has become the flag bearer of the Meximatihua, the "superior culture," in several domains, in particular the egalitarian treatment given to men and women.[10] Aztec society is said to have possessed philosophical and scientific knowledge superior to societies' knowledge the other side of the Atlantic during the same period: "In Europe, they tortured scholars who were worshipped in the Anahuac. The mentality they applied to their understanding of nature was objective, concrete and scientific rather than dogmatic as it was for the majority of societies in medieval Europe."[11] Not only are the Aztecs believed to be the inventors of heliocentrism when geocentrism still dominated in Europe, but they were also evolutionists well before Darwin.[12]

Authenticity and Deterritorialization

When Indians from central Mexico leave their original communities to settle in the country's large cities or the United States, cultural tensions linked to their new environment undoubtedly lead to a recomposition of their original identity. However, these movements vary depending on the mode of migration—individual or collective, seasonal or permanent—both for the ghettoized Indians who are still monolingual and for those who have managed to obtain a new status in the host society. Although migrant Indians preserve an alternative lifestyle, respecting the values of their original community when they return home, they are nevertheless totally incorporated into the urban universe through their professional activity.

At first glance, it may seem that the destiny of Indians in exile is totally different from what is being hatched in their name in neo-Indian forums. Until the late twentieth century, the division was obvious—for "real" Indians, the traditions were local and authentic, supposedly of pre-Hispanic origin, and for the others, they were

artificial, invented transnational constructions with a New Age backdrop. A tripolar system established itself with headquarters in the village, the capital and abroad, with three types of negotiators of cultural survival and invention. The first, in the village, has an anthropological visibility glorified by Americanist literature and museums. The second, in cities, is dressed up as an Aztec and seeks ideological legitimacy. The third, uprooted and living abroad, is the victim of sociological ignorance and misreading. This detour via the migrant universe allows us better to situate the strategies of control, preservation, or appropriation of the "ethnic capital."

Neo-Indianity can only be understood if we set it against a typical Indianity perceived as eternal and factual, as sought by tourists and found in old ethnographical writings. This is one category (among many) that we need to decipher, not only with regard to images, symbols and stereotypes, but also by taking into consideration the Amerindian populations themselves in their diversity and extreme heterogeneity in the age of globalization. The major factor of transformation today is the increasing development of migrations. Being Indian in the large cities near the American border can mean assuming the status of a domestic worker, or being a member of a network of people who came originally from the same community and speak the same language, or merely lived in the same state, associated with neighboring groups or those with an identical socioeconomic status, whether they are Indian or not.[13] In the United States, the criterion of language no longer corresponds to the reality of "assumed Indianity" as self-proclaimed in U.S. reservations, since the number of native speakers is decreasing with each day that passes. The particular situation of migrants on both sides of the border is radically changing the essentialist conception of the Indian, as it involves not only a tradition experienced through delegation and at a distance, but also because this situation takes into account models of behavior and societal choices that are in complete contradiction with standards operating in the original Indian communities, which attempt to exercise a genuine coercion over their migrant members.[14]

What we are actually witnessing is a chiasmus effect with, on one side, urbanized populations (the neo-Indians who aspire to the assimilation of a symbolic cultural capital from the traditions of the "real" Indians), and on the other, displaced native populations for whom Indianity is combined with behaviors and belief systems that are increasingly foreign to their original milieu. Until recently, these two movements crossed paths without ever really meeting except through operations to folklorize Indian traditions such as those which flourish in the Southwest of the United States. "Re-communitarization" rituals of migrants from states in central Mexico (Michoacán, Puebla, Hidalgo, and Oaxaca), especially during the celebration of the Day of the Dead, bring together families and networks of commensality that were not linked in

any way in their original regions. In fact, migrant Indians are "re-formatted" by the society receiving them, for whom the category "Indian" refers above all to statistical or socioprofessional data.[15] As Françoise Lestage points out, the notion of the Indian is constructed and deconstructed in interaction with other sectors of the society receiving the migrants.[16] We may even observe deviant individual behaviors in those who imitate popular local standards, and collective trends emphasizing the identification with geographical and "ethnic" origins.[17] It would, however, be premature to "deculturize" radically the Indian image as, although it is true that individuals marked by their origin or class may be summarized through a purely instrumental definition, there are all the others with a language and therefore a worldview connected to a cultural genealogy that cannot abruptly be erased, even in a context of migration. It is difficult to assess to what extent first-generation migrants who still speak their vernacular language share the worldview of their parents. Can it be reduced to a few rules of good conduct between human beings, beliefs in transubstantiation and the return of the dead, or the odd snippet of the great myths of origins? Or, on the contrary, does the "Mesoamericanization" of the border area (due to the Indian populations from central Mexico that have settled along the "tortilla curtain," which they are unable to cross to enter the United States) translate into a genuine transportation of a culture from one area to another? One only has to look at the distribution of ethnic groups in contemporary Mexico to understand how crucial this question is.[18] Apart from a few very stable zones where migration has only slightly affected the contours of historical Indian areas, it is striking to note the elasticity of these ethnic spaces, which is not reflected in the elegant, multicolored but totally obsolete maps of the *National Geographic*.

Indians in the Cities

The emergence of the neo-Indian galaxy in no way reflects the supposedly drowsy, static world, far from the noise and bustle of globalization, of the traditional indigenous communities. Although points of communication remain very fragile, the recomposition of Indian groups into networks and the grounds on which they meet, are multiplying, especially on a political/ideological level in the wake of the chicano movements. Along the U.S. border, various strategic configurations of "political Indianity" are gradually taking shape:

1. A "political Indianity" is emerging from below, which joins professional, associative, and neighborhood networks that reflect, above all, a lifestyle recomposed in a migrant situation. It is based on an "ethnicization logic of conflicts and actors" for which the Indians themselves are not responsible, since it concerns

populations among whom the migrants have come to settle, and which stigmatize their "foreignness."[19]

2. Another "political Indianity" is emerging from above, which exploits the stereotypes of the Indian within the framework of New Age philosophy, constantly reprocessing the Mesoamerican civilizations' history as a backdrop.

Political Indianity "from below" focuses on "real" Indians and proceeds by assimilation, including individuals and groups under ethnic labels belonging to communities with different languages but from the same state (mainly Oaxaca). This is how the new category of the "Oaxaqueño Indian" emerged, although it is not claimed by the populations concerned. The "state" or regional reference and the ethnic qualification are sometimes present simultaneously, but other combinations may exist. For example, the eastern Otomi are feeding highly specialized migration networks, with certain sectors of Manhattan and Florida as destinations. The migrants are usually monolingual; they come from the most isolated villages and their departure, far from resulting in the breakup of the "community" in a global sense, only serves to strengthen migrant Otomis' belonging to the Indian village, especially through a "remittance economy" involving huge sums of money (*remesas*) being sent back.

This constant flow of dollars enables the original village to survive. It concerns seasonal migrations, where ethnicity has not yet reached a point of no return where it becomes a mere cultural ornament devoid of contents. This ethnicity persists despite the impact of remittances from abroad that disrupt the entire economic life of Indian Mexico.

A whole series of factors points to signs of increasing permeability between the different variants of Indianity mentioned above. More than the lumpen, urban Indians, the "sociological" Indians—a major figure of the economically, politically, and culturally exploited classes—more than the "ethnographic" Indians of curiosity cabinets, the archetypal, "museumized" model for which international tourism maintains the coherence of signs of identity—the "imperial" Indians represent the supreme reference for the neo-Indian galaxy and the subject of this study, to which we can now add the "migrant" Indians. In the long term, the gradual decompartmentalization of these different figures is slowly becoming evident. However, it is difficult to compare a real Indian and a virtual Indian, the one "from below" and the one "from above," as a whole phantasmatic halo linked to Mexico's colonial history and the transformation of the Indian's image in the West underlies the respective positions of each of them. Furthermore, rank-and-file Indians have now begun a process of Westernization, making them consumers of an ideology of a society of abundance that they watch from the side of the road. Neo-Indians accommodate

the desires of those devising the ideology of the state, based on the bureaucratic-religious Mexica model at its height, which glorifies the Aztec apotheosis of arts and sciences as suggested by the "nave" of the National Museum of Anthropology.[20] It serves as a marker for those who design or make use of archaeological tourism, and enables (this time from within) national actors to appear as the heirs to America's "high civilizations."

Indians living in Mexico City continue to form a distinct social stratum. The attitudes of urban populations toward them show divergences between the contrite pity of the gentry, sensitive to the engaging personality of native women, and the lower middle class that feels that the presence of these people wandering the streets degrades the country's image.[21] From the rest of the population are reactions of varying degrees of hostility. In Mexico City, Triqui Indians from Oaxaca have taken over part of the capital's Historic Center, where around fifty wooden dwellings are home to about 250 of them.[22] Close by stands a dilapidated building colonized by Mazahua families. Indigenous housing is, in fact, spread over the whole city. According to the eleventh census, Indians are mostly concentrated at around 60 percent in the boroughs of Iztapalapa, Gustavo A. Madero, Cuauhtemoc, Coyoacán, and Álvaro Obregón. These are Indians from the country's rural communities and a small group of autochthones who have remained sedentary since pre-Hispanic times around Milpa Alta. In the Mexico State, migrants have settled in Netzahualcoyotl and Chalco, Ecatepec and Naucalpan. Some of them sell junk, supplying the market for neo-Indianity where tourists come to buy the ritual artifacts (T-shirts, incense, masks, sacred stones) necessary for cosmic dance circles.

Lumpen Indians inhabit either disaffected buildings and cheap, run-down hotels or sleep along the roadside. A survey carried out by the Metropolitan Program of the National Indigenist Institute shows that Indians divide up the urban area, not only reflecting their place of origin but also their professional activities, especially with regard to street trading. The migration process to Mexico City confirms that in the majority of cases, Indians come to settle in the city according to family connections. As is the case of the Triqui, a large proportion of migrants (especially women) speaks very little Spanish. According to Marjorie Thacker from the National Indigenist Institute's Metropolitan Program, one of the reasons that many Indians sleep on the streets is lack of money, but it is also due to the need to control the territory as the entire indigenous space of the capital is divided up according to the migrants' different economic activities. The precariousness of the Indians' situation in urban environments is accentuated by their lack of official identity documents and their reluctance to be legally registered, which also seems to be a form of denial of their original community and a reflection of their difficult integration.

The Accumulation of Stereotypes

For decades, the problem of "internal migration" has been the subject of surveys in Mexico. Lourdes Arizpe studied the movement of Otomi and Mazahua populations toward Mexico City, in particular migrations of women who moved to the capital's streets at the end of the 1960s to sell fruit and confectionery.[23] These women are known as "Marías" or "Juanas," and were the first indigenous people to appear in the capital dressed in their traditional costumes.[24] The stereotype of the "India María," which became very popular with the public through a television character of the same name, contributed to the formatting of the cultural personality of these women living in the capital's streets, alone or with children, their spouses (if they had any) having temporary labor elsewhere. For them, street trading has the following advantages: higher income than they can earn from working as servants, the possibility of stopping at any moment, and the chance to work in groups with other family members, being able to have their children by their side, and not being under the authority of a boss.[25]

As Arizpe points out, the designation "María" corresponds to groups of women with distinct activities, sectors, and geographical origins—Mazahua from San Felipe del Progreso selling fruit at the Merced market, Otomi from Jiquipilco selling *semillas* and *pepitas* in the North of the city, Otomi from Amealco begging in the South of the city, and Nahua women from Puebla selling corn near La Villa, not to mention the fake Marías who are not Indian but who dress in traditional costume to sell various produce. The migration of Mazahua men to Mexico City, for example, is characterized by its temporary nature, with their income-generating activities liable to be abandoned at any moment. They do not seek to integrate into the life of the capital and try to return home as soon as possible. Their wives and children accompany them, but as they do not earn enough money to feed their family, the women turn to the only work available—street trading. Indigenous emigration to the city, Arizpe informs us, is temporary and conditional, in comparison to that of young mestizos who aspire to a better socioeconomic status and whose migration is permanent and irreversible.[26] This migration is due to changing economic and demographic conditions in rural areas, to the capital's rapid industrialization, and to the geographical proximity of a large indigenous community in Mexico City, where Indians gather and share the same lifestyle. For Arizpe, the case of Marías of Mazahua origin is not an ethnic problem but one connected to their lack of education and professional training, their dependence on paid labor as a source of income, and the fact that they do not have access to the city's various social services.[27] The poverty of the Mazahua is not linked to their cultural situation but to their socioeconomic status, with native culture limited to a few vestiges.

This is dismissive of the resistance not only of their language but also of their current worldview.[28]

The modalities of integration into the urban fabric after indigenous migration may take many forms. Sometimes these are trajectories of individuals or families, reversible or not, which generate an effect of dilution in the poor classes of large cities. Otherwise, it is a question of a commuting economy, as with the Mazahua, their main home being in the village, and the women making weekly trips to Mexico City to sell fresh produce at the markets. These women acquire a specific status and are recognizable by their clothing. However, migrations should be seen as much in the reconstituted community networks (either geographically dispersed or regrouped) that squat in the insalubrious districts of the colonial center—in the very area where the neo-Indians organize their public rituals! There is no evidence of any communication between the two groups. The destinies of Mexico City's migrant Indians are, therefore, extremely variable depending on their mode of regrouping, their relationship with their original community, the reconstitution of family units or lack of it, the vernacular language adopted by their children, and the imposing of indigenous ethnic standards. Young Indian women working as domestic servants in Guadalajara or Monterrey, or in the capital's wealthy districts, oscillate between strikingly different ways of dressing—new haircuts, ostentatious clothes, and makeup—as well as new affinities and new meeting places. In any case, these transformations do not result in any complicity with the neo-Indians. The maladjustments linked to migration are in no way a factor of the renegotiation of identity on the basis suggested by people who are nostalgic for pre-Hispanic Mexico.

For Lemos Igreja, it is remarkable how little attention is paid to young Indians who have recently arrived in Mexico City when they turn to delinquency or crime—judges are not prepared to take into account the "ethnic" criterion, in other words, their original community, in order better to assess and understand deviant behaviors. The criminalization of indigenous culture is an additional element of the rejection of original traditions.[29] The community can function as a basis for moral values and, from a distance, maintain respect for the rules, especially those concerning the redistribution of services by exiles working in the cities who are bound by local norms of redistribution with regard to both the village and the family. Within Indian migrant communities there are marked differences between first-, second-, and even third-generation Indians. The "indigenous" nature is scorned by the latter, with, above all, contempt for the language and costume as well as a rejection of community values, although these Indians live (with very few exceptions) in conditions of extreme poverty. Here, once again, it is important that we qualify our judgments, not only by taking personal trajectories and the particularities of each life story into consideration,

but also the fact that not all Indian groups react in the same way to the changes in their lifestyles. The Triqui and Otomi people in particular demonstrate a very marked cultural resistance to the standards of urban life, without this being asserted as such. However, this resistance may be claimed, as is the case for the Mazahua on the Texas border, despite the fact that they are mostly "acculturated" in the second and third generations.

Local culture borne by migrant Indians (especially in border regions) is one of the elements of their apparently contradictory behavior: imitation of the working classes already settled there, some of whom originate from an earlier Indian migration, and differentiation on a collective level during celebrations from the original community.[30] The extreme variability of the Indian's status depending on the power relationships at work is the basis for the strategies (conscious or otherwise) devised by the actors. A plurality of modes of exploitation of the Indians' image thus takes shape, with great contextual flexibility—exploitation by the Indians themselves, in confrontation with the modus operandi of dominant groups with whom they have to live. This astonishing flexibility, which allows an acceptable level of coalescence in the host society and facilitates the economic and social survival of uprooted Indians, shows that the original culture is activated on several levels: the first is the most visible, in relative harmony between individuals and social groups who have to live together on a permanent basis. The second arises in periods of tension and crisis, when misfortune and bad luck crop up. In these circumstances we see the emergence of an old backdrop of Indian belief with regard, for example, to the etiology of pathological symptoms, the notion of conversing with the dead and the ideas of sacrifice, debt, and punishment. We should reiterate the fact that it is difficult to measure the extent to which Indians in cities along the border continue to share their ancestors' values and how much their way of thinking is now embedded in a Mesoamerican worldview.

Can this be summarized by a few scattered beliefs about ancestors, transubstantiation, and fragments of myths? Does this migration really represent the displacement of entire communities that have merely changed their ecosystem? One only needs to look at the current maps of ethnic distribution or ethnological works to understand how meaningful the indigenization of the American border really is. In Baja California, local Indian groups (Kiliwa and Paipai) have virtually disappeared, but the state has readily become an indigenous "Mesoamerican" state, where new communities have sprung up with the massive arrival of populations of Mixtec origin (i.e., from central Mexico). Are these clusters or strings of ethnic "islands" or communities of "new Indians"? Only in-depth studies will be able to answer this. "Deculturizing the Indian" as a category is the risk being run by a sociology of cultural dynamics that does not take into consideration what Indians are today in their community as

migrants, and their interactions *at the same time.* Traditionally, the official sociological version taught us to consider as unilateral the process of leaving the native *pueblo* toward the mestizo world and beyond, toward more or less successful integration into global society by making the irreversible transition across the ethnic, economic, and status-based border. During the course of this study about neo-Indians, we also had to take into account all the association-based networks that revealed the changing, alternative, and contradictory faces of the Indian as a new lifestyle that was being invented. Individuals from the same Mexican state but from different communities or speaking different languages are labeled as "ethnic." A connection is thus artificially established between the reference to the state, the region and the ethnic group, by creating the new category of "el indio oaxaqueño" mentioned earlier. However, other combinations are possible. The Otomi already established in Florida, originating from the North of Veracruz (culturally the most conservative region of this indigenous area), not only do not reproduce an identical version of the home community, but, on the contrary, maintain and strengthen their cohesion with it.

There needs to be a discussion about what Indianity (especially neo-Indianity) signifies in terms of gender. All neo-Indian discourse is expounded with virile, warriorlike, conquering accents, even when talking of the ambiguous figure of Mother Earth, as if asserted identity were a purely masculine affair, and the silent identity experienced and suffered for eternity were feminine. This leads us to claim that for the neo-Indian question, ultimately, only the individual prism seems to be pertinent. Nevertheless, the conchero dancers were originally integrated into a genuine and extremely strict cargo system, with ritual obligations and collective engagement like the ones that still exist in Indian communities. However, although the neo-Indians emphasize the group aspect of their historical claims, the "race" of "brothers" from other regions of America, this lacks any kinship dimension as expressed by rank-and-file Indians, including abroad, in other words, lineage or clan-based solidarities. Indians from central Mexico are part of networks in which alliance strategies depend upon very restrictive rules: the overvaluing of the endogamy of the village or ethnic region and even the "consanguinization" of affinity, which assimilates foreign individuals who, originally, are only potential allies. The significance of kinship rules can be seen in migration situations, as is the case with the Mazahua, who marry people of the same social status and therefore also reject hypogamy (marrying someone of a lower socioeconomic status) and hypergamy (marriage with someone of mestizo origin).[31] These strategies are redeployed within a social fabric that has been completely disrupted. Generally speaking, migrant Indians are dispersed, and consequently, the original community has to redeploy biological and spiritual kinship links in this new social organization. Neocommunities also produce kinship, beginning with rituals

that also depend on new affiliations, especially neighborhood networks. The neo-communities then become as structuring from within as they have been structured from the exterior, and major ritual events (both private ones and events celebrating an eponymous saint) translate the dual facets of the migrant community. An "Indian-type kinship" is taking shape, hybrid, atypical, and based on the two organizing orders—the village and the host city or country. Furthermore, sexual choices remain, in principle, dependent on these standards. This restriction, attributed to an abstract community authority and directed from the remote village, is totally foreign to neo-Indian dynamics, as the idea of social restrictions is foreign to the movement. For the neo-Indians, kinship rules only function in symbolic, ritual forms and do not hinder romantic matches. This approach aims at a form of mystic union—both taking a hard line in listening to the racialist message, and open to Amerindian "brothers"—totally at odds with the complicated (and insufficiently documented) strategies of interethnic matrimonial practices along the border and in large cities. These elements of social intermingling are likely to lead to the dilution of "Indian" characteristics, and for the ethnic belonging of one of the two members of the couple, the man's belonging takes precedence (for instance, when the latter is Otomi and his partner Mazahua) in the examples we encountered in the field.

Recent data leads one to believe that urban Indianity also produces its own interethnic and intraethnic hierarchies. In Guadalajara, for example, the Huichol discriminate against the Mixtec.[32] This example is especially informative as the Huichol, the only "feathered" Indians in Mexico, have become (under the influence of European mystic tourism) the country's showcase for "primitives," the exact opposite of the Maya. The external overvaluing of the Huichol, transformed into producers of extremely sought-after and expensive artifacts, has given them the status of top-ranking Indians. As a result, other, less "visible" Indian groups, despite being demographically larger, find themselves dominated (in interethnic relations) as rivals in street markets. It is interesting to see how perceptions from outside Indianity reshape relations between native groups and create new hierarchies. The case of the Huichol is also informative in that it puts the symbolic negotiation of their image into a neo-Indian context. Until now, and despite the fact that they speak a language which belongs to the Uto-Aztecan family, they have not yet been swallowed up as ancestors by the neo-Indians, which is perhaps partly due to the fact that they are not properly Mesoamerican, and have never built any great monuments.

An additional question concerns the demographic explosion affecting the indigenous world as well as other sectors of the nation's population. In a few decades, drowsy towns have become cities with services, businesses, and transport companies like any other large urban center. An astonishing example is that of San Cristóbal de

las Casas in Chiapas, which is no longer the small town with dirt tracks inhabited by mestizos that we visited forty years ago, but a city reconquered by the local ethnic groups (Tzotzil and Tzeltal) who have taken control of the taxi and bus transport systems, and have become genuine ethnic entrepreneurs. The town was the historical capital of Chiapas, and for many years a model of a colonial town, structured around the Creoles' patrician residences and surrounded by villages inhabited by Tzotzil-speaking Indians. Made famous by Nabolom, the research center run by Frans Blom and Gertrude Duby (two important figures in classical archaeology and ethnology) at the end of the 1950s, San Cristóbal became the observation post of Harvard University's Anthropology Department under the direction of Evon Z. Vogt. The studies carried out by researchers working on the Harvard Chiapas Project on Tzotzil communities around San Cristóbal de las Casas constitute some of the most important work in modern Mexicanist ethnology. For almost half a century, generations of students succeeded one another, many of them becoming specialists in the Maya of the highlands. It is to them that we owe a large amount of work now seen as authoritative in this discipline. San Cristóbal, the showcase for museographical Indianity, underwent an incredible metamorphosis through which we can understand the recent progression of urban Indianity. Sophie Hvostoff's work on this subject is particularly relevant.[33] It sheds light on the demographic explosion of a village that experienced a spectacular increase in its Indian population, amplified by the exodus of Indians from communities driven out of the highlands by problems caused by dramatic population growth and the decline of the *finca* system (large estates devoted to growing coffee that turned to raising cattle). The influx of migrants was absorbed by San Cristóbal, which went from a population of 25,708 in 1970 to 110,000 in 2000.[34] A number of new *colonias* (districts), enlarged by populations fleeing religious conflicts, modified the urban landscape, structured according to an indigenous community model, without achieving either the ruralization of the city or the "ladinization" of the colonias.[35] In a context of internal conflict between traditionalists and dissenters with, as a backdrop, the eruption of the Zapatista movement within the city and at its gates, there emerged a category of Indian leaders who gradually infiltrated economic sectors (trades, transport) that were previously strictly managed by *ladinos*. With the discreet entrance into *ladino* (*mestizo*) society via ritual kinship, patronage has assumed a new configuration with the presence of Indians in local government. According to Sophie Hvostoff the new Indian identity, recomposed in the framework of the colonia, is functioning as "the basis of a regional pan-Indianism."[36] She concludes that "the rising Indian class no longer needs to renounce its ethnic identity in order to aspire to full integration into urban life. On the contrary, the assertion of one's Indianity may become a political weapon."[37] Despite symbolic manifestations

such as the destruction of the statue of Diego de Mazariegos (who conquered the area), disagreements between Indian factions remain strong, and superficial ethnic mixing does not erase the divisions between mestizos and Indians.

Structural characteristics and cultural logics similar to those seen on the northern border are visible in San Cristóbal de las Casas. The difference, however, lies in what the renegotiation of identity displays in situ, in this ethnic melting pot, where the same actors have been staring at each other in hostile silence for four centuries. What is interesting about the case of San Cristóbal is that it is a nodal point of social and cultural dynamics in which the old and neo-Indians find themselves engaged. It is not surprising that in the big pro-Zapatista demonstrations in Mexico City, mainly Tzotzil and Tzeltal leaders have been center stage, shoulder to shoulder with the neo-Indian priests. For the latter, this is a chance to exploit a historic convergence with rural Indians, who are becoming leading political actors. This, especially with the history of recent decades, shows that ethnic mixing tends to erase community and linguistic divisions in order to reconstruct an "open" version of the modern Indian. In its struggle against exploitation and colonialism, neo-Indian dogma is finding an unexpected ally in the unstructured Zapatista movement. One only has to read the newspapers to detect the semantic shift. After the failure of the institutional electoral process championed by Neiva (the founding father of the *mexicanidad* movement), a truly "revolutionary" way out of the ghetto is beginning to take shape. Lastly, a cosmopolitan population has taken root in San Cristóbal, in the wake of NGOs and mystic and political tourism, sneered at as "Zapatours." Foreigners settling in the city have become the conduit between the different vehicles of recomposed Indianity, guaranteeing its promotion in North America and Europe. This cycle of NGOs and television channels has imposed an image and provoked a new power struggle between indigenous movements and national society. In San Cristóbal de las Casas, a political space has been created between Mexico's rank-and-file Indians, Mestizos, indigenous leaders and neo-Indians. These new circumstances have significant consequences on an ideological level as they mark the point of contact and friction between apparently conflicting discourses. However, it is very clear that the emblematic Subcomandante Marcos was not born in the Maya highlands and is not even indigenous, and his discourse reveals a form of fusion between Indian rhetoric and a national, academic culture. There is a kind of coincidence (albeit tacit) between the eschatological theories of the neo-Indians and the academic versions of Maya discourse reworked by Marcos. Consequently, it is not merely anecdotal that the day of the Zapatista uprising was presented in Mexico City's Zócalo as the moment we entered the Sixth Sun according to the Mesoamerican myth of origin of the cyclical creations of the world.

Squabbling over Inheritance

During the entire time we spent conducting this study, a misapprehension weighed upon the issue of autochthony and cultural property as laid claim to by "real" and "fake" Indians. It goes without saying that there is no equivalent for the notion of "culture" in Amerindian societies that do not have an anthropological theory in the Western sense of the term, but which, on the other hand, define themselves by a certain number of attitudes, practices, and values . . . and yet the neo-Indians are the first to lay claim to the concept *nuestra cultura anahuakana*. From behind the question whether Indians can have cultural rights, from the perspective of Indian communities, seems to be emerging something along the lines of "do we have the right to be what we are?" This is a crucial question at a time when triumphant neo-Indians and their first world allies (especially tourists) shamelessly draw from the great book of wisdom of ancient Amerindian populations in order to find a new meaning of life. Indeed, we can sense a danger of dissociation of what comes under "indigenous culture" (as manifested in the dances, festivals, costumes, languages, etc., of which the neo-Indians are so fond) and that which involves other elements of life in society among "real" Indians—being subject to a political, economic, and "cultural" environment in the Western sense, over which they have no control. It is therefore necessary (although extremely difficult) to think about what is not formulated locally as a "right," as it relates to a reality that goes without saying. Two observations become obvious: the first is the urgency and danger, with regard to Westernization, of a total dilution of the accounts passed down by earlier generations to those who are now part of the Internet age. Locally, this loss is experienced as a deliberate attack from the outside world, which is becoming clear through the increasing presence of consumer goods, the declining use of indigenous language, and the disappearance of a great number of crafts (ceramics, weaving, etc.). It also involves the way in which institutionalized discrimination is manifest in interethnic relations between Indians, neo-Indians, and mestizos. This transformation is coupled with a second phenomenon not entirely connected to the first—the drying up of what is known in the sleepy towns of the Sierra Madre Oriental as "belief." This is an exceedingly complex notion that refers to individuals' adherence to a certain number of cosmological truths. These truths can be seen in a variety of representations (of the body, the person, the people living in the environment) involving, above all, a certain amount of "symbolic efficacy" (Lévi-Strauss). "Belief" constitutes both a stock of mental images and a cog in the cosmic machine. This is considered by the older generation as a causal factor in the process of dissolution, especially among younger people. The result of this trend is the "exhaustion" of the Earth with lower yields and stunted vegetation. All the elders are unanimous in recalling a golden age that they themselves or their ancestors experienced,

during which corn and other crops grew to a considerable height. We should point out that this idea is consistent with indigenous eschatology and a cyclical notion of time that ends in the Flood. All these beliefs, obviously, are common knowledge rather than the cryptic knowledge of clerics and shamans.

In Indian Mexico, it is almost impossible to find an equivalent of the classic Western conception of tradition as this encompasses life in society, the relationship between oneself and others, and the image of the body that constitutes the basis of the vernacular worldview. Keeping up traditions is not a code of good conduct for native peoples—it is the very core of their experience of life in society, in reference to the major role played by ancestors in their everyday world. This is a real constraint, as ancestors are not merely the deceased who must be worshipped because of a restrictive moral code—they are part of a vital process, and without their intervention, ontogeny, like phylogeny and, beyond that, cosmogony, would be impossible. It involves a kind of permanent feedback between the living and the dead, in answer to a quest, translating into a symbolic "cannibalization" of individuals to reproduce the living ad infinitum. One has to bear in mind that the resistance of indigenous culture abides in this unconscionable contract whose clauses can never be broken. This is no superfluous matter. It involves the entire conception of suffering and misfortune through a complex set of causalities insidiously at work in the background. It is literally a question of life or death. This immediately brings to mind Todos Santos, the annual ritual of the dead, which represents the most obvious application of this rule suspended like the sword of Damocles above people's heads. We could also cite crop fertility rituals known as *costumbres*, but in fact, all ritual expression has the same aim, beginning with choreographic exercises, apparently unconnected to this context of a harbinger of death. From a local point of view, customary law translates into responsibility, duty, repaying debts to ancestors and peers, the community and the environment, considered as a relational space, the elements of which are interdependent. This moral code of responsibility to the ancestors is, therefore, the polar opposite of the supposedly restrictive code to which the neo-Indians refer when evoking their ethnic roots.

The following paradox is unlikely to surprise us: the most immersed in traditional culture make the fewest demands to protect its existence. There are several reasons for this. The first is that the question in itself has little meaning for the remaining monolingual Indians, who have neither the opportunity nor the desire to lay claim to what they already possess and what they live by. At the other end of the continuum are the Spanish-speaking Indians for whom the defense of costumbres represents a political issue and even a means for social ascension. However, in the latter instance, they express themselves using concepts current in Western countries whose leaders

set themselves up as defenders of new "human rights" and minority cultures. Another equally delicate question involves the fact that part of the Indian population is finding itself in a head-on collision in the process of the "opening up" of the indigenous world and underdevelopment insofar as, on several levels, their basic culture appears to be radically incompatible with the values of their chosen environment in an urban setting, with regard, for example, to medicine or education. Anyone with the chance to break the spiral of poverty knows very well that learning a native language is not only of no use whatsoever for professional qualifications, but also retains the stigma of marginality. No "anthropological" reasoning can counteract the force of this reality, but nevertheless, in some respects, the neo-Indians are rushing to take advantage of this opening by rehabilitating the indigenous past—or rather a certain pre-Hispanic past, clarified and purged, ignoring the burdens of poverty, submission, and despair that remain inseparable from today's real Amerindian cultures.

Indian societies are thus caught up in the ideological framework of a fictitious homogenous community, the *comunidad indígena*, very similar to the concept invented by anthropologists who reason in terms of collectivities, both by the tendency to consider "the Indians" as global significant entities, and by the difficulty of analyzing the lives of the native people taken separately as individuals. Although for Indians who have remained in their villages, it is important to protect the fragile environment of these communities, which are trying to achieve an ethnic renaissance, for those on the outside, on the other hand, the native factor represents a symbolic value that is negotiable on the international market. We are therefore witnessing a series of contradictions about the notion of identity, depending on whether one is on the inside or the outside, or favors the perspective of the individual or that of the community. In villages, however, the legacy of the ancestors (which, for neo-Indians, is made up of units that can be detached from one another at any moment—fragments of myths, rites, or paraphernalia) leads to struggles between factions arguing about the ownership of the cultural heritage—"symbolic jousting"—especially during the carnival and the ritual battles in the Andes.

