

Lo Andino: integrating Stadel's views into the larger Andean identity paradox for sustainability

Fausto O. Sarmiento

The chapter stems from a long-cherished topic of Christoph Stadel's: *Lo Andino*. He often presented his work in Latin America, where he was a sought after speaker, for instance at each of the five Andean Mountains Association's International Symposia. I met him there, in the Bolivian highlands, only to cross his paths again in various other fora. In this paper I seek to integrate new developments on Andean identity approaches to understand the paradox of mountain sustainability. I have developed an onomastic approach to understand the word Andes that leads to the description of language hegemony and a mixed identity of the people in the tropical Andes. How to combine such a diversity of elements into one coherent image of Andean identity? My response to this question is the trilemma for geo-eco-cultural identity, which explores not only physical, mental or spiritual traits but also emergent properties that help to define what Andean really means.

Keywords: Andes, andeanity, andeaness, andeanitude, onomastics

Lo Andino: Integration von Stadels Sicht in ein erweitertes Paradoxon der andinen Identität im Hinblick auf Nachhaltigkeit

Dieses Kapitel hat seinen Ursprung in einem beliebten Thema von Christoph Stadel: *Lo Andino*. Er trug seine Arbeiten oft in Lateinamerika vor, wo er ein gesuchter Sprecher war, so in allen fünf internationalen Symposien der Andean Mountains Association. Ich traf ihn dort, in der Landschaft des bolivianischen Hochlandes, um dann in vielen anderen Foren mit ihm zusammenzutreffen. Ich versuche in diesem Artikel neue Entwicklungen des Konzeptes der andinen Identität zu integrieren, um das Wort „Anden“ zu verstehen. Dies führt zur Hegemonie der Sprachen und einer gemischten Identität der Menschen in den tropischen Anden. Wie kann man eine solche Vielfalt von Elementen in zu einem kohärenten Bild der andinen Identität zusammenführen? Ich antworte auf diese Frage, indem ich das Trilemma der geo-öko-kulturellen Identität entwickle, in dem nicht nur physische, mentale oder spirituelle Spuren verfolgt werden, sondern auch aufkommende Bedeutungsinhalte, die zu verstehen helfen, was das Andine wirklich ist.

Lo Andino: integración de la visión de Stadel en una paradoja ampliada de la identidad andina en materia de sustentabilidad

Este capítulo tiene su origen en un tema de gran interés para el profesor Dr. Christoph Stadel: *Lo Andino*. El presentó a menudo su trabajo en Latinoamérica, donde fue un apetecido orador en las cinco conferencias internacionales de la Asociación Andina de Montañas en las cuales participó. Aquí lo conocí, en el paisaje de las tierras altas bolivianas y luego en muchos otros foros donde compartimos. En este artículo, intento integrar nuevos desarrollos en los enfoques de la identidad Andina para entender la paradoja de la sustentabilidad de las montañas. En el artículo, desarrollo un enfoque onomástico para entender la palabra “Andes”, que conduce a la hegemonía de la lengua y a la identidad mixta de las personas en los Andes tropicales. ¿Cómo incluir una diversidad tan grande de elementos en una imagen coherente de identidad Andina?. Respondo a esta pregunta desarrollando el trilema de la identidad geográfica-ecológica-cultural, en el cual, no solo se analizan características físicas, mentales o espirituales, sino también las características emergentes que ayudan a definir mejor, que es *Lo Andino*.

1 Introduction

The questions on what to preserve and how to achieve sustainability are often linked to the polemic, often contested, realm of development theory in mountain areas, particularly in the era of economic and cultural globalization that homogenizes traits that were rare in the region in the recent past. In seeking to answer at least the two premises (nature conservation and community development), I look into the production of the term Andean in order to set the frame for a better construction of the identity required to deeply connect descriptors of the landscape of the Tropical Andes (Sarmiento 2012). There is no one specific name from the area's indigenous languages that can refer to this important cultural marker of identity. As if identity itself is not a product of the rich vocabulary in the vernacular. Hence, the skilful usage of the Spanish word *Lo Andino* to describe what could be characterized as typically from the Andes, becomes pertinent in scientific circles. As if for endemic biota, the use of the descriptor *Andean* was not enough. As if for localized groups, Andean could be too general of a term that reduces the emphasis of heterodox historical pathways in the cultural landscapes of the cordillera. This is the reason why I attempt to find a middle ground meaning to reconcile previous conceptions on what being Andean really is.

