

Mesoamerica, the Caribbean,
and South America, 700–1700



SITUATING THE ANDEAN COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

AYLLU TALES OF HISTORY AND
HAGIOGRAPHY IN THE TIME OF
THE SPANISH

by

DENISE Y. ARNOLD

ARC HUMANITIES PRESS



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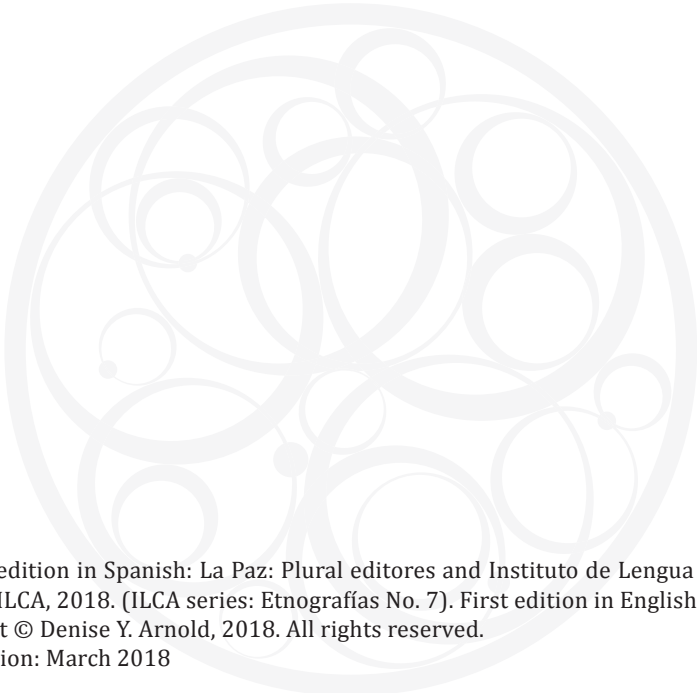
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*To the memory of the title-bearer
Don Franco Quispe Maraza,
and other local historians from Qaqachaka*



Original edition in Spanish: La Paz: Plural editores and Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, ILCA, 2018. (ILCA series: Etnograffas No. 7). First edition in English. Copyright © Denise Y. Arnold, 2018. All rights reserved. First edition: March 2018

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

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ISBN: 9781641894043
e-ISBN: 9781641894050

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NOTE ABOUT THE SPELLING OF TOPONYMS AND PROPER NAMES

IT IS A nightmare knowing how to write the toponyms of the study region, the names of the great Aymara federations of the past or the ayllu of the region, or indeed those of the social actors in the book, as proper names in the Andes have been written in so many ways. To facilitate reading, I opted to write many of the regional toponyms in Aymara, followed by their English translations in parenthesis. However, in the case of the great Aymara federations, because of their frequent mention in the text, I changed the Aymara written form of “Killakas-Asanaqi” to the Hispanized “Quillacas-Asanaque,” and its population to the “Quillacas-Asanaques.” However, I write Charkas-Qharaqhara, instead of Charcas-Qaraqara, and refer to their people as the Charkas or the Qharaqharas.

The writing of regional ayllu names is more difficult to solve, given that I cite many colonial documents in which the orthography of these terms varies. There, we are faced with the local ayllu names of “Cagualli” or “Caballi,” which is the same as the present day ayllu of *Qhawalli*, in its Aymara written form, or “Collana,” which is the same as the Qullana ayllu in the recent memory of Aymara speakers, or “Sullcaiana,” which is the same as *Sullkayana* in Aymara, and “Callapa,” which is the same as *Qallapa*. The very name of *Qaqachaka* (in present day Aymara) was written in the colonial period and in the recent past as “Santa Vera Cruz de Cacachaca” or simply “Cacachaca,” although in certain tales about its origins it is called *Qaqachika* based on its topographical features. I call its people the Qaqachakas. Similarly, the name of the colonial reduction town of Condo or Condocondo derives from the Aymara *Quntu* or *Quntuquntu* (meaning undulating), and the neighbouring ayllu of Pocoata (or Copoata), as written in Spanish, probably derived from the Aymara *Phukhuwata* (producers of pots), although this is usually written as *Pukuwata*. Other neighbouring ayllus include Culta (written in Aymara as K’ulta) and Caguayo (in Aymara *K’awayu*, but written as Caguaio in the colonial documents).