A form of objective complicity exists between anthropologists' discourse on ethnic identity and that of the cultural mediators, literate Indians working in public office. In the field, it is extremely difficult to find any reference whatsoever to a so-called indigenous nation that includes every single person who speaks an Amerindian language. There are several reasons for this. The first is that in Mexico, no Indian can map the geographical outlines of his own cultural area. Indians living in the South of the Huasteca, in eastern Mexico (the Otomi, for example) know that other Indians who speak the Otomi language exist elsewhere, but they cannot clearly understand them because of the fragmentation of the dialects, like that of the Mezquital, which

is supposed to be used by the *maestros bilingües*, Indian teachers trained to teach in indigenous regions. Alas, these maestros bilingües prefer to speak Spanish in order to escape the stigmatization of being taken for Indians like their parents. Indeed, the majority of the Otomi from Mezquital are unaware of the cultural diversity of the eastern Otomi. There is no sense of solidarity extending beyond the community territory in this region. If any sentiment of sharing a common fate exists, it is with Indians or with the poor in general, and therefore an identity that has more to do with socioeconomic status in class conflict, which even passes (in a violent way) through communities that are still entirely indigenous. Strictly speaking, there is no "ethnic consciousness," either in reference to a historical reality or as a reflection of the mexicanistas' creed. All these paradoxes are disappearing as—and this is surely a common trait in dominated societies—the defenders of Indian culture are those who have managed to integrate into national society. For these actors, speaking an Indian language increases their "value," especially with regard to Western tourists. But there is also a sector of national society (mainly academic circles and higher classes) for whom speaking Maya, Nahuatl, or other Mesoamerican languages is highly valued. This is certainly not the case for immigrant Indians in cities, who clumsily try to speak Spanish.

We should bear in mind that the majority of village microcosms are still pockets of extreme poverty in which monolingualism is far from being a thing of the past. At the other end of the scale are communities for which Indianity comes down to speaking a vernacular language and performing a few rituals. In this context, the domain of "culture" can be reduced to what Westerners generally understand by tradition, which is therefore to be protected. However . . . we may have been too hasty to bury the Indians in the faded finery of a Westernization that is only apparent, or at least does not mask the dross of a cosmovisión with an indigenous or pre-Hispanic basis. The outward signs of modernity and the presence of a standardized or even urbanized environment are a delusion. Only enormous patience and an in-depth knowledge of private lives and vernacular languages give access to this deeper layer of knowledge that resists Westernization. How can the ancient indigenous resources survive when faced with the expansionist force of neo-Indian culture? All these ethnic groups keep with them, tacitly or unconsciously, an inexpressible knowledge that accounts for their relations with the world and the environment, in strictest secrecy as it contains a scent of death that the sanitized neo-Indian version discreetly attempts to camouflage behind a doctrine of cosmic harmony. This relationship with death is part of authentic "Mesoamerican ethics."[38]

Neo-Indians in Mexico are constantly laying claim to an identity—mexica, anahuacana, or others—via a sectarian, revisionist, or, as we have seen, even "negation-

ist" mode. Until very recently, this ideology was totally foreign to rank-and-file communities. This raises questions, however, about the extraordinary capacity of this discourse to percolate to the working-class, urbanized masses during spring equinox rituals that, in recent years, have brought together over a million people at Teotihuacan. It is not hard to imagine a time when neo-Indian ideology will swallow up the indigenous symbolic systems, wiping out local cultural references in a transnational ideology as is already the case in the United States and Canada. The current situation is such that we are entitled to ask questions about how indigenous demands fit in with these spontaneous movements of awareness of endangered identity, and how the same demands are self-proclaimed by people who are not actually stakeholders. It also remains to classify the Indians' "natural" allies, the populations of the wealthy classes (some of them—others directly exploit them), and academics in departments of anthropology. At the University of Cuzco, the latter foster spectacular relations with neo-Indianity (see Chapter 3). In Mexico, because of the crucial role played by the Indian heritage in presenting the country to the outside world and the tourist economy, anthropologists now constitute a lobby, taken up by some of the middle and working classes since the birth of the Zapatista movement. A common front is forming in which we can find scholars for whom the idea of protecting the Indian heritage has completely different meanings and fulfills completely different needs. The struggle led by anthropologists is limited by their professional moral code, and they are able to spare themselves (as many of them in their ivory towers do) any participation in the debate described above without affecting their lifestyle or their physical or psychic integrity, which is not the case, as we have seen, for proletarian Indians. The fact remains that the neo-Indians who spearhead ethnic claims impose *nolens volens* a Western conception of the protection of cultural heritage.

There is a misunderstanding between these two categories of actors, between anthropologists and neo-Indians, as the first, the "external protectors," implicitly have in mind a somewhat idealistic vision of indigenous heritage, as if it had a virginal or "sacred" nature, frozen in time. Indians in communities, however, are the first to incorporate into their lifestyle items that anthropologists reject as the most abject objects of the West. When passing through the Meseta de Toluca, densely populated with Otomi and Mazahua communities, one is struck by the sight of a sea of nondegradable plastic bags and wrappers as far as the eye can see. These are new elements of the indigenous environment, about which the Indians make no aesthetic judgment. We are in a vicious circle with no way out.

For a long time, it has been obvious that both archaeological and ethnographical safeguarding measures are met with incomprehension by the Indians, for whom

the sole aim of these undertakings is to trap them in archaisms. Nonetheless, today in Mexico, native heritage is perceived as a symbolic capital that can be exploited economically, not only by passing foreigners who make it flourish and profit in their home countries, but also in Mexico, even if this means reshaping it to fit the canons of neo-Indianity.

It is no longer a question of anthropology saving an endangered heritage, but of observing a tradition in the process of being invented, and which, to a certain extent, balances out the power struggles between Indians and global society. For the American continent, it is possible to sketch a continuum upon which we could place at one end ethnic groups for whom this phenomenon takes a form still in its infancy and, on the other, a society in which the construction of a cultural heritage puts Indians in a dominant situation with regard to the outside world. Some native groups (such as the Pueblo in the United States) have succeeded, thanks to a century-long struggle against anthropology, in revealing part of their ritual heritage while fiercely guarding the majority of their customs from any kind of voyeurism.

Peru: Neo-Incaism and Power. The Resurrection of Tradition and the Return of the Inca

One of the characteristics of Peruvian neo-Incaism, which separates it to a certain extent from Mexico's neo-Indian movement, is undoubtedly the almost congenital link it maintains with power. The political importance of the figure of the Inca stems from the belief in the return of the Incas and from the cyclical Andean conception of time, and accounts are found in Spanish documents as well as in contemporary ethnology. For Andeans, the history of the world is made up of eras separated by cycles of time and space called *pachacuti*.[39]

This notion, though ill defined for anthropologists, has become astonishingly widespread in neo-Inca theories and, as we shall see, in the Andean New Age. It is linked to another belief about which we know very little: the resurrection of the Inca. Andean tradition has it that Inkarrí, the Inca king (Inca-rey), who is believed to have been decapitated by invading foreigners, will one day return to establish a new empire.[40] His body will gradually grow from his head (buried who knows where) and when it is complete, Inkarrí will rise up again and take power to restore Indian society for some, and the empire of Tahuantinsuyu for others. There are several variants of this myth. The first version was recorded in Cuzco in 1955 during an expedition to Q'ero organized by Óscar Núñez del Prado in which several professors from the University of Cuzco took part.[41] The Quechua version of the myth was first published in Spanish,[42] and then in Quechua. Shortly afterward, a volume edited by Juan

Ossio brought together several versions gathered from different regions of Peru.[43] Some versions claim that Inkarrí defeated Christ, described as his brother and known as Sucristu or Españarri, depending on the version. The latter hid the Inca king's head, but

> the blood of Inkarrí lives deep inside Mother Earth. It is said that he shall return the day when his head, his blood, his body are reunited. This day shall break at dusk and reptiles shall fly. The Parinacochas Lake shall dry up and the beautiful and great People that our Inkarrí was not able to complete shall become visible once more.[44]

We have already seen how the figure of the Inca constructed by the indigenists enables Cuzco's lower middle class to acquire both the pedigree of "Inca-ness" and a national autochthony. The "decency" of the new Incas links up with the decency of the white people, both founded on a line of descent based on fantasy and the shared wish to remain aloof from the Indians. At the time, the power gained by "Inca-ness" was mainly symbolic, even if, occasionally, it spilled over into the realm of politics. Today, the distance between the two spheres (symbolic and political) is beginning to disappear. Neo-Incaism is being appropriated by those in power and blatantly exploited for political means. Sometimes it serves the rise to power, sometimes it gives it legitimacy, and sometimes it reproduces it. We shall examine four cases that illustrate these mechanisms of upward mobility in which neo-Incaism takes different forms.

As Priest of the Cult of the Sun

We have seen how different epochs overlap in certain scenes of the Inti Raymi such as the Inca's consultation with the mayor of Cuzco on the papier-mâché sacred rock in the Plaza de Armas. What is most surprising about their discussion is the fact that it is broadcast through loudspeakers and is met with great respect by the crowd. This encounter on the summit was especially anachronistic in the 1980s, when the mayor of Cuzco was taking action to "Inca-ize" the city (see below). As he passed himself off as an Inca by adopting the nickname of Pachacuti, the time lapse between the epochs of the emperor and the mayor disappeared, and we were under the impression that we were witnessing a royal family reunion in front of subjects gathered in the square. This eerie confusion must have been particularly acute in 1991, when the Inca addressed his subjects in Quechua, Spanish, and English![45] It reached its height in the 1990s, when the mayor's interlocutor was no longer an actor but a true Inca (Figure 4.2). When asked how he feels when playing the role of the emperor of Tahuantinsuyu, Alfredo Inca Roca replies without hesitating that he does not *play*

the Inca because he *is* the Inca. He is an agricultural engineer who teaches at the University of Cuzco, has important responsibilities in public affairs, and is also the mayor of San Sebastián, a district a short distance from the city where the conquerors brought together the Inca nobility. He is a descendant of the lineage of Inca Roca and claims he can prove this as he owns a royal certificate from Charles V dating from 1545, recognizing the nobility of his forefather Inca Roca as the seventh king of Peru. During the Inti Raymi, he addresses the divine Sun in impeccable Quechua and is an undeniable success. He does not need to learn his role, he tells us, smiling, adding that, contrary to what his enemies say, he has no need to be a professional actor as he is taking on his natural role. When he sits on his throne in the middle of the cheering crowd, he explains with a humble smile, he becomes aware that he is governing an empire. And it is true that in his wake, men tip their hats and women bow their heads—the rite transformed myth into history.

Alfredo Inca Roca became aware of his political role during the Inti Raymi ceremony.[46] He demanded that the Inca's wife be played by his sister.[47] The company in charge of organizing the town's Sun worshipping festivities refused—Cuzco's inhabitants are well aware that it was the political opposition of the mayor in office that led him not to take the Inca's side, but they also know that the director of the show had promised the role of Inca queen to his favorite mistress. In everyone's opinion, the queen who appeared on the throne was old and ugly, and Alfredo Inca Roca intends to appear one day with his sister-wife. What's more, he has already chosen one of his sons as his successor.

Alfredo Inca Roca has been in politics for a long time. Having led a students' movement, he became a trade union leader and now holds an important position in one of Peru's large political parties. His projects, however, extend far beyond conventional organizations. He has formed an imperial council (Consejo imperial) comprising twenty-six members, all of whom have names from the Inca nobility despite the extreme modesty of their condition. This association is far from being a mere club, and is based on Convention no. 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO) for the defense of indigenous peoples published by the United Nations in 1989, signed by the president of the Peruvian Republic in 1994 and reinforced by the International Decade of Indigenous Peoples (1994–2004). This international convention stipulates the participation of indigenous ethnic groups in the formulation, application, and assessment of development plans and the control of natural resources. It gave rise to powerful Amerindian movements, first in Canada, where the World Council of Indigenous Peoples was established in 1970, and later in numerous other countries, spurred on by the Indian Council of South America, which promoted ethnic demands.

FIGURE 4.2. In the *Plaza de Armas* in Cuzco, the Inca of the Inti Raymi advances on his throne for an audience with the city's mayor. *Photo Antoinette Molinié.*

In Peru it is very difficult to organize the defense of Quechua rights. It does not involve the recognition of a minority (as it does for Amazonian ethnic groups), as the Quechua make up the majority of the population. The mobilization of this

majority against the minority naturally takes a political and unionist form involving the region and even the Nation, very different from the type of ecological positions usually defended by indigenous Amazonian federations. Indeed, unions have taken up the defense of the rights of a population that they see more as peasants than as indigenous people. Velasco's land reforms in the 1970s were thus addressed not to the indígenas, whose existence as such was unknown, but to the campesinos, who were defined by their relationship of exploitation with the latifundia.[48] For a long time, two unions competed for the support of the region's Indian peasants, but neither of them laid claim to the cultural specificity of its rank and file—and for good reason! It was not done to defend an Indian population that was despised, even in the eyes of Indians themselves! Now, with the wondrous discoveries of ancestral values aroused by neo-Incaism, attracting a movement of Quechua identity has led to power struggles between political factions. Little by little, the Indian has become worthy of interest, and Alejandro Toledo's government has established a Parliamentary Commission for Indigenous Affairs (Comisión Nacional de Pueblos Andinos, Amazónicos y Afroperuanos) presided over by the nation's First Lady who, apparently, inspired it. Each ethnic group had to elect a representative, and a Consejo de la Nación Quechua was supposed to designate the Quechua representative.[49]

In the case of the Quechua people, the application of the ILO regulation presents a crucial problem—if this really means giving back to indigenous people their ancestral lands as suggested by some interpretations of the ILO Convention no. 169, today's Quechua majority would have the right to expel owners from most of their arable and built land. Furthermore, there is another problem of which parliament seems to be unaware—in Cuzco, the only respected indigenous people are Inca, and it is remarkable that, unlike in other regions on the continent where Amerindians are organizing themselves in federations, here indigenous people are organized through an imperial council, even at the level of an international convention.

We have observed how the new cult of the Sun was built on the vestiges of Indian culture whose ethnography it recycled. The recuperation of the sociological indigenous people to construct an imperial Indian as we can see today, is based on a similar process, this time on a political level. The Consejo imperial of the ritual Inca was to constitute the executive organ of a state whose legislative organ would be the Parliament of Tahuantinsuyu (Parlamento del Tahuantinsuyu). Alfredo Inca Roca mentioned a project to restructure the Quechua Nation under the aegis of the ILO convention, but in Peru, as soon as a protest movement seems to be escaping the control of a professional or union elite, as soon as it makes a move to approach other ethnic mobilizations, it is in danger of disappearing. Later, the Parlamento del

Tahuantinsuyu became just another development NGO for indigenous communities with the grandiloquent name of Consejo de la Nación Tahuantinsuyana, which does not correspond to any of its concrete actions.

Nonetheless, Inca Roca, the highly acclaimed Inca of the Inti Raymi, has not lost sight of the political role he could play. He believes that the pre-Hispanic aristocrats were in a situation similar to that of the white Russians driven from the Soviet Union, and that European royalty will recognize this nobility for what it is and help the pre-Hispanic aristocracy to reconstitute itself. He is convinced that many apparently Spanish patronyms in fact conceal titles of Inca nobility—for example, according to him, "Pacheco" disguises "Pachacutec." He thus intends to bring together today's Incas in order to reconstitute the royal lineages (*panacas reales*), despite the fact that most of them are illiterate. An article in *Liberación* entitled "Los nuevos Incas se rebelan en el Cusco" (The New Incas Revolt in Cuzco) expresses perfectly the spirit of this demand:[50] "Their faces retain the unyielding nature and earthly strength of their glorious ancestors. Today the heirs of the "sons of the Sun" as they are known—this time without the 'Chikana,' symbol of imperial power—appear as if catapulted from the pages of history and are demanding that Alejandro Toledo Manrique's government recognize them as the legitimate descendants of the shattered indigenous aristocracy."[51]

In 2001, the association Sana Inca Tahuantinsuyu proposed that the president of the Republic give some form of institutional recognition to the Inca nobility, and put forward a bill entitled "Anteproyecto de ley de la reinstauración de la nobleza inca del Tahuantinsuyo."[52]

The bill calls for the recognition of "the legal status of public law for descendants of the Inca nobility," the creation of a governmental organ constituted by the Inca and a Tahuantinsuyu Congress that would be dependent upon the Constitution and the laws of the Republic. The bill received the approval of the district of Santiago, which, on August 23, 2001, issued a "historic municipal ruling authorizing the restoration of the Inca nobility in its territorial jurisdiction."[53] Sana Inca Tahuantinsuyu describes itself as an interlocutor with presidents from all the countries that formerly made up the Tahuantinsuyu Empire, in other words, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, and Chile. This neo-Inca movement also rallies international organizations interested in Inca Roca's project. Inca Roca recently toured the United States to promote the future Tahuantinsuyu.[54]

Indeed, as the press says, "Inca Roca gobernará."[55] In the meantime, the future emperor presides over "authentic" Inca dinners at the Hotel Monasterio in a very colonial setting, savoring dishes created from recipes discovered by archaeologists and served by waiters dressed as pre-Hispanic warriors.

As Mayor

Is it possible that in the 1990s, the mayor of Cuzco was hoping to position himself in this line of resurrected and resisting Incas? Under the administration of Daniel Estrada, elected three times between 1984 and 1996, the imperial city lived in pre-Hispanic times. This socialist (and at times leftist) mayor invented the dialogue with the Inca in the Plaza de Armas during the Inti Raymi. He also organized a meeting on Machu Picchu with the presidents he considered as leaders of a future empire: Venezuela's Pérez, Bolivia's Jaime Paz, Ecuador's Rodrigo Borja and Peru's Alan García, hoping to reconstruct Tahuantinsuyu with them. The dignitaries were ordained in the holy city during a ceremony attended by Cuzco's neoshamans. Estrada then sent the South American presidents various insignia rubbed on the Intiwatana, Machu Picchu's sanctum sanctorum, to reestablish the Inca order.

The "miraculous" nature of these medals is guaranteed by Cuzco's most famous anthropologist—in a letter dated February 26 1990, Óscar Núñez del Prado explains how they soaked up Pachamama's energy and put them under the protection of the cosmic Mother of the Andeans. A high-ranking priest (kuraq akulliq) is said to have performed a specific *hayway* rite to harness this energy at the special site where it emerges like a spring[56]—the protruding Intiwatana at Machu Picchu.[57]

Daniel Estrada's actions marked not only the Incaist current but also the very configuration of the city of Cuzco. Neo-Inca architecture began to emerge in the 1990s. The most spectacular construction is an enormous gilt statue of the Emperor Pachacutec, inaugurated in 1992. Its pedestal was designed to evoke the *sunturwasi*, the pre-Hispanic axis mundi and, according to the people of Cuzco, Pachacutec's face bears a striking resemblance to that of the mayor.

A short distance away, in San Sebastián, a cast-iron condor is perched on a high column with a plaque celebrating the virtues of the noble bird of the Incas. This new style has transformed the town—fountains are shaped like pumas or *amaru* snakes like those found on Inca pottery; historic monuments are erected to the glory of mythical beings, and middle-class villas boast reproductions of Inca stones.

This architecture rapidly produced a mythology. The huge statue of Pachacutec, for example, has taken on messianic dimensions that evoke the myth of the perfect monarch's constant development. Cuzco's intellectuals participate in this enterprise by erasing the historic traces of this character and inventing his tradition. One of these intellectuals, Angel Avendaño, succinctly sums up this attitude as follows: "It would be possible to cause a lively and plentiful chrestomathy [*sic*] to emerge from a positive biography of Pachakuteq. However, his timeless charisma does not only express itself in books, it does not lie in files and is not hidden in libraries—Pachakuteq lives and runs through the veins of the people."[58] The "epic defender of the stones

of Cuzco, the conquistador of the four *suyu*, the magnanimous legislator and ruler, the wise and omniscient lord of the Quechua *pachasophies* [*sic*]"[59] is presented as the Charlemagne of Tahuantinsuyu, compared with Tutmosis III and his work esteemed on a par with that of Philip of Macedonia, Alexander the Great, the Assyrian conqueror Tiglath-Pileser III, and Darius. It was then discovered that the monument celebrating this hero had the same dimensions as Muyuqmarka's tower in the citadel of Sacsayhuaman: "We who believe that there is no such thing as chance think that the old mysteries of Inca astronomical geometry are expressed in a contemporary work in order to add not only symbolic value but also a topic for reflection for the Qosqoruna (Cuzquenians in Quechua) today." As soon as the gilt statue of Pachacuti was erected, a miracle occurred. No sooner had a lightning rod been set up on the Inca's crown than three massive bolts of lightning lit up the sky. Naturally, everyone took this to represent the three powers of the spirit of Pachacutec that had become incarnate in the bronze in order to bear his message to future generations. The first bolt of lightning was the spirit of Munay (Love), the second that of Llank'ay (Work), and the third that of Yachay (Knowledge).[60]

In the 1990s, the mayor of Cuzco adopted a similar mysticism. He believes, for example, like some New Age adepts, that the Earth's two magnetic poles are situated on an axis stretching from the Himalayas to Cuzco and that the magnetic center is moving closer and closer to the Inca capital.[61] The restoration of Tahuantinsuyu is approaching. The inversion of the Earth's magnetic poles surely corresponds in some way to the traditional *pachacuti*. This notion is crucial in neo-Inca culture. According to colonial documents, it designates a cosmic upheaval that occurs at each change of era. Andeans have a cyclical conception of the history of the world that, for them, is made up of several ages separated by disasters—in Quechua, *pacha* means both space and time, and there is no distinct separation between the two notions, while *cutiy* means "to return." The term "return of time/space" gives a good idea of a cycle. The notion was appropriated by neo-Incaism, especially to mean the return of Inca times, and it reappears periodically in political discourse calling for radical change. Combined with New Age ideas, it results in cosmic messianism, of which the mayor of Cuzco is the spokesman. We have seen that, according to the myth of Inkarrí, the Inca king will rise from the dead: it is said that he is buried upside down and that he will arise to restore the empire of Tahuantinsuyu. The inversion of the magnetic poles predicted by the mayor of Cuzco is interpreted by the neo-Incas as the straightening up of Inkarrí's body.

The name of the founding hero Pachacutec, who now has his own monument, obviously stems from a "telluric" idea: "Pachakuti is the definitive moment when all oppression will disappear. Pachakuti is the radical and qualitative transformation of

society. Pachakuteq is the demiurge, the incarnation of the moral force that will make this change effective."[62]

As President of the Republic

The mayor of Cuzco's identification with the Inca has been taken up on a national level, and, it could even be said, on an imperial scale by the Republic's former president, Alejandro Toledo.

Even before his election in 2001, Alejandro Toledo organized a support meeting in Sacsayhuaman, the very same place where the Inti Raymi is held. He chose the mythical site where the cult of the Sun is celebrated each year as well as a symbolic date, because on November 4, 2000, the city of Cuzco celebrated the 220th anniversary of the rebellion led by the Inca Tupac Amaru II in the eighteenth century (see Chapter 3). The time and place were chosen to bring together the Parlamento Tahuantinsuyana put forward by the Consejo de la Nación Quechua led by Alfredo Inca Roca, the Inca of the Inti Raymi, around whom an imperial council was formed. Alfredo Inca Roca then handed over the presidency of the Tahuantinsuyu Parliament to the candidate to the Republic's highest office by placing on his head an imperial *mascaypacha* similar to that of the Inti Raymi Inca (see above). Since then, the Peruvian Nation has had "an Inca presidential candidate" as announced in the headlines of *Caretas* (November 9, 2000): "Invested with the *mascaipacha*, the symbol of Inca power, Alejandro Toledo continues to tour the country and abroad." The president's entourage became *los orejones*, a colonial term meaning Inca noblemen whose earlobes (*orejas*) were deformed by the weight of the jewels they wore.[63]

Like the mayor of Cuzco, right from the start of his campaign, the future president of the Republic sought legitimacy for his power through myth staged by the Inti Raymi rite, thus setting himself up as a direct rival of Inca Roca, the Inca of the Sun cult. However, the identities of "Inca-ness" claimed by both pretenders, while both making use of myth transformed into history through rituals, had very different foundations—the legitimacy of the Inti Raymi Inca came through his lineage, while the president's came from the position he combines with the status of Inca. The two pretenders had very different attitudes toward myth. Although the ritual Inca had access to the symbolic charge of the Inti Raymi because of his exceptional position as a member of the royal lineage (between rite, myth, and history), the future president of the Republic moved away from this through his social status. From the very start of his electoral campaign, he laid claim to his "Indian-ness" in the hope of channeling the support of the poor and indigenist left-wingers.[64] Nonetheless, in national ideology, nothing is more remote from the State Indian called for by Cuzco's neo-Incas

than the "Sociological Indian," who is seen as degenerate and archaic. The Nation hides the true wretchedness of the latter behind the mythical prestige of the former. The Inca image of himself that the Indian president of the Republic attempted to promote was thus founded upon a misunderstanding. There is something pathetic about the contrast between the name the president of the Republic gave himself and the name given to him by the Peruvians—he encouraged his partisans to call him Pachacutec, after the great reforming Inca, but Toledo is also the name of a viceroy who governed at the end of the sixteenth century.[65] Mostly, however, the people knew their president as "Cholo Toledo." We should not forget that cholo refers to an urban Indian trying to escape his irredeemably subaltern condition through social ascension. In a certain context, this term can have a connotation of complicity, but it is generally just as pejorative as the term *indio*. Obviously, one cannot lay claim to being both Inca and cholo. The imperial Indian was invented precisely to escape from the shameful autochthony represented by the masses of wretched Indians, promoted or not to the rank of cholo.[66] The Inca is definitely not the chief of the Indians but the emperor of Tahuantinsuyu.

The political exploitation of neo-Indianity, while symbolic and national in Peru, has become explicit in Bolivia where the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), led by President Evo Morales, makes no secret of its Indianist demands on a continental scale. He succeeded in his widely publicized, more or less subliminal identification between "the exploited" and "Indians" despite the fact that the definition of Indians is problematic. The crowning ceremony for the highest public office in Bolivia was held at the Gate of the Sun in Tihuanaku and was both a nod to the local Indian culture of the *yatiri* who officiated as Aymara neoshamans, and a media scoop for Latino unity in the face of imperialism that is no longer American but Western. There is now a neo-anti-imperialism corresponding to neo-Indianism, which is, moreover, extremely ambiguous—as they struggle against imperialism, they nevertheless contribute to the globalization of Indian vibrations.

In Peru, since the president of the Indians identified with the Incas, he had to celebrate his rise to power through a rite with pre-Hispanic overtones. Because the crowning of the king of Tahuantinsuyu is not documented, everything had to be invented.[67] The ceremony, as envisaged by the First Lady of the Nation, was supposed to be far more spectacular than it eventually was—Alfredo Inca Roca, the Inca of the Sun cult, was meant to descend solemnly from Huayna Picchu and bestow the mascaypacha upon the president of the Republic according to a ceremony allegedly based on colonial documents. However, Cuzco's neo-Inca representatives intervened in the name of respect for history: "Because he has chosen to respect history, Toledo will not encounter the Inca on Machu Picchu."[68] It is worth noting that in this announcement,

"the Inca" refers to the Inca of the ritual sphere, not the political sphere. During the investiture on Machu Picchu, it was not, therefore, the Inca who gave up his power to the president but the shamans who bestowed it upon him. This brought together, on the one hand, an Incaist reference associated with the prestigious site of Machu Picchu and, on the other, a feast of Andean culture supposed to be the president's. The telluric ruins lent the ceremony an imperial setting, producing the "Inca-ness" of the president, and the shamans gave it an Andean content, producing the Indian identity of the cholo Toledo.

The invited shamans were remarkable. First of all came Aurelio Carmona, who was rector of the University of Cuzco, a shamanic pillar of neo-Incaism. People came from as far afield as Lima to be healed by him (his rituals are described above), and he is considered in Cuzco as an *altomisayoq* of the highest rank. Each year on August 1 he organizes a llama sacrifice to celebrate Pachamama in Cuzco University's Anthropology Department. The second "Andean High Priest" invited was a "real" traditional shaman. Nazario Turpo played the role of guardian of authenticity.[69] He was able to reconcile his Andean culture (he lived in Pachanta, near Ocongate) with his "globalized" activities, offering shamanic cures to both patients from Cuzco and North American mystics. The third shaman was a member of the unavoidable Q'ero ethnic group. It was unthinkable that the last Inca survivors should be absent from the emperor's investiture.

The presence of these shamans does create a few paradoxes. Everyone agreed that Aurelio Carmona, the academic shaman, was of the highest rank, as he is said to have been promoted to altomisayoq. But surely Turpo, who inherited his father's position, was better qualified? Nevertheless, on this occasion he was merely a paqo and, as such, of a lower rank than the rector. We should note the primacy of the academic creator of neo-Incaism over the indigenous shaman from whom he draws his knowledge. At the same time, the banalization of shamanic practice, to which even academics now have access, is undermining the integrity of a position that used to be hard to acquire. It is remarkable, however, that the two shamans of such different origins whose hierarchy was not, in the end, based on Andean tradition but on urban neo-Indian culture, found a certain complementarity, or at least, invented it, as it was the rector who expounds this theory. For this event, they distributed the roles according to the their particular fields of action—according to Aurelio Carmona, he represents the modern, urban world of Andean culture whereas Turpo represented the traditional, rural world. The former was on the *phaña* ("right" in Quechua) side of the rite, thus assuming its solar and rational aspect whereas the latter, by taking the *lloque* ("left" in Quechua) side, took responsibility for its dark, subterranean, and lunar aspect. According to Aurelio Carmona, together they reached an equilibrium and fulfilled

the Andean ideal of *yanantin*. This Quechua term expresses an idea of balance and harmony that ought to reign in the complementary relationships between a man and a woman in a couple as well as between the two moieties fighting in ritual battle.[70] This notion was successfully recovered by neo-Inca mysticism and incorporated into a value of the New Age. Applied to an unexpected situation that could have been conflictual, it takes on the value of invention,[71] because in Andean tradition, shamanic rites are not practiced by two people at once: the Andean priest has an intimate and exclusive communication with the deities he addresses, and this is never shared with a third party. Here the two shamans—one traditional and the other urban—are inventing an element of neo-Indian culture, which is created, as always, through the transfer of indigenous tradition to neotradition. There is another contradiction between the promoter of neo-Incaism (the rector of Cuzco University) and the Q'ero, who have been given the role of the authentic Inca descendants by the neo-Inca candidates for this role. The Q'ero shaman only intervened subsequently to the two allegedly "complementary" shamans. During their offering, they did not appear to improvise anything. Their movements were precise and discreet (as they are when they perform rituals in their communities), and from the outset, each of them was marked with the sacredness bestowed by the status of Inca, given to them by the very people who invited them to ritualize the accession of the president of the Republic—even though it has remained the same, their traditional practice has been reinvented through its context.

After plunging into the "deepest Peru" (as the president described the indigenous world in his speech at Machu Picchu), the ritual took on an "imperial" dimension more appropriate to his presidential position. The mayor of Aguas Calientes (a small town near Machu Picchu, where tourist hotels are situated) presented him with an ax that resembled the one carried by the Inti Raymi Inca, with a few added features borrowed from the Apache for good measure. What followed was lifted straight from the Inti Raymi ceremony, with the four armies of the Tahuantinsuyu offering the Inca goods from their regions. The Antisuyu placed fish at the president's feet, the Cuntisuyu made an offering of corn, the Chinchaysuyu brought pottery, and the Qollasuyu offered textiles. We can see how one neoritual feeds another.

The president's wife, dressed in elegant "ethnic" clothing, then gave a speech. She addressed the gods of the mountains and the goddess of the Earth; she invoked the spirit of Tupac Amaru and his rebel armies, giving a very condensed summary of Andean culture in its neoversion! However, one aspect of this speech was particularly striking—rather than being a political declaration, this was unquestionably a religious "invocation." Although it was the president who was taking part in a shamanic performance and executing the gestures of the Inca, it was his wife who

gave him the floor. This division of political labor can be observed in many of the presidential couple's appearances. After his prophetess' incantations, the president followed on in striking contrast, speaking of the millions of dollars that tourism could generate. Punctuating his statistics with aggressive gestures with his tomahawk, he proclaimed that he wished to "capture" 3 million visitors a year, right here on Machu Picchu, whose sacredness had just been celebrated! "Here," he announced with gusto, "in the navel of the world," he wished to start a tourist pachacuti.[72] The reporting journalist made it clear that the president did not believe himself to be Pachacuti, the king of this name, but simply wanted to revolutionize tourism in the region, explaining the meaning of the Quechua word to people watching television. This was followed by a "Declaración de Machu Picchu sobre la Democracia, los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas y la Lucha contra la Pobreza" and a pledge to promote an American Declaration of Indigenous Rights.[73] The ceremony began to take a pan-Andean turn, as befitted the Emperor of Tahuantinsuyu! By Toledo's side stood the presidents of Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, and Columbia. The presidents of Venezuela, Costa Rica, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and the Dominican Republic also attended, as did Shimon Peres, Israel's minister of foreign affairs at the time, and, to crown it all, the prince of Asturias, the *infante*, or crown prince, the future king of Spain.