When editing a special issue on global environmental change in the Andes for the *Journal of Mountain Ecology* (Sarmiento 2008) I found that Stadel's contribution on vulnerability, resilience and adaptation, then the most overused descriptors for global change research, stood as one of the guiding principles for what many Andeanist geographers are now doing in relation to the study of environmental stresses from human impacts in the Andes (Stadel 2008). This paper, masterfully prepared for an experts' workshop of the Mountain Research Initiative (MRI) that took place in Mendoza, Argentina, had an epigraph with a quote from Daniel Gade's inspirational debunking of Nature and Culture in the Andes (Gade 1999):

"The most profound meaning of the Andes thus comes not from a physical description, but from the cultural outcome of 10 millennia of knowing, using, and transforming the varied environments of western South America"

The notion brought forth by Stadel on the antiquity of rural transformation in the Tropical Andes definitely collided with the traditional notions of wilderness that many conservationists still try to perpetuate when looking at isolated mountain grasslands or even at the cloud forest belt as it is often taken as the apex of biodiversity. Many of the works done in cultural geography have often avoided this uncomfortable dilemma: those pristine ecosystems also are a repository of ancient farming communities who have already experienced vulnerability, managed risks and overcame disasters. This paradoxical view is compounded by the prevalent view of the Pristine Myth, that along with the Humboldtian paradigm of altitudinal belts, equate mountains with their theoretical paragon of physical geography as the sole descriptor

of nature (Stadel 1991). It is indeed a paradigm that must be challenged (Sarmiento 2000) in light of a comprehensive understanding of the entire mountain landscape.

I argue here that Andean identity requires the assumption of a worldview that is not inherited from temperate zone views of Europeans or North Americans, but that is endogenous of the original people of the Andes, who still exhibit salient characteristics on three different levels: material, constructed and imagined. This coincides with what Stadel (1998) identified as important factors for indigenous empowerment vis-à-vis sustainable development in the Andes. The triad of identity assessment for an individual including body, mind and spirit at the corporal level, has been expanded by the Sarmiento trilemma of Andean geoecological identity to encompass the physical traits of *Andeanity*, the psychological traits of *Andeaness* and the ethical and mythical traits of *Andeanitude*. I will further demonstrate the need for retooling of the Andean geoecological identity paradigm to incorporate the notion of cultural landscape as the driving force in planning sustainable development scenarios. Finally, I will convey the trilemma as a tool to explain causation of unsustainable practices due to trifurcation of identity in the region.

2 Place name and identity in the Andes

Sometimes, inaccurate terms are erroneously taken for granted; often, popular beliefs generated with loaded words, or misnomers, affect public perceptions and even governmental policy – including nature conservation programs – that go misinformed from these inaccuracies and are prone to mistakes when designing and implementing development policy. In the Andes the contested meaning of a tropical mountain is salient descriptor for its determination of whether it is a molehill, a hillock, a dome, or a hill, bringing confusion. A local example from Ecuador is the contested term *mountain* in Spanish (*montaña*), to describe either the backyard arboreal growth, the massive hedgerows and thickets of the perimeter, or the secondary forest patches of lowland plains instead of the geological edifice or mount according to the specific region of the country (see Fig. 1).

As cultural geographers are seeking to assess the *essence of place* from the physical geographers *landscape character*, the subtleties of interpretation compound in clarifying cognate, often contested meanings of mountain narratives. In academic circles, therefore, astute neocolonial word usage in the Andes region reflected a metaphysical orientation (or ontology) that stimulated a trained meaning (or epistemology) that has been imposed unquestioned, often reinforced at the local level through Europhile educational systems, despite having clear ontological and epistemological faults (Debarbieux & Rudaz 2010) but reaffirmed by the public.

Similarly, misunderstanding Andean systems in our current technically-driven conservation approaches reflects the metageography of Empire (the so-called top-down approach) framing Andean identity – explained as *Lo andino* (Stadel 2001) and as transactions of *Andeanity*, *Andeaness* and *Andeanitude* – with exogenous de-



Fig. 1: The term montaña means something different to the people of El Toldo, in Ayabaca, northern Peru, and does not refer to the actual mountain, but to the secondary growth appearing between the properties in the tropical farmscape (Photograph by Xavier Viteri, March 2013)

scriptors that reaffirm Western principles onto vernacular mountain cultures in the midst of environmental conflict (Zimmerer 2009). Moreover, current invigorated indigenous themes in the Andes appraise the spatiality of colonial praxis maintained throughout rural areas with new optics for an orthogonal view. Because of these changes, old discourses related to biogeography and nature/society interface in the Andes now require a new narrative (Sundberg 2006; Brown et al 2007; Sarmiento & Frolich 2012). For Tropandean landscapes, a critical discourse analysis of ecological terminology reveals how mistaken assumptions justified past governmental programs and non-governmental conservation projects alike, prompting a paradigmatic shift at present.

3 The meaning of Andes (re)constructed.

Because of the difficulty to agree in only one descriptor of identity in the Andes (Seligman 1996), human geographers prefer to loosely use the Spanish adjective of “*lo Andino*” to qualify indicators of regional specificity (Stadel 1991; Gade 1999; Borsdorf & Stadel 2013). Ecologists, on the other hand, prefer to use *Andean* as a prefix of almost everything (e.g. Ellenberg 1979; Burger 1992) making it clear that whether using it as Spanish suffix or as English prefix, the idea of a unique identity in the Andes emerges as a noun and it is either swiftly constructed or urgently imag-



Fig. 2: Terracing system built with stone on precipitous terrain seems to be the most impressive feature recorded by the Spaniards who chronicled the discovery of the Inka Empire. Today most areas are ruined, with the stones spread over areas that have not been upkeep, losing the visual quality of terracing, such as this corn plantation in “la plaza del Inka” in Bellavista, near to Llamacanchi, Espíndola county, Loja, Ecuador (Photograph by Xavier Viteri, March 2013)

ined as an adverb or even as adjective. Often hidden, the faulty word choice forcefully used by conventional scientific educational and communication institutions builds a strong, yet mistaken, sense of identity of Andean people in a socioeconomic setting, that uses stereotypical views and appropriates foreign models on nature (Escobar 1999).

With the use of modern hermeneutics – analyses of written materials from historical sources and meanings – I claim that *Andes* denotes a human occupied mountainous terrain, an anthropogenic, cultural landscape where terracing is the most prominent feature. In the quest of finding the Andean identity, as a goal feverishly spoused by Stadel, I use the onomastics of the word *Andes*, which requires a review of the toponymy (place naming) and the etiology (meaning causation) required to inscribe the etymology (linguistic roots) of the word in the current lexicon to describe this part of the Americas cordillera. The term *Andes* was Castilian shorthand for *andenés* or *andenerías* (Markhan 2006). Andenes are known by the *Kichwa* word *Tsukri*. (see Fig. 2). It was because of archaic Castilian orthographic variants (c.f.: graphiosis) that incorporated *Kichwa*-based words in the hegemonic lexicon of colonial expansionism of Castilian terms, that language hegemony mistakenly proposed *Andes* to be rooted in *Kichwa*, alluding to a tribe who lived in the *Antisuyu* towards the East of Kutsku, the imperial capital. I should point that with the exploration and conquest of the New World, place naming was a practice that did not follow any sense. Early writers on the colonial reality of the region insisted on this trend:

“... *Ha sido costumbre muy ordinaria en estos descubrimientos del Nuevo Mundo poner nombres a las tierras y puertos, de la ocasión que se les ofrecía*...”
(Joseph de Acosta 1590. *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*. Cap. 13, p. 50)

Cursory research of the word in electronic search engines provides the same type of (mis)information that is still commonly found in old encyclopedias and (out)dated reference books. They have (re)iterated mistaken identity to have many wrongs converted into a right, as if were, such can be seen with the Wikipedia definition of Andes:

“... *derive of the quechua [sic] (ethnic group living in Peru and Bolivia)[sic], word “anti”[sic], during the Inca times [sic] the people who lived in the jungle were called “antis”[sic] and later the spanierds [sic] named the american [sic] largest [sic] mountain range [sic] “los andes”* (wiki.answers.com)

or a reiteration of mistakes found in the on-line etymology site for the word Andes:
“*from Quechua [sic] andi [sic] “high crest.”[sic]*” (etymonline.com)

The backronym *SIC* [*Scriptum In Context*] is listed within brackets for *intentionally so written*. Too many [sics] that could make the reader sick of not being able to capture these mistakes in almost every phrase, as follows:

- a) quechua or Quechua should be *Kichwa* (with the phonetic alphabet, as the *Ru-nashimi* or indigenous language is only a three-vocalic, non-written language, lacking Es and Os);
- b) the *Kichwa runakuna* not only live in Peru and Bolivia, but also in Ecuador, northern Chile and northern Argentina;
- c) *anti* or *andi* meant the direction East and not the high crest neither jungle peoples;
- d) *Inka* instead of Inca times is misleading, as they only have a few generations in power for just a few centuries;
- e) spanierds should be Spaniards;
- f) american should be Americas;
- g) largest is incorrect as it is made up of several ranges;
- h) mountain range should be cordillera.