It is clear that all the elements of the rite were carefully selected. It should be emphasized that nothing is known about the ritual that accompanied the crowning of the pre-Hispanic king. Everything here had been invented, even the ceremony called *hatun hayway*.[74]

This is the name given to the ceremony Daniel Estrada reserved for the presidents of South American countries when he presented them with Inca insignia rubbed on Machu Picchu's Intiwatana (see above). Since this inauguration, Machu Picchu has taken on the quality of a cathedral. It is true that the ruins have been considered sacred for many years by neo-Inca mystics, but the international reception of the Inca-president has tipped their sacredness into the political realm. Its role as a cathedral can be seen in the emotion aroused by the project to build a cable car. There was impressive mobilization against the project, and the First Lady of the Nation became personally involved in preventing its construction. The people of Cuzco were also shocked by the damage done to the Intiwatana when an advertisement for a brand of beer was filmed there: "And why didn't they use the monstrance from the Church of the Merced for the movie instead?" I overheard from an academic involved in the neo-Inca movement. The content of the Intiwatana thus seems to be very close to the Eucharist. Machu Picchu has become a neo-Inca shrine in its own right.

As First Lady of the Nation

In the political exploitation of neo-Incaism and the "irresistible rise" of Cholo Toledo to the rank of Inca, his wife played a crucial role. Although of Belgian origin, Éliane Karp addressed the Indians in Quechua. She was keen to describe herself as an anthropologist, and her training played a vital part in the president's neo-Incaism, as she had a particular talent for ethnohistory. She promoted the imperial nature of her husband, and her identification with the pre-Hispanic nobility was accompanied by charity work for the poorest Indians. She undeniably adopted what could be called "Inca postures." We have seen her as princess at her imperial husband's side during the presidential campaign in Sacsayhuaman. At her husband's inauguration on Machu Picchu, her speech was messianic. An Almanac displayed this all over the country—the First Lady of the Nation is shown as an ancient priestess worshipping a supposedly sacred Inca motif. In this picture, her gesture echoes the raising of the holy wafer in Catholic liturgy.[75]

The "millenarian invocation" accompanying this strange image echoes the inaugural speech. It confirms the sacerdotal role adopted by the president's wife, as the text opens with a prayer addressed to the gods of the mountains of the Cuzco region directly after the call to the people:

> Oh my people, Apu Machu Picchu, Apu Huayna Picchu, Apu Salkantay, Apu Ausangate, Happy Times return, the good times, as desired by Tupac Amaru II Condorcanqui. Here and for you in your memory. To the last resistance fighters of Vilcabamba. To all those who have resisted for so long to keep their tradition alive. To you, the *alto Misayuq.* To all those who did not let the collective memory of our people fade. Keeping alive the Language and the feeling of Pachamama and the Apus, our clothing, our dances and our extraordinary music. To the great nation of Tahuantinsuyo which unites the Qhapaq Ñan and plans in the future the integration of the people and democratic modernity. The age of the Chacana has returned. We have done our duty. Together we have brought the age of the tenth Pachakútiy back to modern times, with equity and equality for all the peoples of the great Tahuantinsuyo, so that employment and joy for everyone return. Rejoice, Oh people! Thank you.[76]

This speech is typical of Cuzquenian neoimperial style. It mixes Quechua and Spanish as the large landowners used to do before they disappeared with the last land reforms. It refers to glorious events in Inca history such as Tupac Amaru's uprising against the Spanish in the mid-eighteenth century and Vilcabamba's resistance in the lowlands after Manco Inca's defeat in 1540. It also combines actual ethnographic facts (the address to the two great gods of the mountains, Apu Salkantay and Apu

Ausangate) with the invention of sites made sacred merely through their status as ruins (Apu Machu Picchu and Apu Huayna Picchu) although they are never invoked by Indians, and with notions that have become stock-in-trade for New-Age-inspired Andean neoethnology, such as "alto Misayuq" to designate the Andean shaman; "Pachamama," or the Goddess of the Earth; and "Pachakútiy" in reference to the cyclical vision of the history of the world.[77]

The First Lady's speech also refers to the return of the age of the *chakana*. This notion, a neo-Andean invention, has been surprisingly well received. It refers to the cross-shaped object worshipped by Éliane Karp as a neopriestess. When he was inaugurated on Machu Picchu, the president was presented with a chakana at the same time as he received the Apache-style Inca ax. In its traditional sense, the word *chakana* means "bridge" in Quechua and represents an Andean constellation corresponding to Orion's belt.[78] Today, this motif (perceived as an "Andean cross" with a syncretism that is astonishing for neo-Indianity, which usually rejects any reference to Christianity) represents various pre-Hispanic neomystic notions and has become the symbol of reinvented Incaism. The Inca nobility's "revolt" refers to the demands of the imperial council.

The form of the chakana was used in Cuzco's town planning as imagined by Mayor Daniel Estrada's entourage in the model presented to the public. Once rid of its colonial buildings—symbols of servitude—the Incaist capital was to be made sacred by its chakana form that would guarantee its Incaist purity. We should note in passing that with this model, the neo-Inca madness of the Cuzco municipality went so far as to envisage the systematic demolition of the entire colonial city. As we shall see later, the neomystics often refer to the chakana, which has become a kind of rallying cry for them.

Be that as it may, its use by the president's wife shows the authorities' desire to appropriate the pre-Hispanic past. This political recuperation was to be at the center of Cuzco's solstice celebrations in June 2002. On that day, the President's Belgian wife was to receive in great pomp her certificate of Peruvian naturalization at the Temple of the Sun, no less. The ceremony was supposed to have a national dimension, but on a local level, it was presented instead as the initiation of the president's wife to Cuzco's neo-Incaism. She, too, was to become part of State Indianity and thus a member of this fictive nobility to which her husband was admitted during his inauguration on Machu Picchu. Only her Belgian nationality, which she was set to lose in the Temple of the Sun, prevented it. It is not hard to guess who was to lead the ceremony: Alfredo Inca Roca himself, the Inca of the Inti Raymi, would present the certificates of Peruvian nationality and Cuzquenian nobility to the Inca president's wife dressed as a princess during a sumptuous ceremony organized for

this purpose at the Temple of the Sun. The reference to the Inti Raymi was made explicit in the press and on the streets.[79] Once again, we can see a transfer of symbolic order from the local indigenous people to an imperial rank and a national level. The historical transfer is obvious, because it draws from the Andean past to invent a ritual, but folklorized indigenous culture is also used, as it was for the president's inauguration. The date of the First Lady of the Nation's naturalization ceremony was chosen to correspond to a festival recovered from the Andean agricultural calendar and called, for the occasion, Año Nuevo Andino (Andean New Year). This Inca neoritual included not only offerings to Mother Earth celebrated by the great shamans who were present on Machu Picchu for the president's inauguration, but also invocations to the gods of the region's mountains and other supposedly traditional rituals such as the renewal of the presidential couple's matrimonial vows. The announcement of the ceremony alone emphasized this symbolic transfer of Andean culture to the Peruvian Nation, merged for the event with Tahuantinsuyu: "En el año nuevo andino: hacia la construcción de una nueva Nación" (For the Andean new year—toward the construction of a new Nation). However, the transfer had an international dimension—also planned for the occasion was a continental forum for indigenous peoples, to which were invited figures such as representatives of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank as well as Rigoberta Menchú, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate. Just as the Inca president had invited both shamans from the region and presidents of South American Republics to Machu Picchu, his *ñusta* (queen) wife had planned llama sacrifices and an international audience, with, as a bonus, the presentation of certificates of nobility by a legitimate descendant of the kings of Cuzco!

Much to our regret, the ceremony described in the press and by its organizers never took place. Extremely violent strikes against the privatization of the imperial city's electric power company by a foreign corporation turned into armed demonstrations and fighting on barricades. The airport had to be protected by the army. Imperial Cuzco and its neo-Incas made way for the "Red Cuzco" of the turn of the twentieth century, which gave rise to powerful unions, the emergence of a dynamic Communist Party, and the development of a confrontational academic indigenism now transformed into festive Incaism. The electricity company is a symbol of regional pride, and the fight to keep it as a public service soon became a struggle against Lima-run centralism.[80] Mobilization against the privatization became regional—even Incaist—resistance. *El Sol*'s headlines in Cuzco read: "In defense of its businesses. Massive mobilization today. The Inka [*sic*] Nation leads social Resistance."[81]

A people's assembly made up of the mayor of Cuzco and regional authorities inaugurated this resistance with a formal ceremony during which the rainbow-colored

flag of Tahuantinsuyu was raised: "The Inka rebellion is under way."[82] The city and the region were paralyzed for a week.

It was against this insurrectionary background that the Inca pomp of the ceremony at the Temple of the Sun was announced in honor of the First Lady of the Nation. The reaction in the streets was extraordinarily hostile. All of a sudden, opposition to the privatization of the electric power company by a foreign company merged with opposition to the private use of the Temple of the Sun by the Belgian wife of the president of the Republic. Slogans and graffiti in the street were fierce, and newspapers multiplied their invectives against the Incaist luxury of the presidential couple and their expenses. "La Karp" (as the wife of the Cholo Toledo was often known) became a foreigner again, and she was obliged to abandon the Coricancha and organize her festivities in her husband's village in the north of Peru,[83] the people urging him to resume his status of Indian or cholo and give up his Incaist pretensions:

> The common citizen of this country not only deplores the pretention of the 'son of the people,' now transformed into a veritable dictator trying to organize a ceremony involving lavish expenses in order to please the Belgian lady who wishes to dress as a ñusta and, in the setting of the great Coricancha, receive the official documents for her Peruvian naturalization.[84]

In conversations on the street, one could sense an implicit comparison between the denationalization of Cuzco's electrical power company, often presented in the press and experienced "on the ground" as deregularization, and the naturalization, both Peruvian and Incaist, of the "Belgian Lady." In both cases, it was as if there were a usurpation of energy—electric energy from the natural environment, and historical energy from the Inca rites so dear to the neo-Indians and New Agers. This association is quite appropriate because (hydroelectric) energy is produced in the gorges of Machu Picchu, the shrine of neo-Incaism. Both Cuzco's inhabitants' demands were satisfied—the privatization of the Machu Picchu power plant and the First Lady of the Nation's naturalization were both postponed.[85]

As Prophet: The Misión Israelita del Nuevo Pacto Universal

It is likely that the myth of the return of the Inca provided support for the projects of Alfredo Inca Roca (the Inca of the Inti Raymi) and Daniel Estrada (the former mayor of Cuzco) as well as those of the president of the Republic and his wife.

It is undeniable that the saga of Inkarrí (see below) translates an indigenous messianic vision, especially if associated with the notion of pachacuti as we defined it above. The significance of the Inca king can be seen in many parts of Peru, and not

only in mythical accounts. In the Cuzco region, in addition to the material collected during the mission to Q'ero in 1955, there are numerous legends testifying to this belief.[86] In the northern Andes, "Inga-Rey" appears in the ritual formulas of magic cures, and the lakes in which the sick, the bewitched, and the barren are immersed often receive their power to heal from Inca-Rey, who bathed in their waters. These lakes are called *huaringa*, from *huari*, meaning native and "Inca."[87] In visions brought about by decoctions of the psychoactive plant San Pedro, the mythical king sometimes appears in majestic clothing as the tutelary spirit of sacred sites to advise about the use of medicinal plants. Two healers from Huancabamba attest to this:

> I saw the Inca, and in his hand he held the Inca's *achupalla* (medicinal plant). It is good for several diseases. the [*sic*] Inca was wearing golden accessories. The enchantment of the lagoon is the Inca in person. . . .

> The spirit of Lake Prieta appears as an Indian king with a *curaca*'s (traditional chief's) cape, and he has a *mascaipacha* with a mirror on the feathers.[88]

These references to the power of "Inga Rey" in traditional medicine are linked to the myth of Inkarrí because, in this region, it is also said that Atahualpa was not really killed by the Spanish, and survived because he knew powerful healers. He is currently hidden in a cave with an Indian army and will restore a glorious empire.[89]

Although the myth of Inkarrí is undoubtedly rooted in Andean culture, it was probably consolidated during colonial times. Nevertheless, there are certain puzzling coincidences—the myth was discovered not far from the imperial capital, among the Q'ero recognized by the neo-Incas as the descendants of the Incas (see below). Furthermore, the variants multiplied in the 1970s—Velasco's government's land reforms specifically used this messianic tradition to enforce its policy.[90] More specifically, the propaganda apparatus preached the return of Tupac Amaru, the great anticolonial rebel of the eighteenth century, comparing his liberating mission with General Velasco's project, and the beneficiaries of land reform were compared with the Indians crushed by a quasi-feudal society. The myth of Inkarrí was glorified by left-wing academics who were politically active in peasant unions.

A decade or so later, Peruvian historians analyzed the messianic tradition in respectable writings in order to reinterpret certain episodes of Peru's history.[91] These authors highlight the recurring theme of the return of the Inca and the restoration of Tahuantinsuyu.[92]

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in particular, we see emerging in the uprising against the colonizers, the hope of the Utopian reestablishment of the Tahuantinsuyu Empire, and the return of its king. We can see a kind of Inca nationalism during this period,[93] whose protagonists had imperial ambitions; the most

famous of these protagonists is unquestionably José Gabriel Condorcanqui.[94] Under the name of Tupac Amaru II, he led an anticolonial movement whose structure suggested his identification with the Inca, although some authors see him instead as nostalgic for the colonial pact of the initial phase of the Spanish government. We should bear in mind that it is above all the declaration of his Inca ancestry that the Spanish objected to. In the trial during which he was sentenced to death, Tupac Amaru was accused of abusing the title of Inca, dressing as such, and bearing royal insignia.

Was this an expression of the messianism of the Andean people or a local chief's attempt to restore a monarchic order to protect his power? The debate continues, and it is likely that both theories can be supported. Both aspects of the insurrection can be found in a contemporary political movement that shows that things are not as simple as they might seem, and that the seizing of power by a charismatic leader can resonate with a popular tendency for millenarianism, whether it originates in pre-Hispanic culture or in the Franciscan preaching of colonial times.[95]

The "Misión Israelita del Nuevo Pacto Universal" is based on two forms of messianism whose combination may seem exotic. Its founder, Ezequiel Ataucusi (1918–2000), presented himself as the successor of both Moses and Christ, and claimed to be the son of the Holy Ghost, who is extremely important in Andean beliefs, where he is associated with a millenarianist worldview. For many Andeans, humanity must experience three ages that correspond to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost respectively. The first age is the age of the Gentiles, which here takes the form of the prehuman and presolar ancestors. The age of the Son is the age in which we are destined to live, the age of Indian suffering comparable to the suffering of Jesus Christ, during which we await the coming of the Holy Ghost, which will lead to the return of the pre-Hispanic ancestors. This belief, which for a long time was attributed to a pre-Hispanic millenarianism, probably mainly stemmed from the sermons of the Franciscan Joachim of Fiore in the Middle Ages.[96] What was considered as heresy "took root" in the Andean context, probably because of the cyclical vision of time, which is hard to describe with much precision for the pre-Hispanic era because the texts in which it is mentioned are greatly influenced by sixteenth-century European millenarianism.

Ezequiel Ataucusi was born in 1918 in the Arequipa region, and in the 1950s he joined the Adventist Church. The Holy Ghost made Ezequiel Ataucusi the heir of Moses and Jesus Christ.[97] Like Moses, he received the Tables of the Law, in this case the ten words of the Pact that were revealed to him in a vision in 1956 in the village of Picoy (Junín) as he was communicating with the Holy Ghost. He then founded a sect of "spiritual Israelites." Like Jesus Christ, he was a Redeemer, and like him, he was to die at the hands of the infidels.

Members of the Pact observe a Sabbath on Saturdays, dress as "Hebrews" (*hebreos*) for ceremonies (long tunics like those in schoolbook Bible illustrations), and wear their hair long. Ezequiel became God's chosen Savior who would escape the calamity that the sins of the world would certainly bring about without his intervention. With the Holy Trinity, he began to spread the word of the New Universal Pact (Nuevo Pacto Universal) to the four corners of the Earth (los cuadro cantones de la tierra), possibly an allusion to the four districts of Tahuantinsuyu. Followers adopt the interpretation of the Scriptures proposed by Ezequiel and celebrate the biblical rituals. They gather every Saturday in their temples to pay homage to Jehová de los Ejércitos (Jehovah of the Armies) and for the new moon, Passover in April, Pentecost in June, Atonement in October, and the Feast of Tabernacles. The cult's principal rite is the "holocaust," an animal sacrifice. They await a third calamity after the Flood and Sodom and Gomorrah. Recognizable are both the significance of the Inca sacrifice and the cyclical vision of time. Every major event is seen as a sign—it is interpreted by the prophet in the light of biblical texts and gives rise to a prophecy that predicts the course of history. To do this, various biblical texts undergo a magic treatment that essentially involves taking a phrase out of context and reemploying it after an exegetical transformation. Thus the word "Israel" is said to be composed of the English "Is," the Egyptian god "Ra," and the Spanish article "El."

The movement's biblical dimension stems from the religious origins of its founder. Brother Ezequiel had been an Adventist and founded his movement when his coreligionists expelled him because of his claim to be a prophet. However, references to the Old Testament are only one aspect of the Misión Israelita del Nuevo Pacto Universal. The prophet Ezequiel bore the titles Hijo del Hombre, Padre Israel, Patriarca Israelita, Cristo de Occidente, Elegido de Dios, and Compilador Bíblico, but also the more local and more specific title of *Inca*. His mother tongue was Quechua, and he knew the myth of Inkarrí from childhood. He personally believed that Atahualpa's head was now in Spain, where it was taken by the *conquistadors*, and it only needed someone to take a little Peruvian soil there for Inkarrí's body to be reborn and, with it, the empire. His followers look for an "earth free of evil" in the tropical forest according to the belief of the Indians of the highlands, who think that their ancestors are hiding not only underground in the Cordillera but also in the impenetrable tropical forest of the lowlands. Most of his followers are settled on a level of the Cordillera where the climate is tropical and await the prophesized cataclysm and the return of the Inca.

It is easy to see a link between the biblical and Inca aspects of this millenarianism. The two forms of messianism share the expectation of a predicted cataclysm and the self-designation as chosen people. For believers, the prophet Ezequiel, identified with the Inca, was to bring a message of salvation to the world as Christ's successor.

His body is the body of Inkarrí. The land of the Incas is the Promised Land, and lies in the foothills of the Andes. The faithful must gather in the Andes (i.e., in the West), to be transported to Canaan (to the East). The prophet Ezequiel addresses his people quoting Isaiah 43.5: "Fear not, for I am with thee; I will bring thy seed from the East, and gather thee from the West." And, like the president of the Republic at his inauguration, the audience does not hesitate to refer to the ruins of Machu Picchu: "Machu Picchu is the mountain of the Inca / In Palestine is the mountain of Sinai."[98]

The prophet Ezequiel maintained good relations with General Velasco's reformist military government in the 1970s. In 1984 he set up the Independent Agricultural Front (FIA), which later became the Agricultural People's Front of Peru (FREPAP). Ezequiel was a presidential candidate in 1990, 1995, and 2000. In order to stand for election as president of the Republic, he gathered 100,000 signatures in 1995. The Misión Israelita del Nuevo Pacto Universal had several congressmen in parliament. This cannot be described merely as the appropriation of an indigenous culture by an ambitious politician; this was a popular grassroots movement that emerged at a time when the country was in chaos under the attacks of the Shining Path. In the movement's doctrine we can see the convergence of a pre-Hispanic vision of time and biblical references that marked Andean minds, bruised as they were by the end of the world, as the Spanish Conquest was perceived.

Amortaja a Atahualpa . . .	Wrap Atahualpa in a shroud . . .
Su amada cabeza ya la envuelve	His beloved head has already been covered
El horrendo enemigo.[99]	By the ignoble enemy.

It is probably the convergence of these two traditions (the Andean tradition referring to the world being turned upside down and the prophetic Christian tradition) that lies at the origin of the invention of this Andean messianism, now exploited by political ambitions.

Thus, Tupac Amaru may be seen as the first neo-Inca. His line of descent reproduces itself up to President Toledo and prophet Ezequiel. Tupac Amaru was perhaps the first to exploit the indigenous messianic tradition in his quest for power. From this Andean messianism, which we might think was constructed by today's flamboyant neo-Incas, Tupac Amaru drew popular energy, which made him a hero and his saga an Andean epic. The new candidates for "Inca-ness," in turn, feed their saga with indigenous historiography. The messianic tradition created the historic myth of Tupac Amaru, and this myth has been confiscated by those who profit from indigenous traditions; the Inca priest encourages the sale of the Sun cult to tourists, and the Inca mayor eventually becomes a senator in Lima while the Inca president privatizes the empire's assets for the benefit of multinational companies.

Once again, we can observe how indigenous thinking and history are exploited to formulate projects that are totally foreign to Indian culture. Far from worshipping the Sun, Andeans believe that it burnt their ancestors who now reside in the depths of the Earth. Although some of them believe that their ancestors will one day return to live on Earth, they are not waiting for an Inca of royal blood to bring about the new era. As for the idea of bowing to the authority of an Inca with an Indian face and the discourse of a misti, this is very far removed from the Andean idea of local government, even though the Q'ero invested the president of the Republic through their shamanism, transformed as they are today into the centerpiece of the neo-Indian approach. The restoration of Tahuantinsuyu and the return of the imperial Indian, of which the neo-Incas dream, are founded, yet again, on the transfer of the myth of Inkarrí, probably of colonial origin, onto the identity-based and political project of an elite. Elements of neo-Indian culture thus circulate from the local to the national, robbing the sociological Indians of the shreds of their culture, and popular history of its anticolonial struggle. This plundering has now taken on an international dimension, as in the supreme investiture on Machu Picchu, where the Q'ero shaman rubbed shoulders with the Infante of Spain, as well as in the president's wife's pan-Indianist and continental projects. The international investment of neo-Incaism was particularly spectacular during the closing ceremony of the seventeenth summit of the Rio Group held in Cuzco on May 23 and 24, 2003, which was inaugurated on the esplanade of the Temple of the Sun.

The Inca of the Sun cult and his entourage were invited to Sacsayhuaman, on the Inti Raymi stage, to sign the "Consenso del Cuzco." A ritual was invented for the occasion; for the continent's heads of state, the *haywaricuy* reproduced a propitiatory ceremony that the Incas are said to have celebrated every year. At the end of the ritual, to cries of "Viva Pachacutec!" from his supporters, President Alejandro Toledo presented a *quipu* to the President of Brazil,[100] Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.[101] Lula posed for the press with the Inca of the Sun cult and his retinue, while the High Priest gave an accolade to his wife. The photograph's caption left readers perplexed: "The Navel of the World! President Lula, who began his term of office in January, giving impetus to the construction of the inter-oceanic route between the Atlantic and the Pacific, managed to capture the *true* [our italics] dimension of the geostrategical value of Cuzco during the Rio Group Summit."[102] During all the ceremonies organized for the Inca president at Sacsayhuaman, the Temple of the Sun and various other *lieux de mémoire*, strikes and demonstrations by secondary-school teachers prevailed.[103] As with the festivities that were to be organized at the Temple of the Sun in May 2002 in honor of the First Lady of the Nation's naturalization, the people of Cuzco did not seem to identify with the "Inca-ness" of their president.

From Tupac Amaru to the prophet Ezequiel, via Santos Atahualpa, Alfredo Inca Roca worshipping the Sun cult, the mayor of Cuzco and President Alejandro Toledo, it seems that the neo-Incas constantly make use of the cycle of Inkarrí. This cycle is produced not only by an oppressed Andean people, but above all by the oppressors themselves; history produces the myth of Inkarrí, and this myth produces history, with an Inca of royal blood performing the cult of the Sun and a President of the Republic enthroned as an Inca.

This current process of ethnogenesis can only be understood in light of the gradual development of the image of the Indian. These neo-Indian inventions have been refined from earlier representations that have been constructed throughout the history of the Andes. They are taken up by the disciples of the New Age as part of the globalization of the resurrection of the Inca.

Notes

1. *Izkalotl*, June 12, 1990. The Fifth World Assembly of Indigenous Peoples, the Indian Council of South America, the International Treaty Council, the Supreme Council of Nahuatl-speaking Peoples of the Federal District, the Scientific and Cultural Society of the Anahuak, the Anahuak Cultural Group of Xochimilco, and the Kalpulli of Aztec Dance all signed this declaration.

2. Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas de la tierra firme*, 1:215–24.

3. Hernan Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*.

4. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia de la Conquista de Nueva España*, 159.

5. Antonello Gerbi, *La naturaleza de las Indias Nuevas* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1977), 116–17.

6. Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984).

7. Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *Mexico profundo*, 90–91.

8. Kazuyasu Ochiai, "Forjando patria: Identificación de lo social con lo cultural en el México 2002 moderno," in *Estados nacionales, etnicidad y democracia en América latina*, ed. Yamada Mutsuo and Carlos Ivan Degregori (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2002), 71.

9. Helmut Bausinger, *Volkskunde ou l'ethnologie allemande: De la recherche sur l'antiquité à l'analyse culturelle* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1994).

10. *Izkalotl*, July 1992.

11. *Izkalotl*, January 1991.

12. "Motekuhzoma's gardens were the first botanical and zoological gardens. The fauna was divided into species. The frescos in Teotihuacan indicate that mineral life was situated at the bottom, followed by the insect strata and larvae, then reptiles, etc." *Izkalotl*, January 1991.

13. We avoid using the term "diaspora," which could lead to confusion with non-Indian migratory movements, including Afro-Americans, who also lay claim to this term and whose

situation is very different from that of migrant Indians. We have emphasized how migrant networks construct an ideology of exile (seen as temporary or permanent) by laying claim to local cultural standards from the original community, which are in no way "ethnic" or "historical."

14. Françoise Lestage, "La construction des différences chez les migrants de la frontière mexico-étasunienne," *Études Rurales* 159–60 (2001): 190.

15. Host societies' tendency to overvalue the "community" aspect of migration is a trait shared by the representatives of "people from elsewhere" settled in one's country. On these models of the vision of the foreigner, see E. Roosens, "The Primordial Nature of Origins in Migrant Ethnicity," *The Anthropology of Ethnicity*, ed. Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1994), 81–104.

16. Françoise Lestage, "La construction des différences chez les migrants de la frontière mexico-étasunienne," 193.

17. Ibid., 194.

18. G. Weller Ford, "Un nuevo desafío para la planificación lingüística en México y en Estados Unidos: La presencia de indígenas mexicanos en las zonas fronterizas," in *Antropología e interdisciplinaridad*, ed. Mario Humberto Ruz et Julieta Aréchiga (Mexico City: Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, 1995), 181–91.

19. Françoise Lestage, "La construction des différences chez les migrants de la frontière mexico-étasunienne," 198.

20. Jacques Galinier and Antoinette Molinié, "Le crépuscule des lieux: Mort et renaissance du musée d'anthropologie," *Gradhiva* 24 (1998): 93–102.

21. Lourdes Arizpe, *Indígenas en la ciudad: El caso de las "Marías"* (Mexico City: Sepsetentas, 1975), 132.

22. A. Urrutia, *La Jornada*, Dec. 11, 1992.

23. Lourdes Arizpe, *Migración, etnicismo y cambio económico: Un estudio sobre campesinos a la ciudad de México* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1978).

24. Ibid., 23.

25. Ibid., 138.

26. Ibid., 114.

27. Ibid., 152.

28. J. Galinier, "Le prédateur céleste: Notes sur le sacrifice Mazahua," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 70 (1985): 153–66.

29. Lemos Igreja, paper presented at the Third International Congress of Latin Americanists in Europe, Amsterdam, July 3–6, 2002.

30. Françoise Lestage, "La construction des différences chez les migrants de la frontière mexico-étasunienne."

31. Cristina Oehmichen, "Identidad, Género y relaciones interétnicas: Mazahuas en la ciudad de México" (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 2005), 358–76.

32. Regina Martínez Casas, "La comunidad moral como comunidad de significados: El caso de la migración otomí en la ciudad de Guadalajara," paper presented at the Third International Congress of Latin Americanists in Europe, July 3–6, 2002.

33. Sophie Hvostoff, "Le nouveau visage indien de San Cristobal de las Casas: Dynamique d'intégration et frontières ethniques," *Trace* 40 (2001): 13–25.

34. Ibid., 14.

35. In Chiapas, mestizo Spanish-speaking populations are known as *ladinos*.

36. Ibid., 21.

37. Ibid., 22.

38. Jacques Galinier, "L'entendement mésoaméricain: Catégories et objets du monde," *L'Homme* 151 (1999): 109.

39. Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne and Olivia Harris, "Pacha: En torno al pensamiento aymara," in *Tres reflexiones sobre el pensamiento andino*, ed. Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, Olivia Harris, Tristan Platt, and Verónica Cereceda (La Paz: Hisbol, 1987), 11–61.

40. On the myth of Inkarrí, see José María Arguedas, *Los mitos quechuas poshispánicos* (Havana: Casa de Las Américas, 1968); Manuel Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía: Muerte y resurrección de los Incas* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1988); Óscar Núñez del Prado, "El hombre y la familia: Su matrimonio y organización politico-social en Q'ero," in *Estudios sobre la cultura actual del Perú* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1964); Núñez del Prado, "Versión del mito de Inkarrí en Q'eros," in *Ideología mesiánica del Mundo Andino*, ed. Juan Ossio (Lima: Edición de Ignacio Prado Pastor, 1973); Alejandro Ortiz Rescaniere, *De Adaneva a Inkarrí* (Lima: Ed. Retablo de papel, 1973); Ossio, *Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino*; Ricardo Valderrama and Carmen Escalante, "El inka vive," *Revista del Museo e Instituto de Arqueología* 25 (1995): 241–70; Valderrama and Escalante, *La doncella sacrificada: Mitos del Colca* (Arequipa: Universidad Nacional de San Agustín de Arequipa / Institut français d'études andines, 1997).

41. See Chapter 3.

42. Núñez del Prado, "El hombre y la familia"; Núñez del Prado, "Versión del mito de Inkarrí en Q'eros."

43. Ossio, *Ideología mesiánica del Mundo Andino*.

44. "La sangre de Inkarrí está viva en el fondo de nuestra Madre Tierra. Se afirma que llegará el día en que su cabeza, su sangre, su cuerpo habrán de juntarse. Ese día amanecerá en el anochecer, los reptiles volaran. Se secará la laguna de Parinacochas, entonces el hermoso y gran Pueblo que nuestro Inkarrí no pudo concluir será de nuevo visible." Ortiz Rescaniere, *De Adaneva a Inkarrí*, 139.

45. *El Sol*, June 25, 1991.

46. We are indebted to Alfredo Inca Roca for his cooperation and support.

47. The Inca king, a deity, had his sister as his first wife, and several secondary wives through whom he established alliances with defeated chiefs.

48. In 1969, General Velasco passed a very radical Land Reform law that expropriated a great many large landowners and mobilized Indian peasants.

49. In 1980, the first Congreso Indígena de Sur de América (CISA) was held in Ollantaytambo, the Mecca of Inca civilization. It brought together leaders of Amazonian ethnic groups, but did not include a Quechua representative. A Consejo de la Nación Quechua was held in 2000 in Ollantaytambo under Fujimori's government, and it was during this event that the

idea of an indigenous parliamentary commission was floated, but no member of parliament wished to attend.

50. October 23, 2001, 16.

51. "Sus miradas mantienen la altivez y la fuerza telúrica de sus gloriosos antepasados, los Incas. Hoy, aquellos herederos de los denominados 'Hijos del Sol'—esta vez sin la 'Chakana,' símbolo del poder imperial—salen catapultados de las páginas de la historia y exigen al gobierno de Alejandro Toledo Manrique ser reconocidos como legítimos descendientes de la venida a menos aristocracia indígena."

52. "Bill for the restoration of Tawantinsuyo's Inca nobility."

53. "Los nuevos incas se rebelan en el Cusco," *Liberación*, October 23, 2001, 16.

54. In Cuzco there was also a movement to restore Tahuantinsuyu called Movimiento Pachacuteq para la Liberación del Tahuantinsuyu, which has its own website. It mainly has a regional political dimension (in 2002 and 2003 the mayor was part of this movement), but it does not seem to produce a specific culture.

55. *El Sol*, May 29, 1996.

56. From the Quechua *hayway*, which means "give" or "award." Some Indians from the communities use this word for offerings to the gods of the mountains, more often known as *despachos* or *mesas*.

57. Letter dated February 26, 1990, published by the journal *Estafeta*, 70.

58. "Podría emerger una bullente y frondosa crestomatía de una biografía positivista de Pachakuteq. Pero su carisma intemporal no sólo pervive en los libros, ni subyace en los ficheros ni se oculta en las bibliotecas, Pachakuteq vive y vibra en las arterias del Pueblo." Angel Avendaño, *Pachacuteq* (Municipalidad del Qosqo, 1992), 3.

59. "El defensor épico de las piedras del Cusco, el conquistador de los cuatro suyos, el legislador-organizador magnánimo, sapientísimo y omnisciente señor de pachasofias quechuas." Ibid., 2–3.