The early references to the word *Andes* attributed this term to the writings of El Inca Garcilazo de la Vega, who wrote in the *second tome* of his “Royal Commentaries of the Incas” published in 1609:

“... *Llamaron a la parte del oriente Antisuyu, por una provincia llamada Anti que está al oriente, por la cual también llaman Anti a toda aquella gran cordillera de sierra nevada que pasa al oriente del Perú, por dar a entender que está al oriente...*”

(Garcilazo de la Vega, 1609. *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*. Libro II. Cap. XI. Pág. 37, frente)

This book produced in Spain based on memory by Garcilazo de la Vega, became popular mainly for the contribution of graphic explanations of traditional *Inka* terraces available later from *Waman Puma* Ayala and Fray Martín de Murúa's writings in his "Historia General del Piru" [sic] in 1616, and the Church's approval of these pious writings, this quotation from the second tome of Inca Garcilazo was used by many other writers that followed on the New World topic, as exemplified in the further explanation of mountain terminology provided by Bernabe Cobo's "History of the New World" of 1653:

"Los indios del Cusco y su comarca llaman con este nombre de yuncas a las tierras que caen a la parte oriental de la cordillera general que está en derecho de aquella ciudad, que es principalmente cierta provincia llamada Anti, de temple muy caliente y húmedo; de donde los españoles, extendiendo estos nombres a las sierras de la misma calidad, las llaman yuncas y Andes, corrompiendo el nombre de Anti; y a los naturales dellas denominan indios yuncas, a diferencia de los de la Sierra, a quienes llaman serranos..."

(Bernabe Cobo (1653). *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Capítulo VIII del Libro II. p 66.)

The actual description of the word used to refer to the mountains is rather found in the *first tome* of Garcilazo's Royal Commentaries of the Inca, where *Cordillera General* is the (in)determinate term for the mountain chain, with the snow-capped region listed as *Ritisuyu* which should be considered as the original (*Kichwa*) vernacular descriptor for the Andes:

"... Al levante tiene por término aquella nunca jamás pisada de hombres ni de animales ni de aves, inaccesible cordillera de nieves que corre desde Santa Marta hasta el Estrecho de Magallanes, que los indios llaman Ritisuyu, que es banda de nieves..."

(Garcilazo de la Vega, 1609. *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*. Libro I. Cap. VIII. pág. 7.)

Place naming of the region has a curious omission from historical accounts; the *Kichwa* term *Ritisuyu* (towards the snow) that was applied to the snow-covered highlands, for some reason was not used by linguists investigating the exegesis of Andes, despite being exhibited in the Inca Garcilazo's First Volume, not the second!

4 Hegemony and identity

A plea to restore vernacular descriptors uses toponymy and onomatopoeia to bring political recognition and invigorate stronger mountain communities proud of their indigenous heritage. Switching from imperial, imposed foreign names with Castilianized orthography to vernacular *Kichwa* appellations will help find a better *sense of place* as requested by mountain communities themselves and many scholars, in-

cluding Stadel. With this reasoning, Inca or *Inka* should be pronounced *Ynga*; Yunca should be pronounced *Yunga*; Mt Chimborazo should be (re)named *Chimburasu*; Mt Cotopaxi should be *Kutupachi*; Mt Cayambe should be *Mt Kayampi* and the word *Páramo* should be *paramuna*. In several communities this change is already the case, albeit syncretism has taken place: for instance, instead of the name of the Interandean town of *Kunukutu*, the name stands as *San Pedro de Conocoto*. In some cases, mistaken etymology has been duly corrected: in the transandean piedmont, the territory formerly known as *Santo Domingo de los Colorados*, is now officially known as the province of *Santo Domingo de los Tsachila*. In the cisandean piedmont, the word *Jíbaro* no longer refers to the *Shwar* or the *Achwar*, just as the Castilianized pejorative word *Auca* no longer describes the *Waorani* of Ecuadorian Amazonia. It would be ideal to reinvigorate local culture by onomastic updates, bringing back the original, vernacular name with ecological or geographical meaning, to curve the imposition of the politics of translation of Roman Catholics and language hegemony of military and (neo)colonial influence. This change has occurred already in the *Imbabura* province, Ecuador, where the old name of *Lago San Pablo* is now officially recognized as *Imbakucha* or the Cerro de la Marca is now *Mt Pululawa*.