60. Municipalidad del Qosqo, *Pachacuteq Inka Yuipanqui: Anales del monumento* (1993): 68–70. The three principles mentioned here have been taken up by the Incaist New Age movement. The neomystics make much use of them (see Chapter 5).

61. Interview with author, August 28, 1995.

62. From municipal brochure about the monument of Pachacutec.

63. *Liberación*, August 13, 2001, 6.

64. An article in *Caretas*, November 9, 2000, reminded President Toledo that he bore the name of a viceroy!

65. Viceroy Toledo ruled with an iron fist at the end of the sixteenth century.

66. This misinterpretation is even more surprising because Toledo's election campaign was run by his wife, who described herself as an anthropologist.

67. *El Peruano*, July 30, 2001, "Especial" section, i to viii; *La República*, July 30, 2001, 3–4; *El Comercio*, July 30, 2001, "Tema del día" section.

68. "Porque prefirió respetar la historia, Toledo ya no tendrá encuentro con el Inka [*sic*] en Machupicchu." *El Sol*, July 24.

69. Unfortunately, Nazario was the victim of a traffic accident in 2007. As Marisol de la Cadena wrote, "He was an exceptional being." *La República*, "El Altomisayoq tocó el cielo," July 26, 2007. See also "Nazario Turpo, A Towering Spirit," *Washington Post*, August 11, 2007.

70. Platt, "Symétries en miroir."

71. In the sense used by Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

72. An ecological pachacuti seems to be in preparation on Machu Picchu due to uncontrolled tourism. The nightly clandestine gatherings of mystics are causing considerable damage.

73. *El Peruano*, July 30, 2001, *"Especial"* section.

74. *El Peruano*, July 30, 2001, 3. *Hatun hayway* can be translated as the "great gift."

75. We should point out that the Almanac was not well received by everyone; see the satirical article in Cuzco's *El Comercio* on January 7, 2002, titled "Distribution of Almanacs with photos of Éliane Karp as Priestess."

76. "Llaqtallay Apu Machu Picchu, Apu Huayna Picchu, Apu Salkantay, Apu Ausangate Ahora regresan los Buenos Tiempos, Aquellos de Allin Kamachicuy sumaq p'unchay Aquellos que deseaba Tupac Amaru II Condorcanqui. Aquí y para ti en tu recuerdo. A los últimos resistentes de Vilcabamba. A todos aquellos que resistieron durante tanto tiempo Manteniendo su tradición viva. A ustedes los alto Misayuq. A todos aquellos que no permitieron que se borre la memoria colectiva de nuestro pueblo. Que se mantenga la Lengua, el sentir de la Pachamama y los Apus, Nuestra vestimenta, nuestros bailes nuestra extraordinaria música. A la gran nación del Tahuantinsuyo que une el Qhpaq Ñan Y que proyecta hacia el Futuro la integración de los pueblos y La modernidad democrática. Ha regresado el tiempo de la Chacana Hemos cumplido. Todos hemos Traído el tiempo del décimo Pachakútiy a la modernidad, con equidad e igualdad para todos los pueblos del gran Tahuantinsuyo, Para que vuelva el trabajo y la alegría para todos. Kusirikuy Llaqtallay Sulpayky." Cited from leaflet distributed at a demonstration.

77. The assertion that President Toledo would succeed the Inca Pachacuteq heralding a tenth pachacuti arose from an overhasty reading of the Chronicle of Montesinos known for its fanciful nature (statement by the historian María Rostworowski to the newspaper *El Comercio*, July 30, 2001, "Tema del día" section).

78. Gary Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky: An Andean Cosmology* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1981), 108.

79. "Será una especie en pequeño del maravilloso Inti raymi que se escenifica el 24 de junio." *El Sol* [Cuzco], June 14, 2002.

80. Cuzquenians' opposition to the capital's primacy dates back a long way. Linked to the indigenism of the 1920s, it continues today in Incaist ideology. This is not merely economic or political rivalry, but, according to Cuzco's inhabitants, two different visions of life: the Creole vision of the coast, weak and effeminate, versus the proud people of the Sierra, energetic and virile.

81. "En defensa de sus empresas. Hoy es la gran movilización. Nación Inka [*sic*] inició Resistencia social." *El Sol*, June 4, 2002.

82. "La rebelión inka [*sic*] está en marcha." *El Sol*, June 4, 2002.

83. “Que Toledo le entregue en Cabana nacionalidad a su esposa Eliane.”

84. “El común de los ciudadanos de esta tierra, no solamente deplora esta pretensión del “hijo del Pueblo” hoy convertido en verdadero dictador, de querer organizar una ceremonia con ingentes gastos, para complacer a la dama belga, que quiere vestirse de ñusta y en el marco del gran Coricancha, recepcionar la documentación oficial de su nacionalización peruana.” *El Comercio de Cuzco*, June 15, 2002.

85. The struggle was extremely violent, and backed up by strikes and bloody street battles in Arequipa, the other big city in the South, usually Cuzco’s rival, but in this episode the two cities were united in the regional struggle.

86. Valderrama and Escalante, “El inka vive.”

87. Mario Polia, “Herencia cultural y recuerdo mítico del ‘Inga Rey’ en el curanderismo andino del Perú sententrional,” in *El culto estatal del imperio Inca: Memorias del 46th Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Amsterdam 1988*, ed. Mariusz S. Ziólkowski (Varsovia: Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 1991), 141.

88. “Yo lo vi al Inga que tenía en la mano la achupalla del inga. Esa es buena pa’ varias enfermedades. El Inga estaba vestido con adornos de oro . . . El encanto de la laguna es el Inga mesmo . . . ” “El espíritu de la laguna Prieta se ve como un rey indio, con un manto de curaca, tiene una mascaipacha con espejo sobre las plumas.” Account by Meléndres and Celso Avendaño in Polia, “Herencia cultural y recuerdo mítico del ‘Inga Rey’ en el curanderismo andino del Perú sententrional,” 145. The mascaypacha is the royal headband worn by the Inca.

89. Ibid., 146.

90. It is noticeable that most publications about the myth of Inkarrí date from the 1970s.

91. Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía*.

92. Flores Galindo, *Europa y el país de los Incas*, 15, suggests that Andean messianism in general, and the myth of Inkarrí in particular, originated from a kind of survival memory. Comparing Peru’s indigenous people with those of Mexico, he believes that the latter have invented the Virgin de Guadalupe whereas the Andeans have kept the memory of the Inca. Unlike Peru’s Indians, the indigenous people of Mexico were able to intervene directly on an official level at the time of Independence and again during the revolution of 1910, thus breaking with a myth of passive redemption.

93. John H. Rowe, “El movimiento nacional inca del siglo XVIII,” *Revista Universitaria de Cuzco* 107 (1954): 17–47.

94. Scarlett O’Phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales Perú y Bolivia (1700–1783)*, Archivos de Historia Andina, 9 (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1988). O’Phelan Godoy, *La gran rebelión de los Andes: De Túpac Amaru a Túpac Catari*, Archivos de Historia Andina, 20 (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1995).

95. On Andean messianism, see Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía*; Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*; Ossio, *Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino*.

96. On Andean Joaquinism, see John Phelan, *El reino milenario de los franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1976).

97. Our information about the Pacto Israelita Universal is taken from J. Ossio, "Una nueva expresión del mesianismo andino: Israel del nuevo pacto universal," in *Indigenous Cultures of Spanish America*, vol. 3: *Modules in Emerging Fields* (n.p.: 2003).

98. Ossio, "Una nueva expresión del mesianismo andino."

99. J. Farfán and Jorge Lira, "Himnos quechuas católicos cuzqueños," *Folklore Americano* [Lima] 3, no. 3 (1955).

100. The *quipu* is an accounting tool of Inca origin. It consists of a succession of knots on a thin cord (see Chapter 2).

101. *La República*, May 25, 2003, Front-page photo and 2.

102. *El Comercio*, May 25, 2003, 4.

103. "To a background of great uncertainty, strict security measures and social disturbances, today sees the inauguration of the 17th Rio Summit attended by Heads of State and representatives of the nineteen member states of this important Latin American organization." *El diario del Cusco*, May 2, 2003, 2.

5

Neo-Indians and the New Age

During our research in Mexico and Peru, we have brought to light influences that greatly exceed the scope of their national frameworks. Movements that might appear at first sight to be merely local manifestations of a reconquered identity are now deeply impregnated with the globalized philosophy of the New Age. This is one of the paradoxes of these nascent neo-Indianities: they draw their inspiration from traditions that have a limited geographical scope, yet, at the same time, these native customs are linked to the globalized ideas of neotraditions that, from Celtic countries to Nepal, reflect "ethnic" specificities with a background of global culture. First of all, we shall examine the international dimension of the neo-Indian doxa in Mexico, where it has given rise to a flurry of interpretations, and then in Peru, where it exerts a major influence on the ritual creativity of the neo-Incas.

Recycling Anthropology in the Aztec New Age

To avoid confusion, there can be no question of lumping together the totally contradictory expectations of the various currents that make up the basis of neo-Indianity, the actors and the public. There is nothing in common between the easy-going families with their childish theories taking part in the "cosmic picnic" of the pilgrimage to Teotihuacan, and the feather-wearing youths photographed with European tourists in Mexico City's Zócalo, or the obscure scholiasts who continue to dissect historical works in order to complete the revised and corrected tenets of the Aztec epic. Mexican neo-Indians display very different facets depending on their location, the issues at stake, and the context; what connects them is the desire to provide an alternative response to the celebratory unanimism of the Meeting of the Two Worlds, which they feel is too academic, apart from being politically incorrect. We are now seeing state officials mingling (not without a certain amount of self-interest) with neo-Indians; in towns and cities, they do not hesitate to join the quest for vibrations.

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We should not lose sight of these local conjunctures, and should not systematically exaggerate the New Age dimension that colors the deeds and gestures of all neo-Indian categories in a kaleidoscope of images (Figure 5.1).

The huge impact of all these spiritual exercises (formalized to varying degrees) on the heterogeneous public made up of those who merely dabble, ardent followers, and skeptics intrigued by the spectacle, make any anthropologist's attempt to define "one" coherent ideology extremely suspect. The eugenicist and "revisionist" excesses of extremist versions of Mexicanity go beyond mere cultural curiosities in that they are reminiscent of the mythologies of the Third Reich. It is not a question of bringing together the entire neo-Indian galaxy under these authoritarian and politically reprehensible formulas. However, it is true that they have a tendency to emerge whenever there is an economic, political, or religious crisis. To what extent are the exhaustion of the regime of Mexico's single party, the degeneracy of the political class, and the adverse effects of globalization reflected in these strange spring equinox pilgrimages and the muddled quest for "vibes"? It is safe to say that cause and effect follow on from each other in this new identity crisis. The neo-Indian movement implicitly promotes a discourse of rupture: a rupture with academic history, official policies, productivist capitalism and the state, by taking charge of the interests of those who are excluded from the system and by translating their millenarianist desires in terms of energy flows.

After its erratic exponential growth in Mexico, the secularization of the movement is now purged of its charge of sulfurous heterodoxy to accompany or precede the new rituals of militant environmentalism, using as reference the values of traditional religion and the fight against environmental pollution. This brings to mind a comment overheard in the Otomi village of Temoaya concerning the Marian cult celebrated in a chapel overlooking the village that is dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe. According to its inhabitants, this major figure of popular Mexican religion appeared to the Indian Juan Diego in Mexico City on the Tepeyac. It is believed that she came to seek refuge in Temoaya in order to escape from the polluted air of the capital.

Numerous conceptual bridges are now connecting neo-Indian ideology to the tenet of the children of the first world, especially with the "alter-globalist" movement, hence the pious attitude of young visitors listening to priests and other neo-Indian shamans who are considered as sages and masters of philosophy—provided that their foreheads are adorned with scarlet bandanas. However, oddly enough in this massive transfer, Mexicanist neo-Indians are refusing to play the game of cultural relativism, presenting themselves as the advocates of a merciless social Darwinism and a unilinear evolutionism that puts the Anahuac civilization at the top of the scale. This extraordinary, ductile ideology flirts with a peaceful Lamaist ataraxia at one extreme,

FIGURE 5.1. Purification “Express” performed by a member of the Danza Azteca. The operation is repeated every weekend at various spots on the Zócalo. The ritual formulas are taken from the works of historians and anthropologists. *Photo Jacques Galinier.*

and eulogizes the religious imperialism of the Mexica, the Lords of the Anahuac, at the other.

It is no easy task, therefore, to identify a common denominator for all these variants of neo-Indianity. To use the metaphor of *ollin*, the vortex movement that makes the world turn at the heart of Mexica philosophy, it goes without saying that all these experiments are in syntony with international tourism's quest for added mystic value. Sacsayhuaman is at least as spectacular as the sound-and-light shows in Giza, and now Teotihuacan has begun its own reconstitutions of historical epics. External demand, therefore, has major repercussions for neo-Indian dynamics, which probably could not exist without it and its financial consequences that, in certain sectors such as mystic tourism, generate cash-flow for the entire industry, including hotel keepers, tour operators, guides, travel agents, priests, healers, shamans, and gurus. Nevertheless, the neo-Indian religion is not merely a showcase for the West. It also adopts more discreet forms that have been documented but that need to be observed in the various *calmecacs* dispensing the rudiments of their religion, both in Mexico and the United States. Why, then, do we persist in using this catchall denomination? It is precisely this idea of "uncategorizable" elements that lies at the heart of our approach. Compared with the concepts of classical anthropology, it produces an effect of considerable theoretical disorientation, moving from the local to the global and from cultural particularisms to universal truths. We decided to take the gamble of identifying configurations sharing a certain number of characteristics before dissecting the contextual varia. The vicissitudes of our profession led us to travel across the Atacama Desert in Chile together; we were struck by the process of invention of an "Atacameña culture" and a purportedly Aboriginal language, *kunza*, which already had a place of worship, the Gustavo Le Paige Museum in San Pedro de Atacama. This encounter led us to reconsider the role of anthropology museums in the two main hubs of neo-Indian spirituality, Mexico City and Cuzco.[1] With this as our point of departure, we thought that anthropology would have something to say about the issue of "uncategorizable things," using new keys of interpretation that are still absent from conventional manuals.

The neo-Indians put forward the ultimate and most complete project to "decontaminate" traditional culture. This process, we must admit, was begun by ethnologists, against their will, by eliminating any disturbing, overly modern aspects and by supplying museums with sumptuous objects in settings that, more often than not, do not allow their original context to be understood . . . The muted atmosphere of these "cathedrals of knowledge" obliterates the muggy atmosphere where dirt, violence and alcoholism reign, which is what one actually encounters in the field. Indeed, because of its noble ethical presuppositions, ethnology, through preaching absolute respect

for cultural otherness, has eliminated the unfortunate aspects of the encounter with native populations, concentrating instead on more noble domains (cosmology, worldviews, etc.) by "safeguarding ethnology"—and paving the way for the romantic neo-Indian dream. Americanist literature rarely describes Indians in rags wailing in a pool of vomit; some authors still prefer to consider the structuralist thinker, keen on hermeneutics, combining in elegant symbolic devices the basic categories of his worldview. The neo-Indians, then, accompany this quest for paradise lost that allows the ethnologists to bear the depressing conditions of everyday life in the communities. This unexpected coincidence is, in fact, what lends weight to the neo-Indian message and defuses criticism insofar as it also makes use of the hypervalorization of a bygone past, even if this is to reinterpret it in a delusional form by presenting native cultures as they ought to be, rather than as they actually are. In truth, this touches upon a debate that began with colonization and the invention of the American Indian. In spite of everything, there can be no possible concession between anthropologists and neo-Indians with regard to the legitimacy of the discourse. Anthropologists base their work on cumulative experience established after more than a century of lengthy studies in Indian villages, having learned their languages. Its validity is measured according to the criteria of the international scientific community. The neo-Indians, on the other hand, bow to Westerners in search of exoticism. There is no guarantee that a solution will be found for this conflict of legitimacy. What is certain, however, is that it introduces a profound sense of unease. The early warning signs, almost four decades ago, were intellectual fraud coupled with the huge publishing success of the works of Carlos Castañeda based on shamanic voyages of dubious authenticity in the north of Indian Mexico.

Neo-Indians' relationship with anthropologists and their knowledge is part of an irreversible movement of appropriation. These inventors of tradition had to find a place (even if this meant poaching) along the spectrum of the legitimizing authorities managing national history and images of the Indian, in time as well as space. In both Mexico and Peru these institutions have the monopoly on national history and produce an official history, a doxa upon which the neo-Indians feed to create their own discourse, but which they shamelessly hijack as soon as this involves expurgating the pre-Hispanic era from its colonial residue. The neo-Indian interpretation of major canonical texts of ethnohistory (the writings of chroniclers, missionaries, and administrators) shows how this selective approach is used in a desperate quest for uncompromising eugenics oriented toward a pan-American Eden. A new symptom of this approach is that anthropologists' writings are now the first to be plundered, especially for what they reveal about the meanders of indigenous "cosmovisiones." This is fertile ground in which neo-Indian commentaries flourish. They show no

interest in studies devoted to economic, political or kinship issues, and even less interest, obviously, in "syncretism." What counts are pre-Hispanic representations of the cosmos, anatomy, and physiology. This predatory attitude arises from the idea of an unbroken continuity between the distant past and the present, ignoring the vicissitudes of the Conquest and the ensuing colonization.

In this regard, as far as Mexico is concerned, the Aztec world occupies a special place for several reasons: first of all because historically its image was used as a vehicle for national construction; then because the Mexica empire stretched from one side of the continent to the other, from central Mexico to Guatemala, whose successive governments defined themselves as its heirs; and lastly, because there exist iconographical accounts of the day-to-day lives of the Aztecs that are extremely detailed. However, the neo-Indian message does not advocate a return to American nature in its infancy, but glorifies instead the message of an imperial society. On the one hand, it emphasizes the refinement of an advanced civilization that had mastered the art of oratory, poetry, ceremonial architecture and time-reckoning, and on the other, it stresses its rootedness in a well-preserved nature, echoing ecologists' preoccupations with environmental conservation. One of the major questions that remains an enigma involves the connections between neo-Indians and political organizations, both Indian and indigenist, which are active in promoting political control over the parties and unions that subscribe to their program in defense of the Indians.

Consequently, we should be careful not to reify Mexican "neo-Indians" as a sociological category similar to a lobby or even less as an emerging class, as they are, in fact, action groups with an ideology of variable geometry, updated through rituals and a multitude of cultural media. We should reiterate the fact that, unlike Indians in peasant communities, neo-Indians are never neo-Indians full time; it is an alternative role similar to what is springing up almost everywhere in the contemporary world, including, for example, with French neo-Indians who may be accountants or employees during the working week and who, during the summer vacation, set up their tepees. This is somewhat caricatural, because in this case, no attempt is made to appropriate a buried cultural past. A neo-Indian particularity is that its ideology follows a dual movement: rootedness in the local, and the continental projection of a transnational ideology. One only needs to examine the totally heterodox use of the notion of calpulli to see this. Historians and anthropologists are still debating its use outside this context, with the exception of highland Maya who still use the term *kalpul.* In any case, however, the concept has no meaning beyond the borders of Mesoamerica. The same trend is true for the concept of Mother Earth. In its current form, it is borrowed from the North American tenet, which is making a comeback after being revived in Tenochtitlan. To confirm this, one only has to consider the mil-

itant associations represented at the spring equinox in Teotihuacan. It is, therefore, impossible to attempt a sociology of the organizations and populations that form the background of this multitude of "corporate groups." Instead we are witnessing a mass phenomenon made up of students, working-class, and even "native" milieux as well as elements from the middle classes among whom new forms of political client-patron networks are taking shape. The backdrop for all these power struggles is the call for autochthony. Traditional issues of state indigenism and its institutional intermediaries can be seen in neo-Indian strategies, whereas agents of the education system control local demonstrations of identity, folk festivals, and cultural centers. They now appear all over the country, sometimes making use of local radio in vernacular languages. These networks are superimposed and intersecting, and have given rise to the emergence of a class of "relay-intellectuals" of Indian origin who are immersed in the Mexican national political system.

The interpretive obstacles revealed during our research into neo-Indians are linked to various factors. Among the most obvious is international tourism. Its impact on the reshaping of Western stereotypes has caused figures to emerge that correspond to their specific criteria. These images produce a new, aestheticizing vision of the native peoples who are supposed to respond to this demand for Indianity. *Lo Indio* implies social marginality in a colonial-type rapport that still exists all over Mexico through an inegalitarian system of economic dependency and client-patron relationships imposed by the mestizos—gente de razón—upon the naturales, also contemptuously named inditos, or worse, nacos, in a paternalist mode. These gente de razón see, to some extent, their role of civilizer being usurped by foreigners (gringos), rich and educated people in search of exoticism, who have the highest esteem for Indians representing a kind of peaceful otherworldliness—not the wretched Indians in rags the mestizos meet and work with on a daily basis, but imaginary Indians, the inventors of cosmologies and worldviews they consider as cultural assets of the greatest importance. There was a time when, in the Indian communities, old women would sell their sumptuous costumes for a few pesos, much to the annoyance of the mestizos who had their sights set on a Western way of life, which they admire in spite of everything. It is clear that all Indian community artifacts are now highly prized, and this is reluctantly accepted by the mestizos. As for the Indians themselves, they have begun to produce highly symbolic tailor-made objects, reviving techniques such as paper cutting, weaving, and sometimes pottery. Recently, however, some Indian groups have started to "manufacture" on demand native concepts such as "harmony" and "balance," to sell to tourists. Among them, the Huichol have become the most sought-after producers. Shamanic cures and treatments are a source of a new kind of mystic tourism, a form of indigenous religion for external use, which duplicates both the local Christian

doctrine and discrete practices of pre-Hispanic origin. It is important to reconsider this question in order better to observe the networks through which neo-Indianity is developing. On the one hand, there remains an "unspoilt" sector of traditional culture in areas more or less untouched by the impact of international tourism, areas that are not well known or which have nothing particularly attractive to offer. This is the case for communities where signs of modernity, from jeans to miniskirts, from 4 × 4 pickups to satellite dishes, have definitively wiped out any visible trace of Indianity. On the other hand, this "exoreligion" with transcontinental ramifications is prospering due to the demand it generates, which, through Western mediators, is now joining the new networks springing up via the accelerated processes of the Internet. We are currently in a transitional phase in which these networks (the neo-Indian ones and those of the communities most affected by Western tourism) do not fully concur. The accelerated urbanization of former Indian villages is reshaping their physical dimension to an incredible extent—mud huts and clay tiles are disappearing, replaced by concrete blocks and corrugated iron. In these new shantytowns in the fields, the local populations sometimes earn a living by commuting to the capital. However, we have yet to consider whether the ever-increasing buildup of migrants on the outskirts of Mexico City (which is becoming an architectonic "Hydra") will lead to a fusion of these two Indian cultures (urban and rural) in the long term.

It would be wrong to consider neo-Indian movements as merely imitations of the North American or European New Age, with slightly different decorative symbolism. They are one of the avatars of a long series of interactions between the two continents that can be traced in art and literature. The main difference lies in the fact that the people who have dreamed up this image now live on American soil. These new cultural models are currently constructed and reworked in situ, thus involving a new dimension—of territory, both physical and symbolic, which these movements are part of. This factor gives rise to the phenomena of political contestation, for example, of certain chicano movements. Thus, on the one hand, Tenochtitlan's neo-Indians lay claim to a historic diagonal, reaching the confines of the U.S. border, from whence came the Aztecs, in the mythical Chicomoztoc, while on the other hand the Californian Chicanos construct calmecacs along the Mexico City / Tenochtitlan model. This dual rootedness legitimizes the existence of this chicano/neo-Indian ideological continuum. Today, through their demographic power, the chicanos have the advantage of a durable leverage in the political and cultural landscape of the United States that they had not enjoyed since the 1930s. Their media coverage and economic strength, their political and unionist apparatus and network of associations mean that the neo-Indians have become the vociferous producers of an imperial ideology by virtue of their central position and their continual "ritualization" of the "Return to Anahuac."

The spring equinox is a key moment in New Age astrology in that it marks the passage of the zodiac sign of Pisces to Aquarius, the symbol of peace and prosperity, when periods of tension and strife will be succeeded by a period of harmony. It is also the passage from a "water" to an "air" element, believed to lead to the fall of Christianity. This change is also expressed in humankind by a better mastery of one's consciousness and one's body through parallel and mystical therapies. Astrology has become very popular among Mexico's working classes and even in the smallest bookshops, the shelves bulge with books devoted to the zodiac and all kinds of spiritual therapies including alchemy. It is hardly surprising, then, that Jung represents a key reference for certain intellectuals from the neo-Indian movement, unlike Freud (apart from a dissident reading of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, which has become a mere appendix to a myriad of booklets and instruction manuals on the interpretation of dreams). According to the leaders of the European New Age, the combination of "channeling," shamanism, and astrology will give access to the Transpersonal and "a holistic vision of things founded upon the unique origin of the Energy which breathes life into all human and cosmic phenomena and into the law of correspondences between the various orders of the real."[2] On this point, there is a radical difference between mexicanidad and New Age apostles, namely that the means of transformation are part of an internal discipline rather than a group action for social transformation. In both cases, however, this is an alternative response to the dogmatism of institutional religions, especially Christianity.

Furthermore, the holistic perspective that governs the neo-Indian cosmovisión is perfectly suited to New Age disciples in that it does not separate the animal kingdom from the world of plants or humans. This also means that the divide between monism, pluralism and polytheism can be transcended, and elements of traditions can literally be "absorbed" (whether these elements are concepts or paraphernalia from the four corners of the Earth). The personal implication and the activation of networks of consciousness mean that the same approach can be used in the quest for salvation of both body and mind.

We should also point out (although this would involve a specific field survey) the influence of doctrinal Hermeticism according to which the microcosm corresponds to the macrocosm: "All reality works in a bipolar and cyclical way. Bipolar functioning: opposites (masculine-feminine, light-dark, high-low, positive-negative) are subject to a tension from whence springs the primitive energy that is constantly renewed. Cyclical functioning: the cosmos is ordered according to an alternating rhythm like the beating of the heart, the inhale-exhale movement, the rotation of the planets and cosmic cycles."[3] What's more, the relationship with Tibetan Buddhism during the big spring equinox rituals and the celebration of the Meeting of the Two

Worlds emphasizes this new element of oriental mysticism and Tantrism that has appeared on the international stage. As J. Vernette observes, "Just as the New Age worldview is heavily influenced by esotericism in its western rootedness, it also uses the Weltanschauung of the East by capitalizing on an anthropology, psychology and cosmology specific to this world of thought."[4] Nevertheless, the New Age universe and Mexican neo-Indians diverge on one point. Although children of the Age of Aquarius reject a tradition of the Book (or books) in favor of experiencing a communication of consciousnesses, the sons of Cuauhtemoc remain rooted in the almost Talmudic commentary of the writings, ancient or modern, original or recomposed, that supply the cosmological texts and ritual practices. But the malleability of these movements is such that new paths of convergence are still possible.

The Globalization of Tradition: The International Inca Movement

According to the cyclical conception of history typical of Andean culture, Tahuantinsuyu's rebirth can only come about through the reversal of the eras that make up history. This cosmic pachacuti, part of the Andean vision of the future, is predicted by the disciples of the New Age: when the rising sun of the spring equinox moves from the zodiac sign of Pisces into Aquarius, a new Inca will come to reign over the Andes. The magnetic center is moving from the Himalayas to the Andean Cordillera, and the planet's spiritual energy is heading toward the Empire of the Four Districts. The Dalai Lama is said to have confirmed these theories of energy shifting from the Himalayas to the Andes—the Tibetan tradition, which is masculine in nature, has sown its seed throughout the world; it has now taken root and is growing in the feminine and fertile soil of the Andes.[5] The Children of Aquarius in California and elsewhere are certain of this, and a great many of Cuzco's neo-Incas await the upheaval and are spreading the news.

From the 1970s onward, the Andes and especially Machu Picchu began to attract New Age mystics from all over the world,[6] particularly during the Kumbha Mela, huge pilgrimages named after the ones that take place in India. Through these large gatherings, members of the Great Universal Fraternity hope to reproduce the tradition of pilgrimages that take place every twelve years in India. The inversion of the "dynamic-telluric polarity" due to the change of the magnetic axis of the globe would thus appear to designate South America as the world's future pilgrimage center. As Peru was considered to be the country with the strongest magnetic field, an American Kumbha Mela was held in Machu Picchu in 1974. During the 1986 event, the region's traditional doctors (paqo) were invited to administer cures to pilgrims from all over the continent. The latest gathering took place in 1998 in Tiahuanaco as

well as in Cuzco, where "Cultural Days" about the Inca Empire were organized. The Kumbha Mela and the Inti Raymi are closely connected: both rituals activate one of the world's most important chakras (centers of energy) in Machu Picchu. This sacred place is now seen as a major center of global spirituality. Not only was the coronation of the Inca-president Toledo celebrated there, but what's more, the site receives Children of Aquarius from all over the world, who come to soak up its positive energy, especially because traditional shamans now make offerings to the gods.

In the 1970s, a book by Brother Philip (whose real name is George Hunt Williamson) announced that the permanent Ray entered the Earth at two specific sites: its masculine side in the Himalayas and its feminine side in the Andes.[7] The latter can be found in the monastery of the Brotherhood of the Seven Rays, hidden on the banks of Lake Titicaca. According to Peruvian legend, the building was founded by Amaru Muru, a spiritual leader rescued from the sunken continent of Lemuria. Trips were organized by Mark Pinkham with the help of Peruvian colleagues, notably Antón Ponce de León, a member of the Brotherhood of the Sun who initiated him into the mysteries of the Sacred Valley of Cuzco, where he lives to this day as the head of a kind of mystic orphanage. . . . The Monastery of the Brotherhood of the Seven Rays was eventually discovered through the "consciousness raising" of one of the guides who found the site where Amaru Muru disappeared after reigning as the First Inca.[8]

However, a treasure that is extremely precious to the neo-Incas has yet to be found in the area—the enormous Golden Disc of the Sun that was kept in the Coricancha, the Temple of the Sun in pre-Hispanic Cuzco, when the Conquistadores arrived. They searched frantically for it, not only because of its value but also because it was made with the most valuable metal, alchemist's gold. It enabled Coricancha's priests to be teleported by the force of its waves.[9]

There is, then, a connection between the international New Age and the Incas, and Andean culture has now been thrust onto the world stage. Not only is the Disc of the Sun, sought around Lake Titicaca, reminiscent of the emblem of Qosqo established in 1986, but the imperial city's flag with its rainbow colors representing the deity Kuychi corresponds to the symbolism of New Age holism, the entire range of light respecting the originality of each element of the spectrum, the harmony of the whole reflecting the wealth of every shade, every school of thought, and every religion. In 1980, the actress Shirley MacLaine confirmed the complicity between Andeans and the Children of Aquarius in her books and TV shows. Much of her film *Out on a Limb* was shot in Cuzco. She consulted a paqo in order to understand the supernatural atmosphere surrounding the filming. In a UFO she met extraterrestrials who revealed a spiritual guide to her in the person of a descendant of the Incas.

The Principles of the Andean New Age

The Andes seem to be particularly favorable to the theories of energy transfer put forward by the Aquarian Conspiracy, and Andean culture seems to lend itself especially well to a New Age reading.[10] The attraction of messianism can be seen in the myth of the return of the Inca—it is not clear whether this myth is pre-Hispanic or colonial, but it is heavily influential in Andean conceptions of history. Many contemporary prophecies predict that as we will soon enter the Age of Aquarius, there will be great tribulations as described in the Apocalypse of John. A disaster will bring us a "Great King" whose advent will seem like the return of Christ and will herald a new Golden Age. There are many similarities between this New Age belief and the return of the Inca who will rise from the dead the day his head and body are reunited. Inkarrí "will turn the Earth" to restore Tahuantinsuyu, described as a Paradise. Even the notion of pachacuti is very close to the New Age. Like the Andeans, the Children of Aquarius have a cyclical vision of the future; for them, each cycle is made up of four successive ages, golden, silver, bronze and iron, and humankind has reached the dawn of a new era. The Iron Age will draw to a close with this millennium, and a Golden Age will open up for 2,160 years. The three characteristics of the sign of Aquarius (air, masculinity, and Uranus) will lead to unmitigated happiness.

Other New Age ideas are so similar to notions of Andean anthropology that we may ask ourselves if the latter were not established under the influence of Aquarius. The notion of *yanantin* describes the clash of complementary opposites such as masculine/feminine, high/low, and so forth. This echoes the notion of yin and yang, the ideal of complementarity applied equally well to sexes, colors, or temperaments. The neo-Indians see in it the notion of ayni. Originally this signified a service of shared labor, but in urban circles the word is now used to mean any reciprocity and complementarity. Andean society supposedly applied reciprocity in every sphere until it was polluted by our mercantile civilization. It had thus managed to attain a New Age ideal. What's more, the Law of Hermeticism, as applied by the Children of Aquarius, is compatible with Andean reading, albeit a rapid and superficial one; it is nevertheless a suggestive one. It is true that the Andean reality "works in a bipolar and cyclical way" and that in the pachacuti we can identify "in history's movement alternating transitional periods which correspond to changes of rhythm marked by radical disruption."[11] The notions of yanantin and pachacuti have quite naturally taken up position in Andean cosmogony.