Exemplar of such hegemonic (im)position, the word *Andes* as if were originated in *Kichwa* is used to name mountains of the eastern edge of the *Inka* Empire, or *Antisuyu*. Nevertheless, as seen above, the word *Andes* offers several derivations: Firstly, coined by the indigenous illustrator *Waman Puma* de Ayala to satisfy the pressure of the Catholic Church in its evangelization efforts of disdaining vernacular religions and to curve the *Taki Unkuy* revolt against invaders, the term *Andes* appeared written in the Inca Garcilazo de la Vega as a toponymy that described the mountainous territory of the *Antis*, a bellicose tribe East of the high mountains. Secondly, relating the name *Andes* with the *Kichwa* word *Anta* for copper gives another angle of mistaken etymology. The blemished thought that the copper-colored slopes, or the copper-tinted sunsets, or the abundant ores of this mineral have tautologically name-sake the *Andes* is unfounded derivation of the word. Finally, indigenous people of western South America never had just one name to describe the extent of the whole cordillera: they used only localized names to describe the *urku* or individual mountain edifice, the *rasu* or the snow-packed volcano, and the *machay* or headwater in the highlands.

The fact is that *Andes* as a region was never described with any single word, and provided no single identity. *Antisuyu* is the metageographical descriptor of direction equivalent to Eastern, one of the four cardinal points including *Chinchasuyu* (toward the North), *Kuntisuyu* (toward the West), and *Kullasuyu* (toward the South), used to describe the extent of the territorial claims of the *Inka* domain (*Incario* or *Tawantinsuyu*, towards everywhere, or towards the four corners from the city of *Kutsku*, its capital); hence, *Antisuyu* refers to the domain where the sun rises on the *Inka* Empire, found on the Andean verdant towards the East on Amazonia (see Fig. 3). In fact, in the colonial epoch, everything located in the distant lowland vastness of the Amazon River was called *Oriente*. The *Antis* occupied this jungle with warm environments,



Fig. 3: Evidence of the tropical montane cloud forest that has regenerated onto the heavily terraced slopes of the upper Apurimac river, near Choquequirao, east of Cuzco, as one example of the mistaken eponym of *Andes* for *Antisuyo* (Photograph eatbikesleephike.blogspot.com).

full of fauna and flora, not the same ecosystems currently described as Andean. On the contrary, *Andes* comes from the first chronicler (i. e., Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, in 1572, some forty years after the first Spaniards entered the *Inka* Empire and thirty-seven years before Garcilazo's account) who wrote in Castilian to describe the *cordillera de los andenes* as the extensive, ancient terracing system evident as the main feature of the mountains as Spaniards advanced towards the city of *Kutsku*. Apparently, the overwhelming presence of people walking on the steep scaffolding of the echelon gave the use of *andenes* preference over the Castilian word *bancales* that refers to the flattening of the isohyets by compaction or stopping the drainage with planted shrubs rather than by masterfully building polished stone walls with irrigation and structural reinforcements. At present, the word *bancal* is favored in the Iberian geography while the word *anden* is reserved for the pedestrian elevated structures found in airports, train stations and alike. Thus, the shorthand *Cord. Andes.* represented *la Cordillera de los Andenes*, which was changed by faulty copyediting of letters (i. e., graphiosis) to *cordillera de los Andes* (Sarmiento de Gamboa [1572] 2007). In other sources, the word *andenerías* was favored followed by the *Kichwa* name of the nearby mountain (e. g., *las andenerías del Misti*; *las andenerías de Saraurku*) or the shortened *andenes* (e. g., *los andenes de Vilcabamba*, *los andenes de Cabanacundi*, *los andenes de Pumapungu*). Sometimes the word *Ande* is utilized – in singular – to mean a single massif or a volcanic edifice worth noticing, as in reference to *Mt Pichincha* in the Ecuadorian national anthem or to the notable Chilean cordiality, which expands from the summit of the mountain, in a *cueca* song.

Several first chroniclers [amongst Cieza de León 1553, Zárate 1555, Fernández 1571] do not make reference to the etymology of *Andes*. However, one of them

(Sarmiento de Gamboa [1572] 2007) made clear reference to the descriptor utilized as the *Sierra Alta*, the *Cordillera General*, or the *Cordillera de los Andenes*. Onomastics of *Andes*, from graphiosis of Castilian shorthand *cord. andes.*, is a more parsimonious explanation for the later usage of the term *Andes* to refer to the entire General Cordillera, where the presence of stone terraces was the outstanding cultural landscape feature; hence, the *cordillera de los andenes* or also *cordillera de las andenerías* denotes an intrinsic cultural landscape (Sarmiento 2000) where the social construct of nature is evident even by its name.