The connection between the two worldviews received scientific endorsement from an anthropologist from the University of Cuzco. Juan Núñez del Prado is the son of Óscar Núñez del Prado, one of the members of the 1955 Q'ero expedition that resulted in this community being identified as the last Incas.[12] In 1991, he described

an "Andean church" made up of a clergy comprising a hierarchy of shamans of different ranks.[13] We are well aware of the weight this term carries in New Age writings. More and more, these writings present themselves as anthropological works, whereas ethnological studies are increasingly tending toward mysticism. From April 19 to 30, 1995, a cultural center as highly regarded as Madrid's Casa de América held an exhibition entitled *Magic, Medicine and Shamanism. American Original Peoples and the Roots of Medicine* organized by two *etno/médicos* (medicine men). A highly mystical text on the "philosophy of American cultures" was published as part of the program by a professor from El Valle University in Columbia.

The ranks of shamans described by Núñez del Prado can be reached by progressive initiations.[14] The initiatory path is described in detail, and the anthropologist claims to have followed it with an indigenous master. At the end of the final stage, the future shaman has a vision of the last Inca Huascar, Pachamama, the gods of the mountains and Taytacha Temblores (the Lord of the Earthquakes) who can be seen in Cuzco's cathedral. The latter and the Inca then take possession of his spirit. Juan Núñez del Prado is the only witness to this initiatory path, as his informant Benito Qoriwaman has died. Based on his experience, Núñez del Prado has constructed an initiatory itinerary that he preaches to the whole world in his seminars. Reality consists of an ensemble of energies for which God is considered to be an inexhaustible reservoir. The superiority of mind over matter means that we are surrounded by mere appearances. Furthermore, all beliefs are equal and worthwhile ways of understanding the world unless they are corrupted by Western culture, and, therefore, why not adopt the Andean Indian worldview? The notion of energy is expressed by the word *kausay*, which Núñez del Prado translates as "cosmos of living energies." Kausay includes the three indigenous categories of *hanaqpacha*, *kaypacha*, and *ukhupacha* (the world above; the world here; and the infraworld, or world below). Nevertheless, a distinction is made between positive and negative energy, or rather light and heavy energy. The first is translated into Quechua as *sami*, and the second as *hucha*, two terms of Andean thought that anthropologists have great difficulty in defining. It is probably the hazy nature of these notions that attracts New Age translators, especially the anthropologist Juan Núñez del Prado. Although the Manichean conception is foreign to Andean culture, the theoretical body of the belief is coherent in its notions of complementarity and above all through the means by which one can acquire "light" energy and drive out "heavy" energy. The first means is *saminchakuy*, which in New Age Quechua means "to bathe in subtle energy." We can recognize in this term the New Age notion of the "subtle body," the invisible double of the physical body. The second process is *huchamijuy*, which, in the same language, means "eating and digesting the heavy energy." Thus we can see emerging in the Andean world

not only new notions but also a new language. In order to acquire positive energy, a mesa or despacho ritual is performed, which, as we have seen, involves placing various ingredients in the limited ritual space of an *unkuña* according to a very specific code. We have observed this practice in extremely varied contexts: the runa from distant communities offer it to their gods; the Q'ero are now the specialists for the inhabitants and tourists of Cuzco; the rector of the University of Cuzco, since he became a shaman, performs it regularly, particularly for the sick who travel especially from Lima; the president of the Republic was its spectacular patron during his initiation on Machu Picchu. This offertory rite is now performed in the United States and various European countries, officiated by people with a different aim than its Indian inventors. Although the latter make offerings to the Mountains or the Earth, the Children of Aquarius, on the other hand, harness the energy there. The Indians give in order to receive, whereas Westerners take in order to live better. In the first instance, the mesa is the vehicle for a gift; in the second, it contains the desired benefits in its very substance. In Andean tradition, the objects of which the mesa is composed are destined to feed the gods. In the Californian version, they are "charged with energy," the energy of the master, his spiritual lineage, and the "Andean tradition" in which millions of Indians take part and are thus perceived as vectors of energy.[15] The New Age despacho is not burned as it is by the runa, but placed upon the head of the one commissioning it, who then feels "the energy penetrate him or her from head to toe" or "a burning sensation on his or her head" or "a very strong emotional communion with his/her neighbor" or even "the sensation of turning into a snake." Other people officiating have visions of "a group of Tibetan monks pierced by a ray of silver" or "a solar eclipse with a golden halo and a spacecraft moving in intense heat."[16]

To "eat and digest heavy energy," one uses one's qosqo, or solar plexus, a notion crucial to the New Age but totally unknown to traditional Andeans. As we have already noted, since 1990, the city of Cuzco has been known as Qosqo, confirming the bond between "neo-Inca-ness" and the New Age. Our personal qosqo is like a spiritual stomach that allows us to digest heavy energy. We need to learn how to locate it and learn appropriate concentration techniques to enable us to "digest" the negative flows. In this doctrine, we can see what happens to the notions of *sami* and *hucha* usually translated by Andeanist anthropologists as "chance" and "sin."[17] The positive or negative connotations of these words in Quechua have given rise to a dualist theory in terms of light and heavy energy, a theory halfway between Andean thought and New Age conceptions, resulting in transformations of traditional Andean culture, the dualism of which is far from Manichean. Furthermore, the Andean idea of marshalling good or bad energy, which appears to be underlying Andean thought, is related to the New Age idea of "channeling," a kind of connection with the beyond.

Messianism presents another possibility for convergence between Andean tradition and New Age conceptions. The notion of pachacuti, as generally analyzed by anthropologists, fits naturally with New Age millenarianism. We have seen how in the Andes, the return of the Inca is shown through his recurrent resurrections: Inkarrí in the myth, Tupac Amaru in the anticolonial uprising, Alfredo Inca Roca in the cult of the Sun, Daniel Estrada in Qosqo's City Hall, Alejandro Toledo as president of the Republic, and the prophet Ezekiel in a Messianic future. All that was missing was a New Age Inca, and once again it was Juan Núñez del Prado who perceived this need. His "master" passed on a prophecy to him and taught him a rite "to crown a sacred king."[18] The last pachacuti took place between August 1, 1990, and August 1, 1993. This was the age of *taripaypacha*, that is, "the age of total human encounter." In some ways, the succession of the eras tallies with the stages of initiation in Andean tradition. The fifth initiation level corresponds to the time of the Inca Mallku. Six men and six women are candidates for the status of Inca. The first Inca Mallku must appear during a major pilgrimage, whose main participants are the Q'ero, descendants of the royal lineage of Inkarrí. The second Inca Mallku will reveal himself in Raqch'i between the Viracocha temple that one can visit and Pampak'uchu's shrine. The two candidates for the role of king must travel together to the city of Cuzco to meet the third candidate, who should emerge from the cathedral, where, as we have seen, Taytacha Temblores resides. The three Inca Mallku then head for Lima to join the Cristo de los Milagros. The first Inca Mallku and the first Ñusta (wife of the first Inca) appear in the pre-Hispanic shrine of Pachacamac. The other Ñusta will then appear in the shrines of the Andean world's most venerated Virgins: the shrine of the Virgen de Chapi in Arequipa, the Virgen de Copacabana on the banks of Lake Titicaca, the Virgen del Carmen in Paucartambo, and the Virgen de Cocharcas in Ayacucho. The origin of the sixth Inca Mallku is unknown; it is said that he will appear in the north of Peru. The twelve candidates will gather at the Viracocha temple in Raqch'i, and it is then that the Sapa Inka and his Qoya will reveal themselves. They will make a triumphant entrance into Cuzco's cathedral and will glow with a typically New Age mystical light. The ultimate rank of Sapa Inca corresponds to the New Agers' Golden Age; in Andean culture, "Inca" is supposed to mean "person capable of concentrating living energy in order to distribute it."[19]

The convergence between the return of the Inca and the Golden Age is possible because of the extreme idealization of the empire thus restored, an empire that knew neither poverty nor injustice, neither war nor the accumulation of wealth. On this point (among others), the New Age concurs with 1920s indigenism, for whom the Inca government was exemplary and practiced a natural socialism. The Golden Age was supposed to occur between August 1, 1990, and August 1, 2012.

The date of August 1 was probably chosen because it tallies with the opening up of the deified Earth in traditional Andean communities. One of the characteristics of the era that was to begin on August 1, 2012, is overabundance because of a totally gratuitous gift from Mother Earth.[20] The intrinsic generosity of Mother Earth fits with the indigenists' image of Pachamama and is in stark contrast to the cruelty of the runa's ravenous Pachatirra, or Virgin, who must be constantly satisfied with offerings. Pachatirra, the Indian Earth Goddess, is thus transformed into a generous Pachamama, who constitutes, as we have seen, one of the foundations of Peruvian nationality to which she gives its autochthony, and she has now been globalized as Mother Earth.

For the Children of Aquarius, the era of the new Inca is not foreign to contemporary Andeans. They are "preparing" for it by taking part in religious festivals as Don Benito taught his disciple Juan Núñez del Prado. Californian expectations for the new era are thus fed by these extraordinary Indian ceremonies in honor of the Cuzco region's Christs: Torrechayoc, Wanka, Qoyllurit'i, and Pampak'uchu. The Inca Mallku candidates for the role of Inca must appear in these sites celebrated by the runa, and the most local and indigenous festival imaginable, at the foot of a glacier, at 5,000 meters above sea level in an eerie and intense atmosphere, thus takes on the dimensions of a prophecy on a worldwide scale. As a result, the Indian dancer from the most authentic comparsa finds himself playing a Messianic role: provoking the resurrection of Inkarrí through the energy he produces.

In the same way that the notion of pachacuti leads to the New Age's Golden Age, the Andean notion of yanantin is being transformed into a complementarity of different forms of energy. We have seen the importance of this idea in the theories of Hermeticism, which fuel the Aquarian Conspiracy. Yanantin was to become "a key to interpretation that is expressed in every manifestation in the world around us,"[21] which characterizes the relations between men and women, especially those between the Ruwal,[22] a metaphysical god, and Pachamama, the cosmic Mother, as well as the relationship between Inca Pachacuti and his wife Mama Anahuarque. Yanantin is the opposite of *masintin*, the latter expressing a relationship between people of the same kind. This opposition led to the invention of a ritual that resembles a kind of group therapy, a concept totally foreign to Andean culture. Men and women form separate circles. The men concentrate on their masculine nature and offer up all that is feminine in them to Mother Earth. They thus become aware of their masculine nature and the masintin circulating among them. The women carry out the same experiment in symmetrical fashion. They treat their feminine energy as sami and reject masculine energy as hucha. The men, on the contrary, rid themselves of their feminine "heavy energy" (hucha) and recover their masculine samiy.

Other concentration techniques are based on notions that are Andean only in name, such as the *ñawi kichay*, or "opening of the eye." This is an adaptation of the New Age notion of chakra. The first eye opened by ritual is a point corresponding to the fontanel. It is defined as a kind of energy, which is why it is known as *pukyu*, meaning "source" in Quechua. Life enters and exits through here at birth and death. The second eye can be found at the base of the spine and is associated with water (Unu);[23] the third eye corresponds to the navel area, or qosqo, and is associated with the Earth (Pachamama); the fourth, on the chest, is associated with the Sun (Inti); the fifth, on the throat, is associated with the Wind (Wayra). The eye known as *qanchis ñawi* opens between the eyebrows and receives a particularly subtle form of energy. The *karpay ayni* rite gives the seed of the Inca to the initiate and requires all four elements to develop (Water, Earth, Sun, and Wind), which define four types of subtle energy. They are transmitted by *ñawi kichay*, which consists of applying *khuya* (magic stones charged with the energy of each of the four elements) on the various "eyes."

These New Age theories and practices can be qualified as Andean insofar as they contain notions of indigenous thought. Thus, the *ñawi* of the *pukyu* is, as it name indicates, the eye of the source. For the runa, the rushing water deafening the world establishes a relationship between this world (kaypacha) and the world below (ukhupacha). In the eye of the infraworld, supernatural phenomena multiply, and for the runa, this is also the source of visions. In the same way, the khuya, believed to be charged with energy, play a crucial role for Andeans, who usually call them *illa* or *qonopa*. They find these stones with extraordinary shapes on the paths of the Cordillera, and they keep them carefully, feeding them and surrounding them with prayers. They have a power that the New Agers try to appropriate individually in the form of energy but which traditional shamans use to make effective their offerings to the gods, while shepherds use them to increase their flock. In the globalized version, a gift to the gods is transformed into personal and direct accumulation.

As we can see, globalized Andean culture is made up of Andean anthropology revised according to New Age theories. Put into writing by an anthropologist from the University of Cuzco, it acquires undeniable authority. Its dissemination occurs essentially through the invention of rituals.

The Ritual Factory

The rituals we have just looked at are taught by "masters" during courses run in California, Baltimore, North Italy, Scandinavia, and Catalonia. Sometimes Q'ero attend them and are exhibited as Inca descendants,[24] until they become, once again, contemptible Indians. To the Children of Aquarius, they bring the energy of the

Andean tradition, and to their employers they bring large sums of dollars. However, these rites are, of course, far more effective if performed at Andean sites where one benefits from the energy of the surroundings, the Indians, and the pre-Hispanic ruins. Included in the price are Inca descendants in situ. Juan Núñez del Prado's path to initiation is a perfect example of the "invention of tradition."[25]

This path begins at Cuzco's cathedral to connect with hanaqpacha, considered as the world above by some runa who know it as the realm of the Christian saints. Two deities are called upon here: Jesus Christ Taytacha Temblores (the Lord of the Earthquakes) is beseeched with the flames of countless candles and the murmur of Indian supplications; the Virgen de la Natividad la Antigua welcomes the faithful at the entrance and is bathed in the dazzling light from the Plaza de Armas. The two deities are described in the tradition as yanantin. They have become the source of the masculine and feminine energies they emit. This is not an invention of new icons—day after day for centuries they have been receiving the prayers of thousands of Cuzquenians. Taytacha Temblores is the object of extraordinary devotion, especially on Easter Monday. In prayers and services, he is treated as a god of the mountains,[26] and, as such, he may even appear on the table of a high-ranking shaman authorized to call upon him. And that is not all. Here in the cathedral, the New Age group calls upon a strange deity who is probably older than the two Christian images—an egg-shaped stone used as a wedge for the cathedral's huge door that opens onto the Plaza de Armas. It is about a meter and a half in diameter at the widest point, and sixty centimeters high, scrupulously polished, and with a cavity about ten centimeters deep in the middle. This khuya can absorb the negative energies (hucha) borne by the New Agers of California, Scandinavia, and elsewhere. Juan Núñez del Prado calls it Hatun Taqe Wiraqocha (the name of the Inca god), and the stone is also worshipped by the Indians. A few years ago, it was relegated to a corner of one of the cathedral's chapels. On several occasions, the priests tried to get rid of it, but the Indians' protestations obliged them to return it, this time as a doorstop. This does not prevent some believers from distant communities from coming to make offerings to it, especially in August when the Earth is open, and particularly at dawn when the cathedral doors are opened and no one can see them. They often come to an agreement with the sacristan to leave the llama fat or coca leaves they have brought near the sacred stone for a while. Most Cuzquenians know nothing of this cult, as its followers are few and far between and often restrict themselves to raising their hands for a few seconds in murmured invocation, with the persecuted look so peculiar to Cuzco's Indians. We thus witness an abrupt passage from an indigenous cult to a New Age one without the transitional phase of neo-Incaization that we see elsewhere in pagos, indigenous dances, and the cult of the Sun.[27]

The Indian huaca has become the New Age khuya with, as its sole transition, its dissimulation behind a door.[28] Will the Children of Aquarius revert an abolished god to the runa? As Juan Núñez del Prado explains to us how we must rub the stone to release our "heavy energy," an old woman kneels next to it, and, removing her hat, she gently rubs its surface with llama fat as she whispers her prayers. Here, as elsewhere, the Indians and the New Agers have an inverse relationship to the sacred: the first make an offering, and the second rid themselves of negative energy. In the end, the function of the Indians' huaca, identified by some neo-Incas as the supreme god Viracocha, goes from being a doorstop to a mere trash can for energy.

After visiting the cathedral, the mystics continue along their ritual path to the ruins lying above the city in Q'enko, making their way to a "platform of light" to rid themselves of their remaining "heavy energy" with an offering or despacho performed by the group's master. The future initiates then enter Amaru Macha'ay's cave, where they are asked to imagine their own conception in their mother's womb. Are we to understand that by visualizing this original scene, they will immerse themselves in refined energy and rid themselves of their heavy energy? Some terrified members of the group have a genuine sensation of being sucked into the cracks of the Cave of Snakes. They have succeeded in "transferring their energetic umbilical cord from their biological mother to Pachamama," becoming brothers and sisters, as they are now children of the same mother. They continue their journey to Lake Huacarpay a few miles from Cuzco, which is presented to them as the Inca Huascar's birthplace—here they will connect with the spirit of the last free king of Tahuantinsuyu.

The initiates then devote themselves to the spirit of Pachacutec among the Cyclopean stones of Sacsayhuaman's citadel. It is explained that the great tower, a very mysterious monument according to archaeologists, corresponds to hot springs. The ancient Cuzquenians purified both their bodies and their souls here, they are told. They come to connect with the "spirit of Water" via the eye situated at the base of the spine. A new despacho is offered to join the spirit of Water to the initiates' "mental bubbles."[29]

The group now sets off toward Pisac, climbing the majestic Inca structures that cling to the slopes of the Cordillera. This fantastic setting no doubt renders the initiation more effective than it would be in a home in the suburbs of Baltimore, where many of the initiates come from. The pre-Hispanic terraces jut out over the valley floor to infinity, and the snowy peaks emerge above temples of golden stone. Smoke rises from the mud huts to the echoes of peasants carrying out their daily tasks in the dazzling winter sunlight. The New Agers clumsily lurch over the sharp stones and slip on the flagstones of the palaces overlooking the void. It is almost as if one could be initiated into any belief or knowledge by such beauty. However, the implacable "master" of energies reminds them that they have to receive the spirit of Water. Each

initiate huddles into the niche of a building whose pre-Hispanic use they will never know. It is here that *Unu kausay* (the spirit of Water) must flow down their spine and gather in their pelvis.[30] Having been purged of heavy energy, the Earth, or Allpa kausay, must now enter the group.

The dazzling landscape alone is enough to inspire all the minds in the world on this esplanade of carved stone where the peaks disappear into the clouds and one is blown in all directions by the winds of the Cordillera. The four niches carved out of the stone by elements and men start out from the ceques, the master tells them. As we explained earlier, in the imperial city, this word was used to describe the alignment of the sacred sites that radiated from the Temple of the Sun, forming a gigantic calendar, a land register, and a code of social organization (see Chapter 3). For the New Agers, ceques are "energy lines," but no explanation is given about how they materialized, only that they lead to the Apu, and that from there one can admire its snowcapped peaks and pick up its vibrations. The ceque system has been subject of historical and archaeological studies,[31] but its layout remains a mystery. The lack of precision in its definition is thus used for all kinds of theories, so there is no reason why it cannot be used for the theory of energy, the definition of which is even more impenetrable. In Chapter 3 we saw how a neoshaman from Cuzco treated a patient whose body he bound with ties symbolizing ceques. They have the same meaning as the lines that connect Pisac's watchtower to the gods of the mountains. The notion of ceque, studied in depth by anthropologists, has been globalized and banalized as lines of energy. Each initiate has to pick up the vibrations of each of the Apu by putting his or her head in each of the corresponding niches. They then turn toward the venerated peaks to "focus" on each spirit and thus receive energy, no longer knowing if it comes from the Earth as was announced, or from the gods of the mountains who have just been called upon. The matter is given little thought as the shock causes one of the female initiates to feel faint. She stumbles and reaches out to "her sisters," one of whom takes her by the shoulders and, rocking her gently, gets her to recite the following supposedly magic words:

Kadesh, kadesh, kadesh
I don't mind, I don't mind, I don't mind
Sebayo, sebayo, sebayo

After a difficult ascent, the group reaches the magnificent Intiwatana, a simple rock embedded in a stone wall that appears to suggest human presence. The master explains that the masculine and feminine areas considered as yanantin now have to be separated and a *chaupi* (middle area) organized between the two. In two temples, one designated as male and the other female, the men and women form two separate

groups and sit down in a circle. Holding hands, their eyes closed, they then soak up the energy specific to their sex. They appear to be used to this exercise, unlike the tourists who watch them with amusement and scorn. At the place designated as chaupi by the master, the two groups gather to exchange the male and female energies they have received, thus putting into practice an ayni of energy.

Each person in turn then calls upon the master who places his *misa* on his or her heart once he has blown on it toward the Apu: this preparation is required to soak up the energy of Huayna Capac the Sun.[32] Each person positions him or herself against the deliciously warm wall of the Intiwatana, facing the dazzling sun: energy, whether light or heavy, is certainly received here. Bathed in the golden light of the temple, warmed by the sun in the cold breeze of the peaks, the initiates have come through the first stage of the journey to becoming candidates for the role of Inca.

In Ollantaytambo, the New Agers do not seem surprised by the astounding beauty of the site; they do not wish to stroke the carved pink stone slab placed minimally as a stele of silence; they do not draw to a halt in front of the river flowing into the virgin forest between the snowcapped peaks; they do not fall silent at the sound of the waterfalls crashing onto to the barely chiseled rock. . . . They are busy opening the eye of their throats to allow the spirit of the Wind to enter as it rushes in gusts through the Wayrapunk'u (the Gate of the Wind) in front of the magnificently snow-covered Verónica peak. The future Incas let themselves be entered by this reputedly beneficial wind as they grip bundles of coca leaves in their hands. When the gusts eventually rid them of their heavy energy, they throw the coca leaves above their heads. The wind carries the leaves; they twirl around the stone and float away into the void. Throughout the ceremony, the master blows onto his misa to recharge its *sami*.

The initiates recover from chasing energies in a luxurious hotel in the Sacred Valley, where New Age gardens have been laid for each of the colors of the rainbow symbolizing different types of energy. Outdoor pools of warm, scented water are available to take *florecimiento* (literally "flourishing") baths, and there are yoga rooms for meditation. Organic Andean food such as quinoa and white corn is served.[33] It is said that the royal Inca family had a vacation resort in this valley, and some of the group's members believe that the ancient nobility led lives very similar to theirs during this mystic voyage.

The initiation continues on Machu Picchu, which is swarming with esoteric groups. They squabble over temples just as in Jerusalem; different churches fight over who is to celebrate mass on Christ's tomb. Groups arrive in the night and from time to time there are accidents, inevitable in such a steep, rocky landscape. Archaeologists complain of the irreparable damage they cause.

In these sumptuous ruins, the master identifies temples and shrines that are, however, unknown to archaeologists who know little about Machu Picchu. He enters the Temple of the Condor, explaining that this bird represents the collective spirit of all Andeans. The Americans who make up the group are, the master says, bearers of the spirit of the Eagle, and it is necessary to use the yanantin energy emitted by the pair formed by the condor and the eagle. Then, in the Temple of Mirrors and finally in the famous Intiwatana, the same rite of the Sun as the one in Pisac is performed. Next, it is the turn of the Viracocha stone to breathe energy into the group; the master explains that it has to develop its collective "energy bubble" in order to form a mental unit. To do this, the candidates have to use their "ritual stomachs," placing them in contact with the divine stone. The group focuses on each of its members one by one: in turn, lying on the sacred rock of Viracocha, each initiate integrates the four primordial elements and then experiences the sensation of germinating and growing like a plant. They have reached the fourth initiation rank. On the first day of the Hatun Karpay, the New Agers activated their Inca seed; on the second, they gave it water, sunlight, earth, and air—everything it needs to germinate. Today, during the *wiñay* ("to grow" in Quechua), the seed germinates and will soon blossom. The initiates' experience in Mother Earth's Cave is so intense that they all burst into tears. For the first time it is a question of giving rather than receiving energy; the most refined energy, explains the master, is for the Mother, and she has to send energy in return, thus adhering to the Andean precept of reciprocity (ayni). Next they go to the five niches of the five Ñusta ("princesses"), pink, black, golden, silver, and green. These spirits of Nature have a particularly refined energy. They must enter each of the princesses to offer their power [*sic*]. The group then enters the *ukhu pacha* (infraworld) in a cave with "a huge capacity to eat up heavy energy which is auspicious for the systematic cleansing of each person's 'bubble.'" The initiates are asked to visualize all their family members, friends, lovers and colleagues, and the crowd should appear to be connected by threads of energy. They then connect with the spirit of Huascar, who reigns over the cave. The next ritual takes place on Huayna Picchu, the peak overlooking the site, with an indescribable view. Here, the initiates split into two groups according to gender and engage in the very bizarre exchange of masculine and feminine energies, which the master describes as yanantin but which could seem to be a very daunting group therapy session. For example, in order to acquire the male energy said to be abundant on Huayna Picchu (probably because of the phallic shape of the peak), the men must rid themselves of their current female energy, and the women's group must help them by absorbing it. They become somewhat confused in these activities and are concerned that they will not have the appropriate energy at the end of the session.

The last step of the initiatory itinerary is the huge Viracocha temple lying a few miles outside Cuzco. It is known that the Spanish believed this deity to be equivalent to God the Father for Christians, thus comparing the worshipping of the Christian God with the cult of the Sun, which appeared to them as idolatry. The New Agers seem to share this theory, believing that they are in the Temple of Yahweh. In Cuzco they "worked" with kaypacha, the Earth's surface, and in Machu Picchu with the subterranean world; they are now set to tackle hanaqpacha, the higher world. They are told that in this temple, the twelve royal families gathered together to choose the next Inca from among twelve candidates—the chosen one was distinguished by a supernatural glow: a priest of the sixth rank. We saw what happens next in this prophecy and observed the initiatory itinerary that the potential Inca must follow along the Cordillera, all the way to the Cristo de los Milagros in Lima. The New Agers are now preparing for this rite to select the Inca. It is now the turn of the taripaypacha to reveal the potential Inca by piling up the energies flowing around the temple of Viracocha through concentration and rites. The initiates then form two lines and perform a serpentine dance between the temple's pillars, reminiscent of the Amaru dance on the Aucaypata at major Inca ceremonies. The dancers connect their qosqo in pairs and exchange vibrations. When the dance is over, a golden or silver light radiates from their "bubbles," depending on if it has been placed to the left or right of the "altar." As anthropologists, we hesitate. . . . There is no doubt that rites are made up of repetition, but it is usually possible to identify the repeated movements of ritual action. How can we distinguish them from the flow of invisible energies when the movements to activate them are barely differentiated?

It is clear that the Hatun Karpay we have just followed step by step was taken from the relatively coherent body of beliefs established by Juan Núñez del Prado. It is based on two simple ideas. The idea of energy, transposed to the New Age, joins with Andean notions that are sufficiently vague, or rather sufficiently unknown, as to be transposable and even translated into Quechua in terms such as sami for refined energy, huaca for sacred energy, hucha for heavy energy, poq'po for the "bubble" of energy, and kausay for the energy suspended in the world—this New Age expression is used for diverse Andean terms. Globalization is clearly at work, preceded by the homogenization of indigenous concepts that, in fact, follow a very simple pattern. The second idea is the concept of a Golden Age, and we have seen how it can easily be transformed in the Andes into the return of the Inca. With this prophecy, the New Agers join the neo-Incas, who, as we have seen, tend to identify figures of authority as reincarnations of the kings of Tahuantinsuyu.

As for ritual practices, they are limited to receiving and expelling energies in different forms. In addition to concentration techniques, we also observe the recurring

manipulation of the mesa and despacho at each stage of the initiatory journey. Two characteristics clearly distinguish the New Age despacho from the one practiced by the runa: the latter burn carefully prepared offerings for the gods, whereas the New Agers turn the offerings into energy-loaded paraphernalia that they place on the heads of the initiates; moreover, although the composition of the runa despacho varies depending on its subject and destination, the composition of the New Age despacho is adapted to the individual who is offering it: each has his own magic stones, or khuya, his own personal touch and special ingredient. This individualism is logical because, unlike the runa, who are serving the gods, the New Agers are serving themselves. Globalization and individualism thus affect the Andean mesa as they do many other customs. To recapitulate the various uses of the despacho: it is offered by Indian paqo for the fertility of the Earth, performed in cities to inaugurate banks or public gardens and celebrated at the university during a department's propitiatory ceremony; during the Inti Raymi, it accompanies the high priest's supplications and, on Machu Picchu, it accompanies the president's initiation. This ritual tool proves to be extremely flexible, playing the alternate roles of an offering to the Apu, absorbing light energy, and expelling heavy energy. This flexibility means that it can be adapted to any occasion and can be multiplied ad infinitum, and the technical simplicity of its design means that it can be widely used. The variety of its composition allows for combinations and adaptations of its ingredients as they depend on the relationship between the one who is offering it and his context. However, all these variations on a theme are only possible if we ignore an essential element of this traditional practice—the very special power of the traditional practitioner who devises the despacho and the divine origin of the gift he exercises. At the end of the initiation course, the mystic tourists return to the United States or Europe with their mesa containing the khuya the "master" has given (or more often sold) to them. But in Andean tradition, ritual power cannot be transmitted in this way; if this were the case, there would be nothing to distinguish a mesa from a souvenir bought at an airport boutique. Despite this, we witness the tears wept by a Danish cook when Nazario Turpo (who initiated the president on Machu Picchu), with ritualized gestures, handed him a superb cloth with Q'ero motifs that he carefully folded to give it the shape of a despacho.

Mystic Tourism in Cuzco

There are hundreds of travel agents organizing tours that offer variations on the initiatory journey we have just described. Mystic or esoteric tourism has become a veritable industry.[34] Tours offer the chance to "explore Qosqo and its stones weighing hundreds of tons that were put in place using knowledge from another planet"; a

hotel is recommended that "lies in an area of great energy, ideal for meditation, with special sessions with high-ranking shamans." Sometimes tour operators offer hallucinogenic substances, usually to be taken in the Amazonian forest. Cuzco's "Esoteric Tourism" invites clients, among other things, to "share and try the beverage made from Sacred Plants (Ayahuasca, San Pedro and others)." The session starts as night begins to fall at five o'clock, and finishes at ten o'clock in the evening, for twenty-five dollars plus ten dollars for the drug, and involves:

- the salutation to the god Inti (the Sun);
- a large fire;
- the taking of the hallucinogenic plant San Pedro;
- a telling of tales and a taking of coca leaves;
- the ceremony to Mama Killa (the Moon);
- a meditation in front of the fire;
- some dialogues.

This initiation-drug tourism is similar to what has grown up in Mexico with peyote since the trials and tribulations of Castañeda. It is somewhat inappropriate here because the consumption of hallucinogenic drugs is not customary for the region's Indians, whom the mystics try to emulate. The San Pedro offered by "Esoteric Tourism" is, nonetheless, taken by specialists some call "shamans," but only in north Peru and certainly not in the Cuzco region. In the program on offer, the mystic tour operator combines references to the Inca (the god Inti and Mama Killa) with the consumption of a drug that is usually presented as being of Amazonian origin. The geographical confusion does not end there; in the course of their visions, the mystics are transformed into pumas to reproduce what they believe to be traditional visions, and they are also in touch with Tibetan lamas and Hindu sages.

Many mystic tour operators have websites and present themselves as organizations that defend indigenous peoples. The Hatun Karpay, the ritual journey we described in detail, is sold by several tour operators.[35] One of them presents the organizer as a high-ranking priest—in the picture, his face appears to be floating like a UFO in the background of an ethereal Machu Picchu. Once again the Q'ero are considered the last descendants of the Incas and are shown wearing ponchos (which they never wear in their community) in the section "Develop your personal power in the Inca tradition of Peru's Q'ero Indians" with a tall, blonde guide. He claims to "honor through his work the lineage of the Masters who came before his initiator." We thus learn that the latter is now one of the world's half dozen priests who are both mystics and financial go-betweens. He gives lectures all over the world, as the Wiraqocha Fonden Skandinavien explained on its website. An esoteric tour operator told us that he was

able to perform Andean rituals in Austria and north Italy, where the mountains were high enough to procure similar energies to those of the Andes.

The Yachay Sabiduría Ancestral website presents an Andean cultural association and explains the "three-valued logic of Andean holistic thought through the archetypal symbols of the Viracocha code," and offers the chance to attend seminars and conferences. The aim of the Inkarrí Cultural Association in Spain is to preserve Tibetan and Amerindian traditions. In the section entitled "The Magical Andes and the Mystical Paths: The Return to the Sacred," it offers "alternative and eco-shamanic tourism to experience the thousand-year old enigmas of Andean culture and get in touch with the curative energies of the Andes." The rituals include an initiation into *ayahuasca*, a hallucinogenic plant from north Peru, but the Indians featured in the advertisement are from the Cuzco region. The NGO set up a meeting between Tibetan monks and Q'ero "shamans." The master of the ceremonies held in Cuzco for the occasion assured us that the members of both groups (Tibetan and Q'ero) used to gather together and that it was easy to see that they share the same ancestry.