5 Three main divides of Andean identity

If you follow physical geographers, the Andean ecoregion is subdivided in three main areas: North, Central and South. Each of this segmentation exhibits further subdivisions, as follow: the Northern Andes encompasses three main areas: 1) the *isthmian ranges* through Panama and Costa Rica, 2) the Colombian / Venezuelan *massif* and 3) the *equatorial Andes* through Ecuador and northern Peru, until the *Wankapampa* depression. The Central Andes encompasses three main areas, from the *Abra de Porculla* to the south: 1) the western and coastal ranges or Peru, 2) the central range or White cordillera in Peru, and 3) the *Altiplano*, a high elevation plateau connecting the central and eastern ranges at an average of 4,000 m above sea level in Peru and Bolivia. The Southern Andes encompasses three main areas to the south of the world's largest salt flats of *Uyuni*: 1) the Puna in Bolivia, northern Chile and Argentina, 2) the Central range with the highest elevations of Ojos del Salado and *Acunkawa* between the spine of mountains that separate Chile and Argentina, and 3) the Patagonian Andes spread on the *Mapuche* territory towards the Tierra del Fuego, sometimes referred to as the *Magellan Andes* or *Andes fueguinos*.

However, if you follow human geographers, the subdivisions of the Andean ecoregion follow a different pattern, yet the basic trifecta exists: North, Central and South. Each of these segmentations exhibits further subdivisions as follow: The Northern Andes, with less indigenous groups than the southern regions, encompasses territories of 1) the Talamanca Massif in Costa Rica and Panama, 2) indigenous territories in Colombia excluding the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, and 3) the indigenous and traditional communities that survive towards the Sierra de Mérida, en Venezuela. The Central Andes, harboring the most numerous and densely populated original people's territories in 1) the highlands of *Kichwa* speaking groups in Ecuador, 2) the different *Quechua* groups in highland Peru, and 3) the *Aymara* and *Quechua* of the altiplano Boliviano with predominantly dense native communities. The Southern Andes, encompasses smaller groups leaving the *Quichua* traditions of 1) Atacama and the greater North of Chile, 2) the highlands of Northwestern Argentina, with *Quichua* speaking groups in Jujuy, Salta, Tucumán y la Rioja, and 3) the *Araucania* located on *Mapuche* land in the Patagonia of Argentina and Chile.

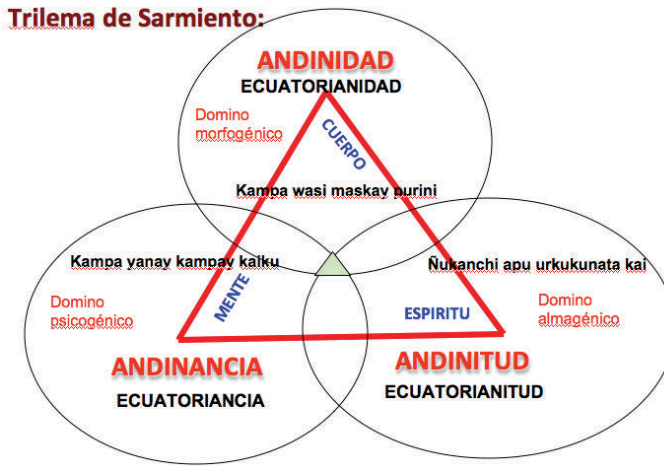


Fig. 4: A Venn diagram showing the interaction of the trilemma, between the realms of the body (Andeanity), of the mind (Andeaness) and of the spirit (Andeanitude). Finding the real meaning of Andean is a matter of transactions between each vortex. Diagram from Sarmiento, F.O. in press. Revista Parques. FAO.

Each and every subdivision named or listed reflects diverse cultural backgrounds and share little more than language (Spanish as trade language), and religion (up until recently, mostly Roman Catholics) (see Fig. 4). You can put side by side a representative, either male or female, from a *Cabecar*, a *Boruca*, a *Guambiano*, a *Kamsá*, an *Atawallu*, a *Salasaca*, a *Kañari*, a *Saraguro*, a *Q'ero*, an *Uru*, an *Aymara*, a *K'olla*, a *Toba*, a *Diaguita*, a *Mapuche* or a *Huarpe*: all of them will be different, with distinctive language, and culture, yet, all of them will be *Andean*. How to sort the Andean identity from such a vast array of different types and categories? There is one important liaison: the spirituality that connects them to the land (*pachamama*), the respect to the death (*machay*) and a moral conviction with their birthplace (*pago aqueren-ciador* or *Malki*). Without regards to how they look (*Andeanity*) or what they speak or what music they play (*Andeaness*), it is mostly on how they feel about the tutelary mountain (*apu*) and the *pachamama* (Andeanitude) that connects them all as Andean people. Hence, the application of the Sarmiento's trilemma helps to narrow the contributions of morphology, psychology and spirituality to have a better understanding of what *Lo Andino* really is.