One could endlessly visit websites without learning much more. Their propositions are repetitive and take up, in one way or another, Juan Núñez del Prado's "concept." However, one neoshaman seemed to us to be particularly creative in ritual matters, the specialized area for innovation in Andean tradition.

Américo Yábar's career in New Age Andean medicine began the day he stumbled upon an Italian who felt nauseated by the guide who was showing them the ruins.[36] He took the tourist to Q'ero, and the Italian then invited him to his home in Ferrara, welcoming him to a magnificent palace. There was a terrible storm during Yábar's flight from Lima to Rome, and to overcome the fear that paralyzed him, the Cuzquenian traveler passed his khuya stones all over his body, imitating the traditional limpia ritual. The air hostess reprimanded him—it is forbidden to bring stones on board—but he managed to convince her of the utility of his khuya and went on to treat all the passengers on board who were distressed by the storm in exchange for money, as he had no resources whatsoever for his arrival in Italy. He landed in Rome with 700 dollars, and was able to give his first seminar.

Since then, Yábar has been organizing esoteric expeditions for Italian and British people. He invents meditation techniques based on runa practices, particularly on the culture of the inevitable Q'ero. He knows them well, as his parents' hacienda was on Q'ero territory and he had a good relationship with them. He still has a family home in the area where he has bought his uncle's hacienda, and he takes groups of New Age mystics there and brings Q'ero members to meet them. Both the mystics and the Q'ero are his "brothers," his *wayqe* as one says in Quechua, and he sees himself as a go-between between the two groups. The Q'ero teach the tourists to make offerings

to the Earth, but they also perform (under his command) what could be described as Andean "happenings," such as releasing panicking llamas in the bedroom of tourists at dawn. He takes the mystics to visit the Q'ero, "so that they can feel the force of the site." He believes that the Indians meditate when they chew coca, and invites the tourists to do the same. He noticed that the Q'ero often sit back to back to do this, and has instructed the esoterics to rub each others' buttocks and backs during their coca meditation sessions. They thus practice yanantin, the complementary energies of two people in contact with each other. He also believes that the rocks sculpted in Inca times and found in the Chinchero region were, in fact, seats for meditation; sages sat on the leveled, polished surfaces of these magnificent stones, which he calls *tiana*, a word mentioned, it's true, in various chronicles.

Yábar mostly "works" with khuya, stones with a special power. They seem to be the New Age equivalents of the *illa* and *enqa* that indigenous gods strewed along the paths of the herders. He performs limpias; in other words, rids his patients of their bad energies and claims that this is a Q'ero practice. He also gives mystics massages like the ones the runa give to newborn babies, and swaddles them in belts and strings as the local women do with their babies. He claims that he sometimes observed the runa placing their navels in contact with the ground, and instructs his esoteric tourists to use this method (which is totally unknown to the Indians) to get in touch with Pachamama.

Another aspect of Yábar's "work" consists of bringing his wayqe to special sites for energy experiences, for example in Moray near Maras, where the Wataqallari is now celebrated (see Chapter 2). According to this Master, Moray's circular amphitheaters were not ancient fields for agricultural experimentation, as archaeologists believe. The center of the circular terraces forms a chaupi, a supernatural center which naturally encourages a feeling of interiorization, and so he leads his esoteric tourists to the terraces' center and gets them to perform meditation exercises with womblike overtones.

Yábar takes his tourists a very long way. He discovered mysterious circles, probably of volcanic origin, on the ground between Moquegua and Puno. Establishing an esoteric connection between the circles, he organizes a ritual itinerary that is supposedly the one the ancestors followed. He also takes his wayqe to the tropical forest in the Paucartambo lowlands, where he is hoping to set up a center for hallucinogenic meditation using ayahuasca. As he also has a home in the Sacred Valley, a place full of "power," he is planning to set up a network of energy houses between which he will have the tourists travel. These tourists are not the same as the ones we have been observing until now; they are wealthier and get their Cuzco shamans to come to their Italian palaces or Austrian mountains at great expense.

Considering it his role to communicate between his indigenous and New Age wayqe, Yábar always asks the former what they think of the latter's theories. The theories coincide remarkably! The Q'ero thus confirm that the Moray ruins could not be fields for agricultural experimentation and that the sculpted rocks are indeed ancient seats for mediation. The master sees himself as a go-between for the two cultures, and this is why he now organizes a kind of "indigenous tourism" financed by an American colleague. He takes Q'ero women into the Sacred Valley to "experience" their reactions. Soon, he plans to take them to the Taquile Island on Lake Titicaca. He hopes to carry out a form of experimental anthropology and has asked for the collaboration of an anthropologist. Several "spin-off products" may be created from this ethnological study, such as photographs, movies, and the like.

Yábar does not see himself as a shaman like any other. All he wants to do, he says, is to invent intermediary techniques between the esoterics and the Q'ero people. Nevertheless, he has a website. To a certain extent, he illustrates the process of appropriation we have already observed elsewhere; his parents exploited Indian labor in haciendas, where laborers were not paid any wages but received certain services free of charge, whereas the new master exploits their beliefs and rituals.

Mystic tourism in Cuzco has been lent prestige by large international meetings. In the Kumbha Mela days, they did not focus on Andean traditions as is the case today. At the time, mystics were more interested in extraterrestrials than in Indians. Despachos on Machu Picchu were rarely on offer during the "Esoteric Journeys Andes-Himalayas" organized in 1991 by the "Son of the Sun Universal Brother/Sisterhood." This organization combined a "lecture on the fifth dimension" in Nazca to see "how extraterrestrials have been part of the world since ancient times" and a "voyage to the stars" with medicinal teachings using crystals and star dances on Lake Titicaca.[37] In 1992, the Fifth Centenary of the invasion of America was the occasion of numerous events of this kind. In August, the Intiq Amarunkuna Institute and the World Community of Indian America of the Sun organized an international conference of Andean Mysticism to celebrate the "Return of the 10th Pachacuteq" and "drink from the sources of Andean wisdom." The event greatly enhanced the reputation of mystic tourism as it was backed by the mayor of Cuzco, the National Institute of Culture, and the University of Cuzco. The same year, the imperial city hosted the first International Holistic Forum. Its program proposed offerings to the gods of the mountains; trips to the medicinal baths on Machu Picchu (unheard of until then); Andean music; conferences on "Death is Going Home," "The Path of True Initiation," "How to Live in the Light," "Initiation and Counter-Initiation in Modern Times," "Mind in Matter and Matter in Spirit," and so on. In 1995, an International Peace Conference was set up in Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, by the

International Institute of Integral Human Sciences Inc. The conference organized a meeting with Tibetan monks from Gyuto as well as a day in the company of Cuzco's Willaru Huayra to discuss the "message of the Inca prophecy." This prophecy says that when the Condor of the South meets the Eagle of the North, "the spirit of Mother Earth and thousands of her children will awaken." That moment arrived with the Age of Aquarius. In France, in Choisy-le-Roi, a shamans' conference was organized by Yachay on October 9 and 10, 1993, allowing the French to enjoy diverse forms of shamanism practiced by Juan Camargo, a "Quechua Indian,"[38] Carlos Tobar initiated into the Ashaninka, Mario Cama, "Indian from the Peruvian Altiplano"; Froïlan Camargo, who became a "shaman" by order of the Tutelary Gods themselves; Rafael la "O" Díaz from Cuba, and master of Afro-Cuban magic; Jean-Baptiste Liboudan, from Lanza del Vasto's Community of the Ark; and Lama Tempa, a Tibetan Buddhist monk from Bhutan and master of meditation in Burgundy. The course cost 1,270 French francs.

New Age Andean culture now extends far beyond Peru, and this international recognition is crucial for mystic tourism. As we have seen, the officialization of mystic tourism benefits from Juan Núñez del Prado's profession as an anthropologist—it is he who has drawn up the new doctrine of Andean tradition. As a professor at the University of Cuzco, he is sometimes invited to international anthropology congresses and has professional relations with experts on the Andes from all over the world. Another factor of the institutionalization of New Age Andean culture and mystic tourism is their officialization by the National Tourist Board, which promotes it in its prospectuses. The Fondo de Promoción Turística (FOPTUR) presents Peru as the magnetic center of the planet, the energy having shifted from India and its gurus to the Andean Cordillera and its shamans. More specifically, Machu Picchu is pitched as the chakra of the Earth, toward which mystics from all over the world should set off.[39] The fondo does not merely extol the merits of its ruins; it also markets its more-or-less reinvented traditional culture. Its prospectus offers:

- Haywarisqa or *pago*. The Andean Holocaust: propitiatory ritual offered to the Apu, the Tutelary Gods and protectors of the city, for participants to obtain protection from these gods (half-day).
- Qarpay. Initiation. This takes place following a restitution seminar and two to five days training, depending on the level to which one aspires, as well as a traditional initiation ritual into Inca mysticism in potent sites still used today (four to six days).
- Inka Karpay. Inka initiation, a ritual in which the first part corresponds to the Karpay described above, followed by a pilgrimage in accordance with

the same rituals but further developed in ancient ceremonial centers (P'isaq, Ollantaytambo, Machu Picchu, and the Qacha Temple).[40]

In its description of the "Andean priesthood and its hierarchy," FOPTUR essentially repeats the writings of Núñez del Prado. The ritual itinerary of Hatun Karpay we observed is presented as mystic initiation and, in the section entitled "Cosmovisión religiosa andina," FOPTUR gives an unbelievably jumbled list of supernatural beings, as though the Tourist Board were trying to sell them at Cuzco's market. The former director of Cuzco's National Institute of Culture (INC) made no attempt to hide his belief in the new Andean cosmovisión, presenting himself as "an expert and a mystic of the Andean Church, with a dynamic and modern faith that is the fundamental touchstone of our own native and genuine spirituality."[41] He has published a book on a "mystic interpretation" of the Sacsayhuaman site, which leaves one in little doubt about his leanings. In the book he claims that the monument incarnates Illapa (the deity of lightning) because it has a zigzag shape, and that Muyuqmarka was the principal university of the Andean world and even the Temple of the Sun or the Inca's Palace. In a famous spot known as Rodadero, he finds: "The definitive message of our dual nature: spiritual = the Trinity, and physical = the components of matter: carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, as well as the four basic elements: water, air, earth and fire, and the four cardinal virtues: prudence, temperance, strength and justice and a combination of the four realms of matter, point, line, surface and solid, with the three intervals, length, width, depth, etc."[42]

José Altamirano's reflections on the chakras through which energy can enter the body, the joint flight of the condor and the eagle, and the serpent of cosmic light are made even more disturbing by the fact that the institution responsible for them was entrusted with the region's archaeological remains; the deterioration caused by groups of mystic tourists in Sacsayhuaman and Machu Picchu is irreparable. The state (via the two ministerial representations that are the most involved—FOPTUR and the National Institute of Culture), the university through its anthropologists, and the New Age international movement have thus institutionalized mystic and esoteric tourism in Cuzco.

The profits made by some are, clearly, a factor in this craze. International tour operators, local guides and even the distant Q'ero, who are solicited for more "authentic" rituals, all have a financial stake in Andean mysticism. Small local agencies sell their products directly to the customer, and international companies advertise in the United States and Europe through organizations, New Age magazines, and websites. Operators often accompany the groups from their home country all the way to Cuzco, and once there, they employ guides capable of transmitting a mystical interpretation of the archaeological sites and the basics of "traditional Andean thought."

These guides are often university undergraduates or cholos who have left their parents' Indian environment. Local guides have an Andean appearance, with long hair tied with a ribbon with geometrical patterns, a waistcoat made of traditional Andean textile, cowboy boots, a bandana around their neck, and a cloth bag similar to the chuspa in which the runa carry their coca. They add all the paraphernalia for tourists: khuya, mesa, and often a flute to play Indian music. But their appearance has changed over the last few years—with increasing frequency they are wearing foreign brands of mountaineering clothes purchased on the black market. They can judge the wealth of their clients at a glance by identifying the origin of their clothing. There is fierce competition for this work—local guides are easily replaced. Now even those who guard the ruins as well as taxi and bus drivers know the tripartite conception of space in kay pacha, ukhu pacha and hanaq pacha, and the three ages of the world, munay (love), llank'ay (work), and yachay (knowledge). Most young Cuzquenians know all about Pachamama, the mountain gods and the hierarchy of the Andean Church. Sometimes they even improvise an offering to the Earth for a few dollars.[43] This knowledge is extremely useful when trying to seduce tourists in the nightclubs that are springing up all around the Plaza de Armas. The "*gringa* hunters" are known as *bricheros* (from the English word "bridge"),[44] as they seek a bridge to cross over to the United States or Europe. A neo-Inca identity is a seductive trait, and some young American women do indeed bring back resurrected Incas "in their luggage."

The guides employ people from local communities to look after the horses transporting the tourists, erect tents, and carry their rucksacks. These servants are sometimes recruited from the former haciendas of the local guides' parents, and the servile relations between the guides and the stewards are interpreted by the tourists as a quasi-mystical communion in "Andean tradition." The tourists cultivate what they believe to be complicity with these "token Indians." The guides also hire Indians to perform rituals that appear to be fairly authentic—we have seen the role of Q'ero as Inca descendants in mystic tourism. Their services are often called upon by tour operators. Some of them have been to California, hired for shamanic courses. When they return to their communities, they continue to make offerings to their gods in accordance with custom, although they agree to the occasionally deluded demands of tourists.

With these people, it is difficult to know what springs from naïveté or denial in the way they react to the marketing of their traditional culture. We had the opportunity to observe how the pago ritual can be used to give a mystical dimension to the mere selling of textiles. Indeed, a llicla just purchased may take on supernatural value if it is presented as the outer layer of an offering to the gods, if the vendor looks like a shaman and folds the cloth in a certain way while murmuring what one imagines to

be prayers.[45] The tourist, therefore, does not buy a traditional textile but a mesa, even though an empty mesa has no significance whatsoever. If, in addition, the purchase is handed over to the buyer with sacerdotal ceremony, the mystic tourist receives not only his sacred object but also a form of initiation. Thus the pago, whose extraordinary symbolic profitability and flexibility we have seen, extends its effectiveness to lucrative trade. It would be tempting to see this as the simple exploitation of tourists by cunning natives if it were not for the fact that very similar practices exist in Andean tradition.

In the course of pilgrimages to Qoyllurit'i, Wanka or Copacabana, one may witness astonishing simulated transactions between pilgrims. Objects bought or sold are represented by stones that symbolize houses, buildings, cars, computers, and the like. All these transactions are made using fake banknotes similar to those used in a game of Monopoly. Upon request, a "ritual notary" will provide documents, ownership certificates, or insurance policies for a purchased truck. A real/fake banker can even organize a loan if one does not have enough money! Sometimes the much-desired object is represented by a miniature instead of a stone. Each purchase of a miniature object is accompanied by a prayer, an offering of liquor or a short ritual, especially when the item has a sacred nature such as, for example, an Eqeqo that will guarantee prosperity to its buyer if he regularly gives it cigarettes to smoke.[46] Without embarking on an analysis of these practices and their place in Andean culture, a connection can be made between these ritualized sales and Indians' selling of goods to mystic tourists. Although it is true that the mystic tourist believes he is receiving a sacred mesa when in fact he has merely purchased a piece of cloth, this does, nevertheless, correspond to an indigenous custom of performing a ritual when selling an object, if the buyer believes it to be sacred. Whatever the case, the misunderstanding is "productive" (in the strictest sense of the term) for both parties.

Some Indian products are particularly well adapted to a mystic clientele. In Ocongate, tiny bags sold for a dollar apiece have a black motif on an off-white background and contain two small stones. The vendor/priest gives the precise name of each of the motifs (*waqra*, *qocha*, *ch'unchu*, *inti*, *t'ika,* etc.) and the guide translates them into English. They used to be set out by the runa on ponchos and llicla in educated syntax, but here, these isolated designs are completely incongruous. Inside the tiny bag, one of the stones is white and the other black. The black stone is masculine and is called Ausangate, and the white stone is feminine and called Doña Juana. Ausangate is the most powerful Apu of the region and Doña Juana is one of the names the runa use for the Earth. The sacredness of illa stones and mountains and the meaning of the motifs on the cloth—all elements of indigenous culture—are thus "picked up" and presented in an order that causes them to lose their original meaning com-

pletely, just as indigenous dances are "picked up" and transformed into folk dances. It is true that for mystic tourists, the object acquires a new meaning, but this meaning is marked by the commercial origins of its creation. The vendor/priest wears hi-tech pants and a denim jacket, but wears on his head a sumptuous *chuyu* with pompoms typical of Ocongate. As he prepares to read the tourist's future in coca leaves, he brings out his merchandise as though inadvertently, spreading it around the sacred leaves. Here, as elsewhere, business and rites are inextricably linked.

Mystic tourists' relations with the "natives" remain to be studied. What do these Scandinavians, Americans, and Spanish have in common apart from the advertising that has attracted them? They do, undoubtedly, possess certain shared characteristics in their approach. They all come seeking energy from the archaeological remains that make up the backdrop to their rituals, but energy is also obtained from the indigenous people who appear as an integral part of the ruins, as they "charge" them with sami. In the minds of tourists, Andean tradition breathes energy into the sites they visit, and the big Indian festivals bring about the return of the Great King. However, it is clear that the Andean people are of interest to New Age tourists only because of the energy they can produce. There can be no mistaking their attitude. The mystic tourists are very close to the landscape and the archaeological remains—they cling to them, nestle in them, rub them and almost copulate with them—but they never look at the Indians, not even to admire their superb costumes.

Furthermore, esoteric tourists like to develop a fantastical topography: such and such a crest resembles a human profile; the shadows cast on the rocks at a certain point in the sun's trajectory provide information about the meaning of the site on which they fall;[47] a puma, a shaman or a snake can be seen, giving the key to a building's function. These observations are used to understand the "true" ceque system, the system that supports cults unknown to archaeologists. Occasionally, for these observers, mythical characters are actually sculpted into the mountains, and all the ancestors did was to add a wall or a building in order to draw attention to the mystery revealed by the landscape. Some valleys, observed from a specific point, offer themselves up as majestic constructions to an esoteric onlooker. In a mystical trompe l'oeil, Inca terraces suddenly emerge as pyramids; the myth of the origin of the Incas can be penetrated in Pacariqtambo while some can see in Huayna Picchu the mouth of the Puma, the guardian of the shrine of Machu Picchu.[48]

The unsolvable questions posed by pre-Hispanic archaeological remains are solved by imaginative mystics. The giant Inca stones that form the streets and citadels of Cuzco were supposedly softened by a plant known only to the ancestors. The mystery regarding Ica stones (which feature disturbing engravings of dinosaurs, flying saucers, and heart transplantations) has also been solved. This is also the case for the famous

Nazca Lines, which have inspired supernatural interpretations. A few miles away, the celebrated Paracas Candelabra was allegedly made from a spacecraft using laser rays. Others say that it was a marker for intergalactic shuttles in which the Inca masters traveled. As for the ruins of Chavín de Huántar, the renowned figure of Lanzón is said, like Buddha, to be the "crown chakra," symbolizing total enlightenment. Cuzco lends itself particularly well to esotericism. In the sixteenth century, an expert on the city observed: "Cuzco was the home of the gods, and there is not a fountain, gallery or wall that does not indicate its mystery."[49] The ceque system in particular arouses the imagination, and the writings of Tom Zuidema have been reinterpreted in terms of mysteries. Thus, under the imperial city, a network of tunnels is said to follow the alignments of the sacred sites discovered by the anthropologist, which forms a cross, the arms of which intersect below the Plaza de Armas. These theories are supported by VAANI (Vestigios Arqueológicos Aún No Identificados).

Mystic tourists do not really need either indigenous people or archaeologists to understand the ruins. In fact, they are more comprehensible if the Andeans are excluded, so that their true builders can be identified as extraterrestrials; Indians could not have imagined solstices or organized a giant calendar around the Temple of the Sun, or built Machu Picchu to honor their gods between the Cordilleran skies and the tropical forests, or drawn the lines in the Nazca Desert to mark ritual paths, or imagined a feline deity with Amazonian features in Chavín. All they are capable of doing is recharging old stones with energy.

This is why mystic tourists take very little interest in indigenous rites. We might expect that they would be drawn to the pilgrimage to Qoyllurit'i, where the new Inca will one day appear. But they do not accompany the ukuku who climb the glacier that they cut into pieces, they do not follow the comparsas who dance for Christ until they drop from exhaustion, they do not take part in the ritual market where the runa realize their dreams. Mystic tourists meditate in front of the crosses that they have been told mark points of concentrated energy, without realizing that they are, in fact, markers in a sacred indigenous space. They place stones around them as the runa do, but for the runa, these signify wishes that pile up in the discreet abstraction of the stone, whereas for the New Agers, they signify a connection with a cosmic entity whose vibrations they are seeking. They credit the same intention to the pilgrims they see positioning stones. Having thus abandoned their "*hucha* stone" (the stone containing heavy energy) at the foot of the cross in an offering to Pachamama, they take another stone containing the refined energy of hanaqpacha. They remain in the empty shrine while the crowd of pilgrims goes on to Tayankani to worship the rising of the Sun. In this deserted place, they take part in the umpteenth pago performed by the Q'ero who have become traveling salesmen. There is a striking contrast between

the mystical attachment tourists feel for the ruins and the landscape, and the indifference the Andeans seem to inspire.

Obviously, this brings to mind the indigenists and their fascination for the geography of the Andes, their delight with the virile monuments erected by the Incas and their ignorance of the runa, whose interests they occasionally claim to defend. The indigenists' and neo-Inca's plundering of Andean culture has now acquired a global scope thanks to the New Age. The runa have been dispossessed by the mistis, who have manufactured an imperial Indian from their history, now presented in the Inti Raymi. The imperialization of tradition follows on from its nationalization. The State Indian serves as a representation of autochthony for a Nation that massacred its indigenous people, and the return of the Inca as a national performance is now exploited in politics by the president of the Republic and others in power. The restoration of Tahuantinsuyu is taking on global dimensions. The international Inca movement has taken over the tradition devised by Cuzco's neo-Incas and nationalized by the body politic, and is launching it onto the global market. Andean culture is entering a process of globalization that is now completing its journey from the community to the global village. The indigenists imperialized tradition, the neo-Incas nationalized it, and the disciples of the New Age are globalizing it. This could well be a process that Andean culture shares with other cultures. We need to study the mechanisms in each case, and here we are only describing one variant of what is probably a more general genesis.

Nazario Turpo (see preceding chapter) was a perfect example of this process. He came from Paqchanta, a community outside Ocongate, and his illiterate father was an exceptional union leader. In the 1950s, he led peasant revolts against the powerful landowners and their feudalist views. Turpo could not read, but he demonstrated an extraordinary curiosity, especially with regard to anthropology. He performed pagos for mystic tourists to whom he sometimes sold clothes and other handmade goods, most of which were made in his community. He always lived in his community, but was very well known in Cuzco, where, invited by the city council, he made ritual offerings for the inauguration of banks and public monuments. As we have already described, he was one of the shamans who initiated the president on Machu Picchu. A few years ago he went to Washington, DC, to inaugurate the new National Museum of the American Indian with an offering to Mother Earth. The Smithsonian Foundation made him responsible for burying its collection of mummies on Indian ground in accordance with the code of local political correctness. A funeral ceremony was invented for the ancestors at the foot of Ausangate, the most powerful Apu in the Cuzco area and perhaps in the whole of Peru. This exceptional man thus embodied the stages we have been attempting to highlight: he lived according to his culture in

Paqchanta, de-Indianizing and imperializing it for Cuzco's neo-Incas, nationalizing it by crowning the president of the Republic as an Inca, and finally globalizing it by establishing a link between Washington, DC, and Ausangate, and by contributing to New Age practices. Turpo made offerings to the Earth for members of his community, Cuzco businesses, the president of the Republic, and New Age mystics. The indigenists used the word "capture" (*captar*) to mean the ethnographical recording of dances that were then transformed into folklore, and this term seems appropriate to summarize the destiny of Andean culture.

These days, the expropriation of tradition occurs, above all, through the promotion of the ruins. The Q'ero are presented everywhere as the last Inca survivors. The Inti Raymi is a reconstruction of an ancient Sun-worshipping cult. Archaeological sites store energies produced by the indigenous people. To a certain extent, the indigenists, and now the neo-Incas, are transforming their people and their customs into living ruins. We shall now examine the consequences of this process in peoples' lives.

Notes

1. Galinier and Molinié, "Le crépuscule des lieux," 93–102.

2. Jean Vernette, *Le New Age* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1993), 20.

3. Ibid., 27.

4. Ibid., 28.

5. Elizabeth B. Jenkins, *Il ritorno dell'Inka* (Milan: Sonzogno, 1997), 190.

6. For an overview of the New Age (the principles of which we cannot describe in detail here, apart from Vernette quoted above), see Laurent Dousset, "Le 'New Age Movement': Une étude préliminaire," manuscript (1999); M. Ferguson, *The Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in Our Time* (Los Angeles: J. P. Tarcher Inc., 1987).

7. Brother Philip, *The Secret of the Andes* (Bolinas, CA: Leaves of Grass Press, 1976).

8. Robert Goodman, "En busca del tesoro espiritual inca," *Más allá* 31, no. 12 (1999): 44–47.

9. *Última Hora*, June 20, 1973.

10. For the Andean version of the New Age, see Carol Cumes and Rómulo Lizárraga Valencia, *Pachamama's Children* (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1999); Jenkins, *Il ritorno dell'Inka*; Carlos Milla, *Génesis de la cultura andina* (Lima: Colegio de Arquitectos del Perú, 1983); Juan Núñez del Prado, *Camminando nel cosmo vivente: Guida alle tecniche energetiche e spirituali delle Ande* (Cesena, Italy: Macro Edizioni, 1998); Joan P. Wilcox and E. Jenkins, "Journey to Q'ollorit'i: Initiation into Andean Mysticism," *Shaman's Drum* 40 (1996): 34–49; W. Sullivan, *El secreto de los Incas* (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1999).

11. Vernette, *Le New Age*, 26.

12. I would like to express my warm thanks to Juan Núñez del Prado for his contributions to my research. He was as generous as his father Óscar many years ago.

13. Juan Núñez del Prado, "El sacerdocio andino actual," in *El culto estatal del imperio Inca*, ed. Mariusz S. Ziólkowski (Warsaw: CESLA), 127–37.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., 78.

16. Accounts from members of a group of mystic tourists in June 2002.

17. The earliest Spanish evangelists believed that the word *hucha* corresponded to the notion of sin. However, in documents about the pre-Hispanic period, the word signifies an omission, especially a ritual omission. *Hucha* can be interpreted as "duty" or "debt." Gerald Taylor, "*Hucha*, devoir, faute," manuscript, 1991. It is clear that the meaning given to this word by New Agers is far from its original meaning.

18. J. Núñez del Prado, *Camminando nel cosmo vivente*, 45.

19. Ibid., 17.

20. Ibid., 53.

21. Ibid., 121.

22. For the runa, Ruwal is a very vague, almost abstract deity who can be described as the lord of the mountain gods and to whom, unlike these gods, one does not make any offerings.

23. In New Age Quechua, words defining "principles" are written with a capital letter.

24. This brings to mind colonial exhibitions, although these only displayed "savages." The Q'ero participate, performing rites, and the New Agers benefit considerably from this.

25. Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

26. Valencia Espinoza, *Taytacha Temblores*.

27. We should point out, however, that a very neo-Inca attempt was made to identify this egg-shaped stone as the oval in the drawing of Santa Cruz Pachacuti, representing the god Viracocha. Ibid.

28. Huacas are local pre-Hispanic gods often presented as simple stones to which myths are attached. See Chapter 3 on how huacas shaped the ceque system.

29. The New Agers each have an "energy bubble" surrounding their body. This bubble absorbs and expels positive or negative energies spontaneously as well as through appropriate exercises. This mental bubble is translated into New Age Quechua as *poq'po*, a word that I have not been able to trace back to any original form.

30. A worried initiate asks the master in English what becomes of all this water once it has accumulated. The master replies without a smile that it will spread throughout our entire being.

31. Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco*; Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca*.

32. The *misa* is an offering to the gods made by a paqo, a specialist of rituals. The ingredients are placed on a special cloth in which they are then wrapped, thus forming a package that, here, is handled by the mystic tourists.

33. *Chenopodium quinoa*, a crop grown in high altitudes.

34. Jorge Flores Ochoa and Pierre L. Van den Berghe, "Turismo e incanismo en el Cuzco," *Andes: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 3 (1999): 191.

35. See, for example, tonebytone.com.

36. I am indebted to Américo Yábar for his valuable information.

37. *Son of the Sun Universal Brother / Sisterhood Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (October 1990).

38. It was specified in the pamphlet that Juan Camargo is a professor at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO).

39. R. Longato, "Perú centro magnético," *Gnosis: Revista de Esoterismo Iniciático* 5 (1991): 25, quoted by Rubén Pilares Villa, *Turismo místico: Parodia o trascendencia* (Qosqo: Ayar, 1992), 36.

40. Prospectus from FOPTUR, 1991.

41. "José Altamirano, director del Instituto de Cultura de Cusco es un estudioso y místico de la Iglesia Andina, fe viva y vigente que constituye piedra de toque fundamental de nuestra espiritualidad autóctona, propia y verdadera." "Iglesia sin nombre. La fe milenaria de la Iglesia Andina. Entrevista a José Altamirano, presidente del INC del Cusco, conocedor del tema," *Caretas*, April 12, 1995, 54 and 81.

42. J. Altamirano, *Saqsaywaman: Síntesis de la cultura andina (interpretación mística)* (Cusco [Qosqo], Región Inka: Proyecto Especial Regional Parque Arqueológico Saqsaywaman, 1993), 13.

43. Juan Flores Ochoa, "Buscando los espíritus de los Andes: Turismo Místico en el Qosqo," in *La tradición andina en tiempos modernos*, ed. Hiroyasu Tomoeda and Luis Millones, Senri Ethnological Reports, 5 (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1996), 9–29; Flores Ochoa and Van den Berghe, "Turismo e incanismo en el Cuzco."

44. Mario Guevara Paredes, *Cazador de gringas and otros cuentos* (Cuzco: Municipalidad del Qosqo, 1995).

45. In the transaction recorded here, the cloth made sacred through the manner of its sale was easily identifiable as being of Q'ero origin because of its inti and ch'unchu motifs. However, the vendor (or "priest," according to the buyer) was from Ocongate (a distant village in the Sierra). Q'ero textiles have become very expensive because of the supposedly Inca origins of their makers and now Q'ero motifs are woven in Ocongate communities. Then the items are sold to the Q'ero who have become Incas, who then sell them for a very high price to Americans.

46. The Eqeqo is a figurine of a cholo carrying on his back all the objects that signify abundance; this used to be corn and potatoes and have now become televisions, computers, and rolls of dollars. To bring prosperity, the owner has to make him smoke cigarettes, which are placed in his wide mouth.

47. Merejildo Arévalo and James Chaski, *El despertar del puma: Camino iniciático. Evidencias astronómicas en los Andes* (Cuzco: James Arévalo Merejildo Chaski, 1997).

48. Fernando Elorrieta and Edgar Elorrieta, *El Valle sagrado de los Incas: Mitos y símbolos* (Cusco: Sociedad Pacaritanpu Hatha, 1996).

49. "Cuzco era casa y morada de los dioses, e ansi no avía en toda ella fuente ny paso ny pared que no dixesen que tenya misterio," J. Polo de Ondegardo, *Información acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas* (Lima: Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú, 1916 [1571]), vol. 3.

6

Back to the Community

In the previous chapters, we distinguished two cultural configurations: Indian communities whose ritual life unfolds according to its own historical logic, and the cultural configuration of the neo-Indians, heavily influenced by the New Age. Will these two configurations one day merge? Is this an audacious conjecture or an unlikely hypothesis? Two scenarios, one in Mexico and the other in Peru, evoke a form of osmosis that is beginning to emerge. After our detour via the globalization of neoethnic beliefs, we now return to the traditional communities from where we set out.

The Architects of Neo-Indianity: The Otomi Ceremonial Center in Temoaya

The Otomi Ceremonial Center in the Mexico State, a few dozen miles from the capital, was designed to be the "Sacred House and today's capital of the Otomi people,"[1] created through the volition of members of an indigenous organization called Pacto del Valle Matlatzinca with the support of the state governor of the time, Jorge Jiménez Cantú.

The pharaonic construction was completed in 1980 on the hillside of the Cerro de la Catedral, a few miles from Temoaya; from the outset it had a huge effect on the recomposition of the ritual cycles of the Otomi living in the region. During our first visits in the early 1970s, Temoaya's native community was one of the most linguistically and culturally conservative in the Toluca valley. Many Otomi Indians living there were still monolingual, even the children. The location of Temoaya's Ceremonial Center was a strategic choice made by the state's government authorities and one that, in the long term, has proved to be very wise: a natural amphitheater in the mountains in an area the Otomi consider to have a very strong energy charge, a short distance from the village in a pine forest, a place where supernatural entities are encountered. A few hundred yards from the chosen site, a "vision" appeared, according

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to accounts we recorded in 1972, which gave rise to a major pilgrimage. The vision was none other than the appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe to a young shepherd. She told him that she had left her shrine in Tepeyac in Mexico City for this forest setting. The ceremonial center thus benefits from the Otomi sacralization of the site of this vision, and "indigenizes" the territory, giving a kind of local cultural backing to a site that was actually chosen by government authorities. The visitor's first impression of the center is its gigantic size. After following a path and climbing two flights of symmetrical stairs, one reaches a vast platform. A building housing a museum of Otomi folklore towers over the site. The central square is covered with a *camaïeu* (blend of mosaics), in the middle of which spreads out a cosmogram decorated with a swirling circular motif. On the walls of the complex, covered with Egyptian-inspired frescoes, a semicircle of statues symbolizes the main pre-Hispanic deities (obviously inspired by the Atlanteans in Tula, a Toltec site in the Otomi region of Mezquital). All things considered, the grandiose nature of the ceremonial complex and its various structures are part of a tradition similar to that of the large metropolitan areas of the Altiplano such as Tula or even Teotihuacan. However, the site's architecture is nothing like that of Otomi Indian places of worship in the area where it has been built—these are always of a modest size.

The pre-Hispanic tradition presented here in the form of a hybrid and colossal architectural assemblage is foreign to the area. This double shift has given rise to a cult that, over two decades, has become one of the elements of the ceremonial cycle, at first in Temoaya and then in the surrounding Otomi communities. Contrary to expectations, this cultural transplantation was eventually integrated into Temoaya's religious landscape for the Indians, who nevertheless continue to celebrate their rituals in the village and outlying barrios, especially the celebration of the local patron saint, through an extremely elaborate rotating cargo system. The popular reputation of a spot where a vision of the Virgin occurred certainly has something to do with this success. What's more, the fact that the ceremonial center is now regarded as a place of interest, and that indigenous leaders from other regions and even other parts of the continent (especially North America) are invited here, gives it a form of legitimacy in the eyes of the local Indians. They become actors in these rituals as a result of the authorities' intrusion onto indigenous community territory. Far from being a form of cultural pollution (as it first appeared to the Otomi Indians), the ceremonial center is gradually becoming part of a strategy of the mise-en-scène of Indian power. A few dozen miles to the West, the Mazahua Ceremonial Center constitutes a regional counterpart to the center in Temoaya. Despite its far more modest size, it is part of a similar approach with regard to the motivations for its creation and the effects it has had on the redeployment of the vociferous politics of ethnic renaissance.

It is symptomatic that the construction of the Otomi Ceremonial Center, commissioned by the governor of the Mexico State, was literally imposed upon the local populations, who at first stayed away from the site, with the exception of the Indians hired as the center's "cultural guides" to accompany politicians invited by the government authorities. Important visitors are greeted with "Otomi chanting" and receive a garland of flowers in the purest Polynesian tradition as seen in soap operas on TV.

A turning point in the ceremonial center's history was its being used by new associations supposed to defend the native culture, notably the Movimiento de la Nación Otomí, under the management of its spiritual leader, Thaayrohyadi, a "traditional guide" and general coordinator of the Council of the Otomi Nation. In his speech of March 3, 1999, at the ceremonial center, he addressed the crowd with the following words:

> The Otomi people are here for the *'ra'yo xudi* (new dawn of the Otomi Nation) to defend our ancient culture in accordance with our ancestral history; we are the most ancient people upon these lands of *mundö* (now Mexico City) and *nxihmhöi* (the continent), we were the first light on the Mesoamerican horizon, we were the first in time and in entitlement, we are the heirs of the great civilization of the *nxihmehöi*, the *ñätho nhähñu 'ñuh*, known as the Otomi.

This cosmogonic account is very similar to what can be heard on Mexico City's Zócalo. In March 2001, the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation came to Temoaya to support the "brothers and sisters from the State of Mexico," in other words, the Otomi, Tlahuica, Nahua, Mazahua and Matlatzinca, before entering the capital to conduct fierce but fruitless negotiations with Mexican congressmen. From March 18 to 24, during the vernal spring equinox, an international indigenous gathering called "Eight Thousand Drums" was held in the ceremonial center under the patronage of the "First Otomi Nation, to heal Mother Earth and ensure life and peace." Inaugurated with a blessing of the four cardinal directions of the planet and followed by sacred drumming workshops and devotions, especially to the Sacred Fire, Father Sun (Tata Hyadi) and Mother Earth (Mâhkimehoi), the festivities were accompanied by purification and healing rituals in *temascales*, the steam baths still used in the Temoaya region. Invited for the occasion were members of the "Earth's different traditions" from the American continent.

The ceremony on March 21 was organized as follows:

- The Dawn Ceremony (salutations in the four cardinal directions, the heart of the earth and the sky, and to our own heart);
- An offering to Father Sun;

- A blessing ceremony and consecration of the drums;
- Harmonic play and cosmic sound of the sacred drums;
- A message for healing by Mother Earth, to ensure the life and peace of the four cardinal directions;
- Sacred conviviality (music and songs);
- The closing ceremony (salutations to the four cardinal directions, the heart of the sky and the earth).

The organizers professed their faith thus:

> The spirit of the 8,000 sacred drums, the prophecy of the ancestors of the Otomi First Nation, the sacred civilization of silence, sound, time and the corn area (Ñätho-Ñähñu-'Ñuhmu-'Ñuhu-Olmecas-Toltecas-Teotihuacanos) heralds the awakening of Indigenous Peoples and all humankind. We must come together to reunite the Sound of the 8,000 Sacred Drums (of which there can be 8,000 times 8,000 throughout the planet) for the Reverberation of all the Sacred Drums to create Mähki 'Ñithi (Potent Sacred Medicine) and Ts'edi Pa (Sacred Purifying Energy) for the healing ceremony for Madre Tierra.

Once again, the prevailing philosophy of the Eight Thousand Drums gathering involves recognizing that "everything is sacred, that our mission consists of working to stay alive in a spirit of equilibrium with our families, communities, people, humanity, the plants, the air, earth, fire and the cosmos with our own heart" . . . and that "we must unite the drum of our hearts with the heart of humanity . . . ; may we bathe in the movement of light, may the healing energy spread among us so that we can feel, live and exist in a constant sharing of peace and love."

When the Otomi Ceremonial Center was built, the government of Mexico State politicocultural strategy, supervised from the capital Toluca, could be decrypted as follows: they needed to fill a political vacuum in a predominantly indigenous area as the local Indian populations were, at the time, excluded from major debates, which were monopolized by political parties and unions. The Mexico State authorities managed to transform local Indians into the center's ceremonial "leaders" based on patron-client relations. In this way, the government had access to a "sacred" area where supraregional events were held as part of an "authentic" ritual cycle—but no longer controlled by members of the local community. People from outside the village (mestizos who would never be invited to traditional rituals), thus became participants. In the same spirit, conchero dancers recruited from Mexico City are supporting this effect of shifting off-center. In passing, we should note that the choreography of the rituals at the ceremonial center is characterized by its meager and highly impersonal nature and bears little resemblance to the Otomi ceremonies in

the region. What's more, incongruous invocations to Mother Earth are tacked on to songs with a stereotypical rhythm, in keeping with the spirit of neo-Indian cults. The Earth, which belongs to the pantheon of major Otomi deities, is never evoked in this way in this region. A standard ritual has been created in accordance with Indianity's new ideologies. Contact via the Internet with people practicing purification rituals along the model of the "Plains Indians" as far afield as France, and the Graal network celebrating the spring equinox on the other side of the Atlantic, reveal Temoaya's unexpected international impact and its enduring installation as a New Age ceremonial structure on the same level as Teotihuacan's pyramids. A remarkable aspect of the French Indianist movement is that it focuses on an imaginary vision of the autochthonous cultures of the Midwest, with the Sioux serving as the paradigmatic Native American. It is a largely seasonal phenomenon (gatherings usually take place in the summer) in an environment entirely modeled to reproduce an American West setting and including both elements of "Indian" and European Pioneer culture (with tepees and omnipresent saloons replacing village churches). It is essentially limited to a temporary lifestyle and, unlike neo-Aztecism, no cosmological speculations are expressed. These gatherings are generally geared to share a "mystical experience" and "spirituality." More fundamentally, the aim of these summer camps is to "live like Indians," using elements of the material culture of the late nineteenth century and reproducing initiation and healing rituals inspired by the Sioux or neighboring tribes.

To summarize, the Otomi from central Mexico now celebrate on their own territory the cult of Mother Earth, of peace and harmony, using the ways and customs of the neo-Indians who have come there to soak up the good vibrations, including, for instance, a Mapuche delegation from Chile who are in contact via the Internet with European Indianists. They in turn practice Sioux or Cheyenne cults, or even dance like concheros, now popular in Spain where such dances are perceived as a new "alternative spirituality."[2] We could well be witnessing the union of all the "continent's *calpulli*" in terms, although they are not exactly those of the Zócalo's Mexicanista scholiasts, nevertheless clearly express a tangible reality, the breaking of the groundswell of a great pan-American religion.

Neo-Indian Missionaries in the Andean Community of Ccatca

On August 1, 1997, the community of Ccatca celebrated the Feast of Pachamama for the fifth time. The mayor and the governor of the region presided over a ceremony traditionally celebrated in the privacy of one's family. On each side of the *autoridades*, the twenty-four *regidores* (members of colonial municipal councils) from the indigenous communities held *varas*, ceremonial wooden batons encircled

with silver, symbols of their function in the community government. According to tradition, they are divided into two moieties of twelve on the left and twelve on the right side of the official podium,[3] one group comprising the people of Quispicanchis, and the other, people from Paucartambo. One group plays the *pututo*, the conchs whose maritime echoes reverberate in the Cordillera, and the other plays the *antara*, the panpipes that are divided into male and female. They wear their festive clothing, ponchos with the motifs of their respective ayllu and round hats with multicolored ribbons. The autoridades don their ponchos and bonnets, although custom has it that they should appear in suits and hats. Over his fancy-dress poncho, the mayor wears a scarf with the rainbow colors of the Tahuantinsuyu flag. An important figure from Cuzco joins them, also wearing a poncho of the kind we see at the desfile cívico (see Chapter 3); it is the rector of Cuzco University who has traveled here to attend the Pachamama Raymi (the Festival of Pachamama) in a performance devised by Hugo Bonet, head of public relations at Cuzco University.

A kind of podium has been erected, similar to the one used in Cuzco's Inti Raymi and said to be an ushnu (see Chapter 2), and the regidores position themselves around it. A loudspeaker announces, deafening, the "new ritual" being celebrated and the "chamber music" we will be hearing. The hi-fi sound system is impressive; the orchestra's musicians sit on chairs, which one never sees in the communities. The regidores are standing, and now put their *pututu* and *antara* under their ponchos. The performance opens with stage directions very similar to those of the Inti Raymi. Four Incas, two in green and two in red, head toward a pyre, which a high priest gravely lights. All of a sudden, the Inca is captured, and a priest (representing Father Vicente de Valverde) presents him with the Bible. As in the tragic story of Atahualpa's imprisonment, the Inca throws it to the ground and the Spanish open fire. A cross is then erected on the podium. It seems that they were trying to invent a Danza de la Conquista (see Chapter 1) but this time without Indians, who have been replaced by students from the University of Cuzco. The four Incas salute the autoridades, who bow in respect, but are they bowing to the Incas or to the actors? The high priest is addressed as a paqo, like the high priests from traditional communities. He throws the offerings he has made into the river along with those of the twenty-four regidores. There is no way of knowing whether he is an actor from Cuzco or a spiritual leader from one of the communities. The actors from Cuzco in costume and the regidores interact with each other, but it is clear that the regidores obey the actors. A few local people from Ccatca attend the offering and pour beer on it, but will Pachamama, who is being celebrated today, accept this hybrid offering composed of University theater and a traditional despacho? As we have already observed during the Inti Raymi, it is impossible to tell if this is a theatrical performance or a ritual.

This does not seem to cause a problem for the members of the indigenous communities, especially the wives of the regidores. While their husbands "officiate" in the square, they remain on the hillside as if they wished to keep a distance while still attending the ceremony as they can observe everything from their promontory. Divided into two groups corresponding to the two moieties to which they belong, they sit in two lines of six, parallel to the slope, and those with hats are higher up on the hillside than those with bare heads. They exchange bunches of coca leaves. The first group remains seated while the second group attends to them, getting up in turn to pass the coca leaves among their "mistresses." Rather than going into all the details of the ceremony, we merely wish to highlight the complexity of the situation. There is a contrast between the two groups—the group in the square where the Pachamama Raymi is taking place and, a little higher up the mountain, the group from the communities, notably the women, serenely performing their rites while observing the scene. The performance is made up of two types of participants: actors from Cuzco and the runa. Together they make an offering to Pachamama, and, instead of her festival being held in the privacy of the community, it is dramatized in the village square. There are no joint celebrations for the mistis and Indians here, unlike in Bolivia where ethnicity is celebrated to the glory of the Nation. Here, each takes on the role allocated to him or her in the social hierarchy of daily life, even if there is some confusion between actors in theatrical productions and ritual actors. It is not the first time that the runa have accepted to participate in the whims of the mistis since their Christianization. However, for the people from Cuzco, the mayor, the governor, the university rector and a few anthropology professors, there is also a proselytizing energy reminiscent of colonial-era missionaries. This is how the Christianization of isolated communities must have occurred, by recruiting local inhabitants in processions, masses, and novenas. It is not hard to imagine the academics as missionaries. The scene would have been the same, with one exception: while the Catholic priests preached a doctrine and a God they knew to be external to the pagan Indians, here the academics are preaching to the runa what they consider to be runa beliefs and rituals, although they are offering an improved and purified version. They believe that they are reviving a tradition that has degenerated: Pachamama is honored by State Indians in the village square rather than by archaic Indians in their hovels. Unlike the academics and autoridades, colonial missionaries did not dress up as Indians; on the contrary, their intention was to differentiate themselves. It is obvious that here in Ccatca we are witnessing the neo-Incaization of indigenous tradition, and this is reproduced in every community that now performs the Pachamama Raymi.

The rector gives a speech to close the ceremony. He thanks the mayor of Ccatca for "saving a traditional celebration, an authentic Andean celebration," and gives him

a scroll with a eulogy of this ancient ceremony. A written document thus seals the antiquity of the rite that has just been invented. The mayor of Ccatca replies, first in Spanish and then in Quechua: the "Andean liturgy" just celebrated designates Ccatca as "the capital of Andean spirituality," and this publicity is now used on a sign at the entrance to the village. The stage director is delighted because, in order to bury one of the offerings to Pachamama, the Indians dug a hole with their own hands. He calls them *waway* (my children), as priests do. The chamber orchestra hands over the stage to folk dances performed by members of the communities who have exchanged their runa clothing for an Indian disguise. Having been "captured," purified and imperialized, the tradition is now returned to the Andean people.

An Indigenous Theory: From Harvesting Fat to Capturing Energies

During the colonial era, the Spanish collected taxes from the Indians; after Independence, the Creoles occupied their lands; under the Republic, the indigenists "captured" their culture; and within the framework of free-market capitalism, globalized mystics are gathering their energy. In the Andes, there is an indigenous theory about this expropriation.

A mythical character known in the Andes as *pishtaku* or *ñak'aq* kills Indians to take their fat.[4] He is described as a foreigner (either white or at least mestizo), and dressed as a monk in colonial times or in jeans in modern times. Armed with a knife, a machete or, more recently, a Kalashnikov, he attacks his victims at night in isolated places. The fat he harvests from the Indians' bodies is to be used to make ointments, to improve alloys for church bells or to lubricate airplanes and computers, for which it is ideal. Some say that the fat is sold to the government, which uses it to pay back its debt to the IMF. It goes without saying that Indian fat is only used by white people. Although the pishtaku used to be protected by priests and monks, he is now sent by the owners of mines, by bridge and highway engineers, and even by the central government. There is even a rumor that Shining Path guerillas were in fact pishtaku agents sent by the government to the countryside to collect Indian fat, which was taken to Lima and then sent on to the United States. White anthropologists, often traveling alone, are commonly mistaken for pishtaku, resulting in comical and not entirely reassuring adventures.[5] Being both familiar and external to the community, the merciless pishtaku is without a doubt a representation of the aggressiveness of the white man.

The fat for which the pishtaku is so keen occupies a special place in Andean representations and has a very particular symbolic efficiency. Llama fat is an essential ingredient in ritual offerings to the mountain gods and the Earth, which it nourishes, especially when accompanied with coca leaves. Fat is also used in witchcraft; Andeans

can manipulate their victim's soul "so that it grows dim and no longer possesses either heart or understanding" by burning dolls made of tallow. The fat used varies depending on the victim: llama fat mixed with cornmeal is used for an indigenous person, but for a white person, pork fat is mixed with wheat flour—each according to the fat he or she consumes.[6] There is, therefore, a close connection between fat and the "soul" via the interposed animal fat.

In the 1660s, in Pativilca, a "witch" molded a miniature leg from fat and then cooked it with beer and corn, and this mixture was believed to represent the vitality of the victim, his *camaquen* or *upani*, which the document defines as a shadow.[7] Once again, with fat, there is a strong link between the body and the invisible force that breathes life into our beings and outlasts them. Another preparation allowed "sorcerers" to "talk to the Devil";[8] made of fat cooked with maize, coca, gold and silver, it could kill as well as "unite men and women." Either as a poison or a love potion, fat acts directly on the victim's vitality. It is closely connected to what we could call the soul, the spirit or the breath, to simplify the complexity of Andean vital principles. The writer J. M. Arguedas knew pishtaku who sought Indian fat to incorporate it into the metal to make church bells. They chose victims who were renowned for their beautiful voices so that the bell would have a harmonious timbre—the sound of the bell would be far more pleasing if the person whose throat had been cut had had a pleasant voice.[9]

The aim of "force-feeding" rites on the Day of the Dead on November 1 is to obtain the power of the ancestors' fertility. By eating to excess, a ritual eater (*mihuq*) can communicate with the dead: with the surplus food he ingests, he feeds the dead and thus transmits a supplement of vital principle, both corporal and spiritual. In return, the community can ask for its own reproduction to be guaranteed. The body of the "eater" is a conduit of energy between the living and the dead.[10]

To a certain extent, those who rooted out forms of idolatry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by burning the ancestors' mummies were not merely destroying effigies but actually destroying the source of life of the living and their power of reproduction. We can thus understand disciples of the messianic Taki Onqoy movement against the conquerors that began to develop in 1575. With undeniable logic, they believed that the invaders had come to take their fat under the orders of the king of Spain.[11] The people stealing the energy of their ancestors by burning their mummies were also stealing the energy they were to give in exchange to their dead. The destruction of mummies interrupted the cycle of vitality from the dead to the living, and anyone taking fat short-circuited the flow in the opposite direction, from the living to the dead. They were, therefore, complicit, and removing fat and uprooting idolatry were structurally linked.

There is no doubt that European representations have contributed to the development of this belief, especially the Andalusian *sacamantecas* (from *sacar*, "extract," and *manteca*, "grease"). Medical practices in seventeenth-century Europe suggest that this character, like the Andean pishtaku, is also a manifestation of a justified fear. Human fat, like other substances from the human body, was part of the pharmacopeia of the time. For example, in a work with the evocative title "Discourse on Man and the Medicines which may be Derived from him," Leonardo Fioravanti, a doctor from Bologna at the end of the seventeenth century, extolled the virtues of human fat: "warming, penetrating and emollient, in such a way that if one coats oneself with it, it is extremely beneficial to areas of induration and retracted nerves."[12] In these circumstances, it is hard to imagine that the Spanish would have disregarded Indian fat to treat their sick. It was no surprise to the chronicler of the Battle of Tlaxcala in Mexico; it was thanks to the fat of a "plump Indian" that his compatriots were able to heal fifteen of their wounded and four horses, because, as he explained, "aceite no lo había" (there was no oil).[13] In 1601, Antonio Herrera compiled a list of mistreatments inflicted upon the Indians, and wondered how many of them had been roasted alive and how many had been "killed because they were obese, to take their fat to cure the Castilians' wounds."[14]

The pishtaku probably has a pre-Hispanic origin in the figure of the sacrificer. Like the Inca sacrificer, he is called ñak'aq in the southern Andes, and it is known that human offerings were commonplace and still exist today. Above all, however, this sinister character corresponds to a representation of the predatory side of the foreigner while demonstrating strictly Andean representations of fat. In colonial times, it was incorporated into the blend of metals to make church bells—the very bells calling the Indians to Christianization—and ecclesiastical power is certainly indicted here. Indian fat also supplied the medicine cabinet of the king of Spain and his armies, thus exposing and implicating political power. Now said to be used as a lubricant for airplanes and computers, Indian fat has become a metaphor for international exploitation. It enables an indigenous theory of imperialist exploitation to be developed as it existed in the 1970s,[15] explaining the transfer of precious substances from the Indian to the local white man, and from him to the Peruvian government, which then transferred it to worldwide imperialism. The extraction of the layer of adipose tissue can represent, for example, the extraction of mineral deposits, and for Indians, the owner of a mine is often a pishtaku or one of his accomplices.[16] The myth now appears as an indigenous theory of the pillage we have just described.

From the colonial corvées to the thousands of hectares expropriated by the republican haciendas, then to the autochthony of the imperial Indian, later to music and dance folklorized by the Instituto de Arte, and finally to the energy "captured" by the

New Agers—Indian fat, whose symbolic value we understand, is an extremely fitting metaphor for the confiscation of their most precious assets. It vividly expresses the latest forms of expropriation of increasingly immaterial assets. As we have seen, for the runa, fat is the condensation of the camaquen, the "soul" of a person, the spirit of the bewitched, to which it is closely connected, the vitality that the ritual eater requests from the ancestors, and the community's gift to the Earth and the gods of the mountains in the despacho. What naturally springs to mind in all these instances is that fat represents Indian energy. The runa and the New Agers are in agreement; the latter "capture" the energy of the former—in short, their fat. We could probably add that the imperialization of tradition through the Inti Raymi, the political resurrection of the Inca as president of the Republic, the nationalization of an indigenous autochthony, the "capture" of indigenous music, and now every form of the globalization of Andean culture—all these things resemble the "harvesting" of Indian fat. Some years ago, the pishtaku captured Indian music to reduce it to folklore, just as colonial administrators forced their tributaries to be concentrated in *reducciones*, or villages. These days, the pishtaku can surf the websites of mystic tour operators. Esoteric tourists are gringos like him, and, like him, they come to harvest the Indians' subtle energy.

The runa thus have a theory for the process that we have just described. As we have seen, they usually recount their history through ritual; here it is through myth that they express their destiny—the myth of the stealer of fat who has been pursuing them since the invasion and perhaps even before. They claim that the Peruvian government sends pishtaku agents disguised as solitary mistis armed with sabers, gringos armed with metal detectors, nurses armed with syringes, anthropologists armed with tape recorders, and Shining Path guerillas armed with Kalashnikovs.[17] Each of these agents with their own arms comes to steal the fat of the Indians. The runa turns to himself and his myths for a theory to explain this, and invites us to turn to him too. We have come full circle, returning to our point of departure, just as we returned to Temoaya after the construction of the Otomi Ceremonial Center.

Notes

1. Julio Garduño Cervantes, "El movimiento indígena en el estado de México," in *Movimientos indígenas contemporáneos en México*, ed. A. Warman and A. Argueta (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1993), 143.

2. De la Peña, *Los Hijos del Sexto Sol*, 71.

3. The division of Ccatca's regidores into two moieties of twelve each recalls the two moieties of the *veinticuatrokuna* ("twenty-four" in Hispano-Quechua) who sat on the municipality of Cuzco in colonial times as the caballeros veinticuatro in Sevilla. This connection needs to be

verified. If exact, it would confirm the traditional nature of the presentation of the authorities, highlighting the contrast with the invention of this celebration.

4. *Pishtaku* comes from the Quechua *pishtay*, "to cut the throat, dismember." This character goes by the name of *nak'aq* in the south and central Andes and *lik'ichiri* in the Bolivian high plains. For more details on *pishtaku*, see Antoinette Molinié, "Sebo bueno: Indio muerto," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines* 20, no. 1 (1991): 1–92, and A. Molinié, "Comparaisons transatlantiques," *L'Homme* 32, nos. 122–24 (April–December 1992): 165–83.

5. For a personal account, see A. Molinié, "Anthropologue prends garde!: Trois assignations périlleuses sur trois terrains andins," *Ateliers* 33 (2009); "La relation ethnographique, terrains et textes. Mélanges offerts à Raymond Jamous," 2008, http://ateliers.revues.org/index8215.html.

6. P. J. de Arriaga, "Extirpación de la idolatría del Perú," in *Crónicas peruanas de interés indígena* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1968 [1621]), 210–11.

7. P. Duviols, "Camaquen, upani: Un concept animiste des anciens Péruviens," in *Estudios americanistas*, 1, ed. R. Hartmann and U. Oberem (Homenaje a H. Trimborn: St. Augustin, coll. Institut d'anthropologie, 20, 1978), 135.

8. Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer Nueva corónica y buen gobierno.*

9. José María Arguedas, *Mitos, leyendas y cuentos peruanos* (Lima: Casa de la Cultura del Perú, 1970), 163.

10. Catherine Allen, "Body and Soul in Quechua Thought," *Journal of Latin American Lore* 8, no. 2 (1982): 179–96.

11. Molina el Cuzqueño, *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas*, vol. 1.

12. Leonardo Fioravanti, *Della fisica* (Venice: Zattoni, 1678).

13. Díaz del Castillo, *Historia de la Conquista de Nueva España*, 107

14. Antonio De Herrera, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de América*, vol. 37 (1601), 201–5.

15. This aspect of the belief in *pishtaku* is raised by Juan Ansión, *Desde el rincón de los muertos: El pensamiento mítico en Ayacucho* (Lima: GREDES, 1987), 176–77.

16. C. Salazar-Soler, "El pishtaku entre los campesinos y los mineros de Huancavelica." *Bulletin de Institut français d'études andines* 20, no. 1 (1991): 7–22.

17. All the figures of this anthology are represented in Otomi carnivals—the Otomi fear the industrialization of their fat when they travel to Mexico City.

Epilogue

Behind the sheen of costumes and enough incantations and ritual variants to make one's head spin, the reader might expect to discover a kind of black box or magical key to define the neo-Indians we have been studying throughout this ethnological journey from Mexico to Peru. Is there not at least a general definition? We would be the first to admit that there is no such thing as an "identikit" picture, even less so at a time when anthropology is trying to rid itself of its essentialist creed according to which Indians possess an immutable cultural specificity—a creed now being taken up by the very same actors we have been examining throughout this book! We shall now recapitulate the main stages of our itinerary and try to extract a few theoretical considerations.

Questions about the Method

We did not discover the universe of America's native populations through their neo-Indian exuberance but addressed the subject after prolonged professional contact with autochthonous communities with whom we have spent a great deal of time over the last forty years. Indeed, we never really left these communities and, in some ways, have remained faithful to them, as we have been carefully following the recent developments we have described and because we have never changed our approach. Unwilling to heed the new fashions in anthropology, supermodernity and the aesthetics of "non-places,"[1] we remained ethnologists attached to our field. The emergence of a "new subject" such as neo-Indianity did not modify our perspective; after a "global" journey, the category falls apart when various phenomena (which at first glance appear surprising and innovative) eventually bring us back to where we started—the Indian community.

We felt that our ethnographies were expressions of a culture "in the making." We wanted to seize the chance we were offered to watch it form right before us. Whereas Mexico's and Peru's indigenous societies, in their current

configurations, took four centuries to merge their pre-Hispanic heritage with Christian tradition, neo-Indian culture, on the other hand, is being shaped with the speed of today's means of communication. This significantly accelerates borrowings, cultural misunderstandings, and combinations of all kinds. We wanted to make the most of this frenzied pace to observe an ethnogenesis in progress. However, at the risk of making our reasoning cumbersome, we chose not to simplify matters, sticking to the facts and the incredible acceleration of History playing out right before our eyes. In addition, we have attempted to compare our experience in order to avoid two pitfalls: the danger of retreating into local and specific features for each of our fields, thus missing out on the discovery of similar examples of ethnogenesis, and the danger of diluting neo-Indianity in the elusive circle of the New Age and postmodernity. We also hoped to avoid either overemphasizing the differences between two separate trends or exaggerating their shared characteristics by considering them as mere products of an incoherent globalization.

Among Mexico's and Peru's divergences lies an asymmetry that we must constantly bear in mind; the neo-Aztec movement centered on the Zócalo does not have an equivalent in Lima, Peru's administrative capital, but in Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Incas and the new Incaism. However, this does not prevent Tahuantinsuyu's flag from flying over the Presidential Palace in Lima, next to the flag of the Republic of Peru. What is concentrated in a single site of historical reference in Peru is spread out between the capital ("neo-Indian" and national) and various "ethnic sites" in Mexico. One of the questions that remains unanswered concerns the lack of expansionism that seems to characterize neo-Incaism, despite the fact that imperialism was one of the essential features of the Inca state. Although the Inti Raymi has been picked up and copied by neighboring communities, the spread of neo-Inca exegeses is in no way reminiscent of the formidable expansion of Tahuantinsuyu. This discretion is even more surprising when one compares it with the mexicanidad's obsession with territorial expansion.

We have also noted major differences in the political dimension of the two neo-Indianities, their exegesis and their rapport with the history of nations and ideas. In Mexico, the cosmological speculations are supported by an Aztec-centered literature with topics that have been discussed on several occasions. Through a process of feedback, they fuel the exegesis of the ritualists, a phenomenon that scarcely occurs in Peru. This relationship to a new written tradition confers a striking contrast between the two cultural areas. This explains the difference of data and method in the analysis of Mexican and Andean ethnographies. One essential characteristic they share, however, directly concerns our approach: despite their claim to authenticity and autochthony, the self-proclaimed Mexicas and Incas have little in common with their

indigenous "brothers." Although they wrap themselves in autochthony as though it were the *tilma* (cape) of an Aztec priest, it is nothing but the deluded idea of a defunct Mexica or Inca society. On the contrary, modern Indian communities often have no choice for guaranteeing their children's future but to discard their traditional costume, language, and values in order to cross the invisible but well-guarded border separating them from the "people of reason," the mestizos.

National Figures of Autochthony

In Latin American republics, the actors (of European origin) responsible for inventing a national ideology are faced with the challenge of inventing a tradition of their own by appropriating something that does not belong to them. Where can they find a figure of autochthony when the Indian is despised and the figure of the Creole represents the colonial invader? How can they transform the radical otherness that the Indian world represents into a chapter of their own history? In Mexico, this difficulty is overcome by emphasizing the idea of a mixed-race Nation (the ideology taught in schools) whose roots are found on both sides of the Atlantic and nourished by indigenous and European influences. In this sense, both heritages are claimed without taking into consideration whether individuals belong to either the Caucasian or Amerindian genetic heritage; being Mexican means that, whatever one's ethnic background, one can lay claim to a share of the country's autochthonous heritage. In Peru, neither of the two cultures that spawn nationality in Mexico can serve the purpose of autochthony, which is incapable of assimilating the image of the mestizo, perceived as a bastard unfit for the role. With Independence, the Indian suffered a depreciation based on Darwin's evolutionism, whereas the white man was identified with the conquistadores. The only remaining option was to invent a myth—the myth of the imperial Inca Indian bearing no relation to either of the two unsuitable autochthonies. Thus the image of the State Indian was created, and his imperial language, rituals, and perfect state were invented.

In the process of national construction, the ideological choices of those who invented the image of the Indian relied on more "civilized" types, in other words, images of a people whose cultural achievements, ethics, and arts were endowed with great prestige. This enabled them to claim a level of development more or less reminiscent of the civilized societies of the Old World or China. There is an entire historical tradition in this vein; Joseph Lafiteau, Bernardino de Sahagún, Garcilaso de la Vega, and others, described indigenous political structures in terms borrowed from descriptions of the Old World and measured by the yardstick of European models. This is the case for both Aztec and Inca references in the national figures laid claim to in Mexico and Peru.