6 The trilemma of Andean identity

I construct a narrative for the essence of place, by (re)working mountain specificities that imprint cultural traits on Andean landscapes creating a unique identity for the tropical Andes. I use onomastics as a study of mistaken semantic individuality, with a (post)structuralistic approach to define *the Andean* from a trilemma that explains



*Fig. 5: The sacred tree of the Atawallu runakuna in the Imbakucha watershed of Northern Ecuador. The taita Imbabura sacred mountain is overlooking the sacred site of the pukara de Reyloma, near to the sacred waterfall of Piguchi. This image conveys the meaning of Andeanitude, while portraying the pinllu tree (*Euphorbia latifolia*) – Andeanity – and the tender care of the summit of the pukara and its terracing – Andeaness. Photograph Fausto Sarmiento, July 2012*

different identities or combinations therein, and the quest for a unify Andean geo-eco-cultural identity (see Fig. 5). Firstly, I incorporate notions related to phenotypic common traits of Andeanity; they are morphogenetic, responding to the majority of the physical, prehensive features, as body built, facial patterns, basic language and all other attributes that can be gauged from sensorial, measurable types. Secondly, I include also notions related to cryptic common traits of *Andeaness*; they are psychogenic, responding to the majority of the apprehensive features, as mental patterns, educated language, learnt environment made by the creation of standards of thought and social engagement. Thirdly, I incorporate a new dimension related to emergent traits of *Andeanitude*; they are soulogenic, responding to the majority of comprehensive features, as mystic, spiritual ethical, and moral patterns and religiosity, to produce a trilemma for Andean geo-eco-cultural identity. The Sarmiento's trilemma is an individual-based approach to comprehend Andean identity, both nomothetic and ideographic in its application. Hence, the imagined, heterogeneous, and strong identities of *Lo Andino* is characterized as dynamic and evolving, still adapting to frameworks of global environmental change (Stadel et al. 2001).

7 Conclusion

In a trip to Austria, as guest speaker to the Geography Department of the University of Salzburg, I had a layover at an international airport where live music filled the space from an harp played by a Nordic musician wearing western cloths. His tune was *El Cóndor Pasa*, the iconic popular anthem of Andean América. Listening to the whimsical music, my Andean identity stroked a chord, insofar as being surrounded by European lowlander culture but I was feeling the Andes insight of me. Something similar was conveyed by a German ecologist who lived in Quito and Mérida promoting political ecology in Venezuela and Ecuador, Prof. Dr. Arturo Eichler, who was more Andean than the people who was born in the Andes, because of his love for the land and his deeper understanding of nature / culture. Many of my friends and colleagues from major metropolitan cities in the Andean countries have experienced also the call of *pachamama* and feel spiritually connected to the land inasmuch they are urban dwellers but they love the Andes so much, as to find themselves identified with it, without being original people, or even without being from the Andean country altogether. I think this is the case of Prof. Dr. Christoph Stadel, who showed what it takes to be Andean.

Acknowledgments

I owe much gratitude to my friend and colleague, Christoph Stadel, for unceasingly forging me to a better understanding of the human impacts on farmscapes of the rural South, mainly the tropical Andes. Indeed, Stadel not only served as an inspiration to select Montology as a disciplinary pursue, but also his exemplar dedication to students and mentees motivated even further my own teaching career with the task of bringing them to the mountains via field trips, courses abroad, *in-situ* research, professional communication and collegiality. Thanks to Christoph for a fruitful career making much clearer the ascending pathway to becoming a mountain geographer, applying mountain science to sustainable development.

References

- Allan, N.J.R., G.W. Knapp & C. Stadel 1988: *Human Impact on Mountains*. Boston.
 Borsdorf, A. & C. Stadel 2013: *Die Anden, ein geographisches Porträt*. Heidelberg.
 Brown, J., N. Mitchel & M. Beresford 2005: *The Protected Landscape Approach: Linking Nature, Culture and Community*. Gland and Cambridge.
 Burger, R.L. 1992: *Chavin de Huantar and the Origins of Andean Civilization*. London.
 Debarbieux, B. & G. Rudaz 2010: *Les Faiseurs de Montagne*. Paris.
 Ellenberg, H. 1979: Man's influence on tropical mountain ecosystems of South America. *Journal of Ecology* 67: 401–416.