Paradoxically, however, in Mexico, these references are also associated with the negative image of the savage, primitive Indian emerging from the dawn of humanity. The concern, then, is no longer to demonstrate the continuity of a process of historical construction, the perfection of a work of civilization in the name of triumphant evolutionism, but instead to assume a legitimacy—the control of a territory—and therefore magnify the autochthony, confused with the rights of the first occupants. This choice imposes a genetic role upon the Indian in the process of national construction—the role of the primitive father, leaving other heroes the task of forming modern society and giving it its current profiles.[2]

In Peru, there is no such primitive ancestor at the start of a long civilizing journey as there is in Mexico. The imperial Indian is an eternal figure, appearing with the Incas without historical construction. Whether Manco Capac, the first Inca, emerged from Lake Titicaca with his sister-wife or whether he came out of the Pacariqtambo Caves with his three brothers, the prototype of the imperial Indian is not historicized through primitive ancestors. The nondiachronic nature of this fantasy imperialism is particularly surprising because the progression of the Inca Empire was basically territorial; in the course of a single century, its borders expanded from Cuzco to what is now Chile in the South and Ecuador in the North. Although this rapid and systematic conquest fascinates a great number of historians and archaeologists, it is not the subject of neo-Indian exegeses, as though the imperial Indian had always existed in the Andes, and is still present in neo-Inca iconography as well as in the national and even commercial imaginary, in superstore signs and brands such as Inca Kola.

These differences in the national constructions of autochthony can perhaps explain the surprising lack of relations between the figures they manipulate. The neo-Aztecs and the neo-Incas are in contact with the Tibetans, the Plains Indians, the Yoruba in Nigeria and the Celts, but oddly enough, there does not seem to be much communication between the two of them except through their common New Age background, shared through a concept of an "elsewhere" that seems to be the only thing uniting them. Although a globalized neotradition does indeed exist today, there does not appear to be a model of an imperial Indian common to both Andean and Mesoamerican areas.

Museums and the Reappropriation of the Past

Power struggles arise around anthropology museums between the state's academic anthropology and the neo-Indians who have no say in the management of these sites or their heritage, except when curators are consciously or unconsciously influenced by neo-Incaism, as they are in Cuzco. Neo-Indians consume nothing but imitations of

artifacts. At times, museographic objects are used as models in neo-Indian rituals; on the set of the Inti Raymi, several items of paraphernalia are simply enlarged versions of artifacts in the Archaeological Museum of Cuzco. However, the question of the neo-Indians' presence in these lieux de mémoire remains[3]—they worship emblematic objects such as the Aztec "calendar" in the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City, the goddess Coatlicue in the Templo Mayor Museum, or the vestiges of a fantasy Atacameña culture in the Le Paige Museum in San Pedro de Atacama, Chile.

Nevertheless, the issue of the patrimonialization and the historical permanence of original American cultures in a given area is the subject of bitter disputes between indigenous peoples and academics. In North America, members of Indian reservations take a very dim view of gringo archaeologists who attribute the ownership of artifacts found in the depths of the earth to populations other than those who live "above" them. In Peru, mummies discovered during archaeological excavations have sparked violent debates—are they the heritage of a common humanity, are they part of the national heritage, or are they autochthonous ancestors? The bodies regularly uncovered in the desert on the coast of Peru impudently confuse the nation's Indian iconography. When Señor de Sipán was discovered lavishly buried among his servants in 1987 in the north of Chiclayo, he was treated as an imperial Indian even though he was a Mochica rather than Inca ruler; when he was returned from the United States, the president of the Republic traveled to the airport to receive him, and Señor de Sipán was Peru's ambassador in Seville during the Universal Exposition to mark the Fifth Centenary of the discovery of America. A pharaonic museum, inaugurated in 2002, was built along the lines of a Mochica pyramid to house him, and he is venerated here. But how can the mummies that are neither imperial nor State Indians and that lie around in the desert sands of the north coast or in the dusty showcases of museums be incorporated into the memory of the Peruvian Nation? A few years ago, when a genuine burial site was discovered under the shantytowns of Rímac, the inhabitants rallied to defy the archaeologists and keep their ancestors, either to honor them or to sell them. The people from the Chancay region found an original way to give value to their mummies while still globalizing them. Once looters had cleared the desert of desiccated corpses shrouded in miles of strips of cotton, the pre-Hispanic textile was recycled. In Chancay, dolls are now made of this prestigious textile to resemble the ones found next to the ancestors' mummies, and are sold not only in Peru but also in Ecuador, and even in European cities. The buyer thus acquires an object that is pre-Hispanic in its material, contemporary in its manufacturing, and globalized in its distribution. Nevertheless, the doll retains an eminently local and even sacred nature, as the cloth from which it is made comes from the ultimate clothing of an Amerindian ancestor.

The neo-Indians' rapport with museums can be observed in the way in which their paraphernalia and costumes are presented in an archetypal form. The current "Hollywood" style of the conchero dance is, therefore, totally in tune with the visual glorification of the imperial Indian. It emerged in Mexico in the eighteenth century and serves as a showcase for standard Indianity, combining local and European beliefs in one and the same ritual. More than other dances, the imagery in the dance of the conchero is directly in line with the Aztecizing message of the neo-Indians, while its colonial form is disappearing. It is no accident that the sites chosen for its performance are Mexico City's Zócalo and the National Museum of Anthropology, outside the sacred perimeter of the building. Every day of the year, the extravagant spectacle of the triumphant state's Indianism is performed there for all to see. The museum allows one to plunge into the hold of this ship recounting the tale of the Amerindian odyssey, but outside, one is immediately assailed by other performances: at this magnetic site of anthropological tourism, people can gaze at the feathered choreography of the concheros and, just a few feet away, watch the Totonac *voladores* in a scenography identical to the one recorded in the Aztec codices, as, attached by the waist, they throw themselves into the void and twirl to the ground from the top of a cosmic mast—which, these days, is made from an oil pipeline donated by PEMEX, the national oil company.

Neo-Indian Territories

The appropriation of national stereotypes and the dynamics of founding images are all the more necessary for nations in which neo-Indianity is developing since the issue of borders remains crucial everywhere: there are conflicts between Chile and Argentina, Ecuador and Peru, Bolivia and Chile, El Salvador and Honduras, Mexico and the United States . . . It is interesting to look at the national exploitation of the image of the Indian despite the fact that the indigenous space never coincides with the territory of each republic. Indeed, the dominant figure of identity may belong to an ethnic group whose boundaries are limited to only a part of the republic, as is the case for the Aztecs. Conversely, the territory of an ethnic group may stretch across several countries as it does for the Aymara, who lay claim to land in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. The Maya of the lowlands, on the other hand, are used to invent national images in Guatemala and Yucatán as well as in Honduras. The same country may include within its borders highly contrasting images of Indians, as is seen in Ecuador, with the Quechua Indian versus the Achuar Indian of the Amazonian rainforest. In a country such as Peru, only the Indian of the highlands has succeeded in supplying a national image (via the State Indian), leaving in the shadows the "savage" of the

tropical lowlands, who is referred to as "natural." And, of course, the North American kaleidoscope has a parade of antithetic figures ranging from the brave buffalo hunter (the Indian of the plains) to the pacifist sedentary farmer (Pueblo), and so on.[4]

The Indian issue cannot be dissociated from the dispute about the Nation's territorial boundaries. The Achuar, who are caught up in the conflict between Peru and Ecuador, recently found themselves divided into two camps that sometimes tallied with their traditional divisions. The Indian, therefore, is not only used to conceive an identity and an order from within, but also to register differences with regard to their neighbors, that is, their enemies, as if the Nation were using a tribal mode to manage political violence.

The Aztec Empire called upon by Mexican neo-Indians was motivated by a dynamic of territorial conquest and the control of tributes for the imperial bureaucracy. The opposition between the center (Mexico City / Tenochtitlan) and the outlying areas has become topical once again with the new political mythology of Aztlan. The process of reconquista is not merely ideological—it is also territorial as it adds Aztlan (in the sense retained by the chicano movement) to the rediscovered Anahuac—in other words, all the states of the American Southwest. This movement enables us to go back in time and follow what is, in fact, one and the same civilization project. This involves nothing less than reestablishing imaginary imperial borders that are more or less extendable. This can be the Anahuac valley, where Mexico City lies, or the area that appears on the logo of the review *Izkalotl*, an area stretching from the Californian border to the Isthmus of Panama. It is above all an inner journey to find one's roots and, in the reconquest of Aztlan, to forge connections between radical mexicanistas and chicanos. For the latter, this represents a political slogan in the conquest of new rights for the Spanish-speaking minorities of the American Southwest.[5]

The same cultural field is sometimes claimed by two neighboring nations, as shown by the semantic dispute over the definition of the American Southwest, reflecting the dominating power of the United States over its neighbor, and its anthropology imposing its national terminology. Why not retain "Norte de México," as in the nineteenth century it was a single region before the United States annexed the northern half of Mexico? It is odd that, on the one hand, the term "Southwest" refers to the states of Sonora and Chihuahua, and on the other, that certain parts of the region are Hispanicized, for example, in the South of Arizona; at James Griffith's instigation, the term Pimería (initially coined by the first Spanish explorers) is again being used to designate the area from the Sonoran Desert to the region of Tucson.[6]

The Indian, therefore, is often used to serve an implicitly expansionist aim, or one that has expansionist tendencies, at least. He is, then, a scout establishing a protective glaze around the national identity. In the Andes, on the contrary, the Indian calls into

question the country's unity. The Aymara *nación* is currently contesting the borders of the three Andean Nations (Bolivia, Peru, and Chile) across which its territory stretches. It is odd, however, that they use a colonial category (which at the time designated an ethnic group in the framework of the viceroyalty) to claim a pre-Hispanic identity based on an anticolonial principle. They are demanding the autochthony of an Aymara Nation that extends over three countries that regularly clash over the question of Bolivia's access to the sea. By the same logic, the Aymara contest the image of autochthony offered by the imperial Indian, asserting their resistance to the Inca state and promoting a somewhat anarchist figure of freedom devised by intellectuals and recuperated by Indianist movements.[7]

But What About the "Real" Indians?

As we have pointed out several times, the neo-Indians have an ambivalent relationship with authentic Indians, but they cannot exist without them. Neo-Indian ideology relies on the presence of this population of several million people whose cultural survival marks, to a certain extent, the defeat of the West, and whose lifestyle, beyond the obliging clichés of marketable exoticism, remains marked by precariousness and deprivation, an oppressive poverty and derelict state, in a climate of extreme violence. For this reason, affiliation to the neo-Indian group is not through impregnation or osmosis with an autochthonous, living culture.

We should bear in mind that most Mesoamerican and Andean groups arouse very little interest in the neo-Indians; in the rituals and literature of the mexicanistas, in particular, there is no reference to Mixe cosmology or Pame or Tepehua conceptions of death. Cuzco's neomystics are only interested in Indian rituals because they permeate the Andean landscape with the energy of their Inca ancestors. Their interest lies above all in telluric geography rather than in an ethnological quest.

In Mexico it would be easy to learn Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, and Quechua in Peru, which is still spoken by millions of people in Indian villages and elevated to the rank of koine, the language of civilization, by the neo-Indians. But the latter only use it in a confidential way, retaining just a few magic formulas said to have a performative, incantatory value, at the beginning of the cosmic dance or during a shamanic cure, for example. The same goes for Maya in its different variants, a language spoken widely throughout the Yucatán Peninsula, in Mexico, in the Chiapas highlands, Guatemala, and Belize, including by the mestizos. However, it is only taught in calmecac, ideological and linguistic training centers, and like the Quechua of the neo-Incas, it is purged of its Indian impurities by an academy that is manufacturing a language that is less and less recognizable to the people in Indian com-

munities. Ultimately, Spanish, the language of the oppressors, remains the language in which most communication takes place. Neomystic Inca formulas are invented in Quechua and then translated into English, but more often than not, discussions about these notions and their American equivalents are held in Spanish.

A new factor has now come into play for our informants, as Western tourism is beginning to impose its models of Indianity almost everywhere, to which the indigenous people strive to conform. The "neo-Indianization" of Mesoamerican and Andean communities is under way, according to behaviors invented in New Tenochtitlan or Machu Picchu. These incipient forms of "mystic tourism" were set up decades ago in the wake of the hippy movement, but these limited experiences did not really concern the core of the Indian world. The bark paper made by the San Pablito Otomi, decorated with motifs of birds, adorned dining rooms in Toulouse and Frankfurt; nevertheless it retained its therapeutic and witchcraft vocation in the form of *ídolos*. The compartmentalization between the two uses of native artifacts is fairly well maintained despite the fact that the village has become a shamanic pilgrimage site for tourists seeking "profound symbolism." A consecrated cloth (unkuña) purchased in Cuzco does not differ much from those that Q'ero shamans use as ritual tables in Cuzco's hotels. Their ritual speech is "translated" directly into English by paid middlemen. However, these activities are no obstacle to making offerings to the gods of the mountains when the shamans return to their communities, and they distinguish very clearly between offerings to Mother Earth and pagos to Pachamama.

The percolation of New Age ideology into these new forms of Indian spirituality is beginning to blur the fairly stable image of a fracture between a very real Indian world and a fantasy image built to suit the preoccupations of the children of the age of globalization. Although at first we may have thought that their cultural aspirations consisted merely of cladding ethnic materials with European concepts, the impact is such that the Indians are now also in the process of becoming New Age consumers. As well as trading with local gods, Q'ero shamans (reputedly the most Inca in the entire region) also make business trips to California. Those who swore in Alejandro Toledo as president of the Republic on Machu Picchu returned to their community the next day in trucks or on foot. One of them was then invited to the inauguration of the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC, where he made an offering to Mother Earth for the prosperity of the establishment with the rector of the University of Cuzco, who has become a shaman. The rector, an anthropologist, thus found himself among his North American university colleagues accompanied by one of his fellow Andean shamans. Who, then, is the neo-Indian, and who the "real" Indian? Although perhaps a neo-Indian, the rector rightly proclaims his Cuzquenian

family roots, and everyone knows that in the local imagination, all Cuzqueños are Incas. As for the shaman who came to Washington, DC, from his community, he was, without a doubt, a "real" Indian and a "real" shaman. But he is now taking part in a culture that far exceeds his Ocongate community to which he returned after his trip to Washington, DC, just as he did after the president's inaugural ceremony at Machu Picchu. At the foot of Ausangate, the most venerated peak in south Peru, he carried out the supposedly Andean funerals of mummies returned by the National Museum of the American Indian, corpses that probably had no connection with this particular mountain deity. The god Ausangate has thus entered into neo-Indianity, along with the shaman who nourished him and who buried the remains of the "ancestors" at his foot.

Real Indians are thus called upon to follow this route via a fantasy Indianity, but they would never have stopped being "authentic" if the history of the New World had been written differently. Today, Aztec, Maya, or Inca descendants stand shoulder to shoulder with people who are not in the slightest Amerindian, whose pale skin betrays their Caucasian origins—even though among these actors we find the most passionate partisans of the return to the origins, the preestablished harmony of the Mexica and Inca world. But neo-Indian priests are not put off by contradictions such as these.

There is no doubt that the phenomenon of such borrowings is a historicocultural constant that began even before the Conquest. The Westernization of Amerindian societies has invaded every sector of their social organization, and the new messages from the New Age are swallowed up and exploited "from within" by the "real" Indians, as has already happened in the esoteric religions and sects that are proliferating in urban areas. However, based on our experience in the field in Indian communities, we believe that there is a base that resists superficial transformations (called a cosmovisión in Mexican and Peruvian anthropology), that reshapes norms and values from the West. We have given some striking examples from the Andean and Mesoamerican areas that show the relevance of this worldview, which literally gets under one's skin, especially through local theories of sacrifice.

Although they still emerge from under the cover of Christianity, these worldviews from the rank-and-file Indian communities nevertheless guarantee the social cohesion of these small, discreet worlds where the language of the ancestors is still spoken. Far from the bombastic declamations of New Tenochtitlan or Cuzco priests, they guarantee (but for how long?) the continuity of the same order of civilization as the one whose demise is being accelerated by the very people who claim to represent it in an "ethnic" way.

This being so (and once again, it is because of our professional experience that we diverge from the sociological doxa of the New Age), we demonstrate the constant

elements on one side, but also the regional and local variations on the other. In the same way that historians of the New World have compared the symbolic affinities of autochthonous ideologies and the Christian religion for objects and artifacts as well as rituals (the Day of the Dead, confession, agrarian rites, etc.), we should stress the extreme flexibility of neo-Indian assumptions that offer an ideological platform now likely to be adapted by rank-and-file Indian communities. It would be absurd to reduce the Indian world to some sort of virgin clay onto which the standard cultural model of the New Age can be imprinted. Television and the Internet make the process even more complicated, and the impact of mass media on yesteryear's America can only be measured case by case.

Consumers of Neo-Indianity

For decades, neo-Indianity has been attracting visitors seeking mystic experiences to give meaning to their lives. Castañeda's book served as an introductory guide for these tourists of "the Beyond," so different from today's consumers of vibrations and energy at pre-Hispanic sites such as Teotihuacan or Machu Picchu, where an imperial ideology is being constructed—this is the main focus of our research.

However, increasingly often at certain "sacred" sites, Western disciples of altered states of consciousness are attending neo-Indian ceremonies and even taking part in them. Although in Mexico City itself, the quest for vibrations occurs without Castañeda-type initiation experiences, the movement is already under way at some Maya sites where archaeological tourism, seaside vacations, and the quest for vibrations intermingle during the equinox rites. On Machu Picchu, the fusion between techniques to experience ecstasy and the quest for energies is even more marked and, as part of the package, Cuzco tour operators offer initiations into hallucinogenic plants such as ayahuasca or San Pedro in addition to the quest for Incaist vibrations. For this reason, none of the typologies for mystic tourism seems satisfactory to us, as all these practices interpenetrate and counterexamples prevent any formal compartmentalization. Above all, in order to understand neoshamanism and explain its underlying ideas, one has to avoid the trap of universalizing sociological explanations whereby the emergence of the neo-Indians is nothing but a simple effect (on a planetary scale) of postmodern culture and globalization in which all local cultural references have been washed away in an ethnic washing machine, as it were. We would like to demonstrate the opposite, particularly by emphasizing the huge weight of history peculiar to each of these Indian societies. This forces us to refuse excessive simplifications that would result in a defeat of anthropology.

There is a major difference between a fundamentally urban trend of shamanic practices and their equivalent forms in local communities. The initiation rituals in which Western tourists participate with ethnic shamans go through direct intercessions to deities that are part of local pantheons of pre-Hispanic and colonial origin, whereas neo-Indian practices are part of imperial pantheons that are, in a way, also national ones.[8] Moreover, the quest for altered states of consciousness—whether from ayahuasca in the Peruvian Amazon, peyote with the Huichol, or Psilocybes with the Huautla Mazatecs—is not part of the neo-Indian approach, which is based on an "imperial cosmology." This is why we have underscored the boundaries between these two spheres. Nevertheless, it goes without saying that the neoshamanic dynamic tends to blur the boundaries between the two currents that, in the beginning, were totally distinct. In its infancy in the 1970s, seeking vibrations at archaeological sites had nothing to do with mystic journeys using psychotropic substances. And yet . . . Huichol shamans are starting to appear in Teotihuacan, and their Q'ero colleagues officiate on Machu Picchu.

Little by little, a fundamental misunderstanding is arising between the neo-Indians and their mystic consumers: whereas the neo-Indians tend to reveal the secrets of the ancient culture that they claim to know through the baroque exegeses they constantly produce, their customers feed upon the mystery in which they shroud the past and the sites they visit to receive energy. Whereas the neo-Indians decipher pre-Hispanic ruins in the light of the New Age, the Children of Aquarius, on the other hand, are avid for the secrets they conceal, even going so far as to feign ignorance in order to gain access to the vibratory thrill of the neo-Indian ancestors. Faced with the certitudes of the mystic tour operators about the nature of the energies inhabiting the sites, they now tend to call upon archaeologists, whose lack of certitudes seems to give them greater satisfaction.

In a way, this taste for the secret brings them closer to the Indians in the communities. Andean rites are shrouded in the mystery of the gods through the minimalism of the paraphernalia, the sobriety of the motions, and the extremely abridged speeches. The neoritualists, on the contrary, exaggerate every gesture, embellishing the bloodiness of sacrifices and pontificating supplications to the gods. The best example is the way in which Andean pagos have evolved. Traditionally, offerings to the mountain peaks were characterized by a certain frugality in proportion to the dignity of the gods being called upon, but now they are treated as superstars and their convocation at ritual tables in neostyle has taken on a melodramatic dimension. A decade or so ago, it was not so easy to get a llama fetus for an urgent sacrifice for a desperate cause; one had to use kinship ties now in shambles. Nowadays, traditional medicine stands display whole batches of them—llama and pig fetuses are laid out haphazardly, on

sale for the new market in magic. Fresh deliveries are advertised, and for extra effect, they are displayed among stuffed condors, which have never played a role in ritual offerings.

Demand is developing in the opposite direction, however. New Age mystics, Quechua and Aymara patients, and, more generally, consumers of shamanism are increasingly seeking all that is secret; in their minds, mystery is more effective if it is difficult to penetrate. This misunderstanding is productive for everyone—new enigmas open up to gullible disciples of neo-Indianity, and the vendors of secrets are experiencing a boom. But in the long term, how will this supply be managed in opposition to demand? Will the neo-Indians be able to invent mysteries in response to the infinite Western quest for the unknown?

Globalization and Local Specificities

The neo-Indian path is firmly rooted in the context and moment of globalization. It is tempting to account for the new cultural identities we see emerging throughout the world in terms of mass movements on the one hand and private makeshift jobs on the other. What exactly are we witnessing? The personalized organization of a cultural identity based on elements from diverse sources, and therefore a conscious approach, and at the same time, a tribal kind of claim with more than a hint of eugenics. With regard to ethnographic societies, there are two fundamental differences.

The first is above all the unconscious nature of the traditional transmission of knowledge as the community's heritage, onto which inventions and borrowings are tacked. For the neo-Indians, this is a "part-time" culture, an "added value," as one could describe alternative movements in Europe, cultural ghettos, squatters, and so on. The second is that the great gamble of the neo-Indian way of thinking consists of creating a single philosophy shared by all Amerindian societies, not linked to a common destiny forged in resistance to the European invaders, but instead a shared veneration of Nature, a shared rapport with the environment. It is not hard to guess how this manifests itself: in territory, borders, the surrounding environment, contamination, conserving resources, sustainable development, and sacred spaces. This approach is dominated by the quest for "harmony" that allows for any conceivable affiliation to Eastern philosophies and from whence emerges the monstrous figure of Mother Earth/Coatlicue/Pachamama—a spiritual skin enveloping a motley crew of deities. The neo-Indians satisfy the current ritual demand by totally decontaminating the concepts. Obviously, this approach ignores the violence that used to accompany the invocation of the great deities of the past that the neo-Indians claim to represent. In fact, in comparison to traditional Indian communities, in neo-

Indian ritual practices, there are no ideological constructions maintaining the social edifice, namely, debt, sacrifice, gift, duty, and cooperation.

Neo-Indianity "à la carte"

The specificity of the neo-Indians, however, is not so much that they live in a global environment, but rather that within this environment, they open the way to made-to-measure expressions of their identity or religious practices. It is not surprising, therefore, that we can observe an ideological and symbolic overlap between Christian practices celebrating saints and neo-Indian experiences. This can be seen not only in the fervor of celebrations for local patron saints but also in beliefs about the Devil with undeniable correspondences with religious representations of pre-Hispanic origin.[9] The vast majority of neo-Indian practitioners are Christian and remain so, to the extent of overcoming a taboo, in other words, recognizing the fact, expressed by one of them: "We are all Catholics." For the ideologists of the MCRA, "one can speak of the goodness of the Mexica religion without believing that it is offensive to one's own religion."[10] Only a few radical militants reject this affiliation, or claim a "syncretism with the cosmic religions" in which Mother Earth and the Virgin of Guadalupe blend into one.[11] In the same way, Christian and pre-Hispanic deities are merged in neo-Indian ritual circuits in Cuzco. Thus a halt to worship Taytacha Temblores, the Christ of Cuzco's cathedral, precedes the picking up of vibrations at the ruins of Sacsayhuaman, and the pilgrimage to Qoyllurit'i (where both Christ and Colqepunku, the god of the peak, are worshipped) has become a pinnacle of the neo-Inca cult.

Neo-Indian ideology is first and foremost part of alternative forms of religions of substitution. Unlike Mesoamerican and Andean communities in which the material environment, social morphology, shamanic system, and rituals are in tune by virtue of a single historicocultural logic, for the neo-Indians, there is a rigorous division between, on the one hand, a Western lifestyle and, on the other, an ideology that is not inherited but consciously manufactured from bits and pieces. One cannot be a full-time neo-Indian, only during festive or proselytizing activities. Neo-Indian practices are tacked on to other daily activities and are negotiated in different facets—choreographic, therapeutic, economic, political, and even for advertising.

We should perhaps stop talking of a new religious doctrine and instead describe it as an alternative mode of belief that does not require the earlier one to disappear, in other words, the Christian religion combined with paganism. We are now in an incipient phase of emergence, consolidation, and adaptation to modern lifestyles. Just as in the United States, certain Indian rituals have been moved to the weekend so that participants with jobs can attend, neo-Indianity is experienced as the

extension of a system of beliefs in accordance with political, identity-based, and even ecological demands. Our fieldwork has led us to bring to light the fact that Indian cosmovisiones today display a multilayered structure, like Lévi-Strauss's myths, and are expressed in a very different way in time and space. This is how, after a long period of drought, for example, practices can reemerge that we imagined were buried in the sands of collective amnesia.

From the point of view of those involved, the main characteristic of this neo-Indian ideology is the possibility, on a personal level, of devising a religion "à la carte," characterized by the absence of any orthodoxy. Individuals do not mimetically apply a dogma; rituals are not the putting into practice of a set canon, and the priesthood has an educational role rather than a supernatural dimension. It is true, however, that there exist major figures that some schools of thought claim to represent. The Inti Raymi thus bears an "Inca historical epic" scenography, which is now reproduced with variants by the isolated communities of the Cordillera to celebrate not the Sun (a deity foreign to their culture) but the Earth, on whom their survival depends. Notwithstanding, improvisation is the guiding reference for all these movements. One could even say that the link between all these experiences is, in fact, the surprise effect—and this is not a paradox.

The Issue at Stake: Memory

The neo-Indian movement is an indicator of a phenomenon of cultural invention that can be observed in other parts of the Western world. It is the product of the return to one's roots that has marked the last half century, in a discreet form, either personal or collective, and is visible in the revival of European regionalisms, whether Basque, Breton, Galician or Savoyard, both in the region itself and from a distance. Above all, this involves restoring and reappropriating signs of autochthony (language, costume, music, etc.) on the part of migrants who are now established in the urban world. This approach fits in with the neo-Indian field except that here this anamnesis does not necessarily involve cultural elements that belong to the specific history of each individual. For the neo-Indians, there is no need for any genealogical search for the mysterious paths that seal the union of generations through History. Their approach does not consist of exploring particular communities or villages to which they feel connected through patrimonial ties, but instead a civilization in its entirety.

In both Mexico and Peru, the dilution of autochthony in this great ensemble erases any "ethnic" differences within the movement. It is clear that among the neo-Indian actors of central Mexico or Cuzco, many originate from these regions. However, others are from linguistic or cultural areas that are never mentioned. Whether or not

they vanished for economic reasons during migrations, these ethnic affiliations are not relevant from the point of view of claiming an identity. The neo-Indians are not seeking to promote cultural minorities but merely, according to their own terms, "to restore" a civilization area that was ruled by the Aztecs or the Incas and that served as a framework for an abundance of minority cultures under their domination, as though a Celtic movement now preached the restoration of the Roman Empire. There is nothing surprising about this approach. It is also present in Anglo-Saxon North America, where a pan-Indian religion also holds sway to a backdrop of the culture of the Plains Indians, including populations located outside of this area, to the detriment of small societies that are also seeking—but less vocally—recognition of their specificity. The spectacular powwows are the most striking expression of this semiotic "cobbling together," where Indians parade in Algonquin moccasins, Sioux tunics, Navaho jewelry, and Cheyenne headdresses. This confusing situation is less ambiguous in the Maya area, particularly in Yucatán, where neo-Indianity has no difficulty in tracing a direct link with the peninsula's autochthonous populations, who are all of Maya origin. This does not, however, prevent them from borrowing references from the classics of neo-Aztec literature to back up their ritual exegeses . . . In the Andes, the neo-Aymara movement follows a similar evolution, but in an even more complex context. The official policy of President Evo Morales supports Indian identities without linking them to the neo-Indian phenomenon, which he prefers to ignore.

At the moment, Indian memory is caught in a confrontation between two perspectives: on the one hand, the state's ideologists fabricate a national history on the basis of an indigenous past. This is shaped as "prehistory," with a succession of events paving the way toward a "civilized history," meaning the history of the Creole elite. Thus the paradox emerges of an official history that cannot totally identify with the history of the indigenous peoples (since it is usually written by people who are not indigenous), just as it cannot completely identify with the history of the colonial powers whose domination was violently rejected during the Wars of Independence. On close examination, the situation is infinitely more complex because this rejection of Europe as an authoritative power goes hand in hand with a boundless admiration for its culture and technological accomplishments and an unresolved disparagement of the Indian past.

On the other hand, the Indians are now writing their own history—no longer the history of the neo-Indians, which is dramatized to cosmic dimensions in ritual performances, mixing temporalities and events in a "building-block" fashion without any respect for a European-type diachrony—but instead a militant history within the field of Western history to challenge its interpretations of events linked to the Conquest. This is what Indian movements such as the Zapatistas in the southern

Mexico and the Aymara in Bolivian and Amazonian federations are now putting into practice.

In Mexico, the status of "indigenous intellectual" that these movements produce remains very controversial, even within the autochthonous groups in which the Indian anthropologist is a social actor at the service of the community.[12] In Peru, the condition of the neo-Indian would seem to be less troubled. Here, as we have seen, one can have a shamanic table to make offerings to the gods at the same time as holding a chair of anthropology at the University of Cuzco. The rector of the university now sacrifices a llama every year at the beginning of August, when the Earth "opens up." There is nothing secret about this extraordinary event celebrated in Cuzco's stadium, as it is the object of a religious cargo—formal invitations are sent to the most prestigious guests, and the press celebrates the event.

The Neo-Indian movement offers a third path that is currently flourishing. In Mexico and Peru, neo-Indianity does not promote cultural relativism; it is not used to express differences in this era of globalization. On the contrary, it is the expression of an elitist conception that ignores the autochthony of all the societies to which anthropologists, through their work, confer the same dignity as they do to the prestigious Aztec, Maya, or Inca Empires. Everything suggests that neo-Indianity uses the return to one's roots only as a vague discourse to reach the widest possible audience. Its subliminal message implies the confrontation between two empires, the evil, violent empire of the colonialist West, and the peaceful empire of Amerindian autochthony that was capable of creating a civilization extending from one end of the continent to the other.

The neo-Indians' position as consumers of autochthonous traditions purged of colonial dross is not specifically American. It is characteristic of phenomena seen in other parts of the world, and this leads to echo effects. Today there are very few international "ethnic" conferences and esoteric symposiums that do not invite to the same table practitioners from all continents, whether they are shamans, lamas, griots, or *pais de santo* (fathers of saints), as has been happening in Mexico City and Cuzco for several years. This nascent international movement gives neo-Indianity legitimacy in the media. Here, once again, the "ecumenism without borders" of the neo-Indian doctrines is both the consequence and the raison d'être of this breathless communion with the most active religious esotericism on the planet.

Notes

1. Marc Augé, *Non-lieux: Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1992).

2. Toponymy in Mexico remains faithful to pre-Hispanic names, even though a saint's name has been added to the old toponym of each village.

3. Galinier and Molinié, "Le crépuscule des lieux."

4. Paraguay is the most fascinating case of all because a single ethnic group (the Guaraní) monopolizes the role of the Nation's autochthonous representative. Furthermore, it is the only South American country where a native language is granted the dignity of being the national language, in competition with Spanish, and where (and this is also exceptional) the nonindigenous population is able to express itself in the vernacular.

5. In fact, Spanish is now the second-most-spoken language in California.

6. James Griffith, *Beliefs and Holy Places: A Spiritual Geography of the Pimeria Alta* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993).

7. "The last time that the Aymara were truly free was before their incorporation into the Inca State around 1450" ("La última vez que los Aymara fueron verdaderamente libres fue antes de su incorporación en el estado Inka, alrededor del año 1450 de la era cristiana"). John Murra, "El Aymara libre de ayer," in *Raíces de América: El mundo Aymara*, ed. Xavier Albó (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988).

8. Magali Demanget, "Reconstruction of the Shamanic Space and Mystical Tourism in the Mazatec Region (Mexico)," in *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses*, ed. Henri-Paul Francfort and Roberte Hamayon (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2001), 305–30.

9. Félix Báez-Jorge, *Los disfraces del diablo: Ensayo sobre la reinterpretación de la noción cristiana del mal en Mesoamérica* (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2003).

10. *Izkalotl*, November 1993.

11. Some even believe that Christ was born at the beginning of December, but that the date of December 24 was chosen to fit in with Mexica winter solstice celebrations. *Izkalotl*, August 1997.

12. Miguel Alberto Bartolomé, "Las palabras de los otros: La antropología escrita por indígenas en Oaxaca," *Anuario Antropológico* 7 (2001): 45–46.

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