- Escobar, A. 1999: El Lugar de la Naturaleza y la Naturaleza del Lugar: ¿Globalización o Post-desarrollo? In: Lander, E. (ed.): *La Colonialidad del Saber: Eurocentrismo y Ciencias Sociales. Perspectivas Latinoamericanas*. Buenos Aires: 113–143.
- Gade, D. 1999: *Nature and Culture in the Andes*. Madison.
- Markhan, C.S. 2006: *The History of the Inka by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa*. Cambridge.
- Sarmiento de Gamboa, P. 2007: *The History of the Inkas* [1572]. Translated by Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith. Houston, Texas.
- Sarmiento, F.O. 2012: *Contesting Páramo: Critical Biogeography of the Northern Andean Highlands*. Charlotte, NC.
- Sarmiento, F.O. 2008: Andes mountains and human dimensions of global change: An overview. *Pirineos* 163: 7–13.
- Sarmiento, F.O. 2000: Human impacts in man-aged tropandean landscapes: breaking mountain paradigms. *Ambio* 29, 7: 423–431.
- Sarmiento, F.O. & L. Frolich 2012: From mindscapes to worldsapes: Navigating the ever-changing topography of sustainability. *Journal of Sustainability Education* 3: 1–3.
- Seligman, L.J. 1996: Review: Andean logic and Andean identity. *American Anthropologist* 98, 2: 411–413.
- Stadel, Ch. 1986: Del valle al monte: Altitudinal patterns of agricultural activities in the Patate-Pelileo area of Ecuador. *Mountain Research and Development* 6, 1: 53–64.
- Stadel, C. 1989: The perception of stress by campesinos: A profile from the Ecuadorian sierra. *Mountain Research and Development* 9, 1: 35–49.
- Stadel, C. 1991: Environmental Stress and Sustainable Development in the Tropical Andes. *Mountain Research and Development* 11, 3: 213–223.
- Stadel, C. 1992: Altitudinal belts in the tropical Andes: Their ecology and human utilization. *Benchmark 1990. Yearbook, Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers* 17/18: 213–223.
- Stadel, C. 1997: Las necesidades de desarrollo y la movilización de recursos rurales en el altiplano Boliviano. In: Liberman, M. & C. Baied (eds.): *Desarrollo Sostenible de Ecosistemas de Montaña: Manejo de Areas Frágiles en los Andes*. II Simposio Internacional de Desarrollo Sustentable de Montañas. Asociación Andina de Montañas. La Paz: 221–234.
- Stadel, C. 1998: Rural empowerment for Andean sustainable development. In: Sarmiento, F.O. & J. Hidalgo (eds.): *Entendiendo las Interfaces Ecológicas para la Gestión de los Paisajes Culturales en los Andes*. III Simposio Internacional de Desarrollo Sustentable de Montañas. Asociación Andina de Montañas. Quito: 81–84.
- Stadel, C. 2001a: “Lo Andino”: Andine Umwelt, Philosophie und Weisheit. In: Borsdorf, A., G. Krömer & C. Parnreiter (eds.): *Lateinamerika im Umbruch. Geistige Strömungen im Globalisierungsstress*. Innsbrucker Geographische Studien 32. Innsbruck: 143–154.
- Stadel, C. 2001b: Lo Andino: Andean environment, philosophy and wisdom. *Memorias del IV Simposio Internacional de Desarrollo Sustentable en de Montañas*. Asociación Andina de Montañas. Mérida, Venezuela.
- Stadel, C. 2007: Development with identity: Community, culture and sustainability in the Andes. *Mountain Research and Development* 27, 2: 183–185.
- Stadel, C. 2008: Vulnerability, resilience and adaptation: Rural development in the tropical Andes. *Pirineos* 163: 15–36.
- Stadel, C. 2009: Vulnerabilidad, resistividad en el campesinado rural de los Andes tropicales. *Anuario Americanista Europeo* 6–7: 185–200.
- Stadel, Ch. & L.A. Moya 1988: *Plazas and ferias of Ambato, Ecuador*. Yearbook. Conference of the Latin Americanist Geographers. University of Texas Press.
- Sundberg, J. 2006. Conservation Encounters: Transculturation in the ‘Contact Zones’ of Empire. *Cultural Geographies* 13, 2: 239–265.
- Zimmerer, K. 2009. Political Ecology. In: Castree, N. et al. (eds). *A Companion of Environmental Geography*. London: 50–65.

ZOBODAT - www.zobodat.at

Zoologisch-Botanische Datenbank/Zoological-Botanical Database

Digitale Literatur/Digital Literature

Zeitschrift/Journal: [IGF-Forschungsberichte \(Instituts für Interdisziplinäre Gebirgsforschung \[IGF\]\) \(Institute of Mountain Research\)](#)

Jahr/Year: 2013

Band/Volume: [5](#)

Autor(en)/Author(s): Sarmiento Fausto O.

Artikel/Article: [Lo Andino: integrating StadelÂ's views into the larger Andean identity paradox for sustainability 305-318](#)