The same problem occurs with proper names, whether surnames or patronymics, and with honorifics as the nobiliary titles of persons. In colonial documents, the patronymic of certain regional caciques are written as Llanquepacha (which in Aymara would be *Llanqipacha*) and in another case Ayra Chinche (which in Aymara would be *Ayra Chinchí*). Other cases are those of the *Takimallku* lineage, as written in Aymara, which have become Hispanized as Taquimallco or Taquimalco. An important Christian name in this lineage is given as Fernando, in Spanish, and *Jirnantu*, in Aymara. Other patronymics that later became honorifics include Fernandes or Fernandez, written in the present day as Fernández.

I prefer to respect the Aymara proper names of the god-saints of the place, among them *Tata Quri* and *Mama Kanti Layra* (Candelaria), *Mama Kapitana* (Capitán) and *Mama Ch’uri*, although I sometimes give their Spanish or English equivalents.

Apart from these decisions about orthography, I had to take into account the oral plays of meanings between Aymara and Spanish (such as in *Jisu Kiristu*), and the stylistic

aspects when these occur, for example in cases of metathesis (in the change of position of the principal consonants in a word, such as Pocoata or Copoata).

I write unusual Andean and Spanish terms in italics the first times they appear in the book, then leave them in a normal font, once I think the reader is used to them.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

MY FIRST VISITS to Qaqachaka from 1985 to 1986, working with my husband, the Bolivian linguist Juan de Dios Yapita, provided the first oral and documentary accounts of the history of the place. I studied Qaqachaka history more seriously in 1989, followed by several months in 1991 and 1992. In later visits, in the 1990s and the year 2000, more details about this history emerged, although we were working by then on other matters. So our thanks to our colleagues for those former periods of work come with a great deal of hindsight.

For their genteel reception in our first visits to Qaqachaka, we thank the ayllu authorities of 1989, especially the couples who served the church as *mayordomos* and as *alcalde mayor*. Each of these couples of religious authorities took the time to explain their obligations to us, and permitted us to participate in their ceremonies with such good humour that besides learning a great deal from them, we enjoyed ourselves immensely in the process. The mayordomos were *Marka*: Don Alberto Choque Mamanillo and Doña María Ayca Colque; *Fiscal*: Don Felipe Choque Chambi and Doña Margarita; *Mama Ch'uri*: Don Andrés Copacondo Choque and his wife (I'm afraid I can't remember her name); *Mama Candelaria*: Don Zacarías Maraza Castillo and his wife, and *Mama Kapitana*: Don Gerónimo Colque Lupinta and Doña Andrea Mamani. The *alcalde mayor* couple were Don Silvestre Mamani Maraza and Doña Dionisia Chiri Tarque.

We also thank the other authorities of the main pueblo of Qaqachaka in that year: the *Corregidor*: Don Emilio Lupinta and his family; the *Agente Cantonal*: Don Marcos Choque and his wife; the *Registro Civil*: Don Silverio Quispe and his wife; the *Juez Mínimo*: Don Ángel Alanoca, and the many *Postillones* including Don Evaristo and Doña Dominga. In the central school in the main pueblo, we thank the director in those years, Don Isaac Huayllani, and the teacher Nemesio Rodríguez for his descriptions of the changes he witnessed in his many years of service there. For their hospitality in our visits to the minor ayllu and *estancia* of Livichuco, we thank all the authorities there, especially those interested in their own history who invited us to give talks to their members, accompanied by delicious food.

In the neighbouring pueblo of Condo, where a great deal of the ecclesiastical materials were kept until their removal to the archbishop's residence in the city of Oruro, our thanks go to the many authorities for their help during our stays in 1986, including Don Valeriano Wanka Cardozo, Don Carlos Rivero and Don Joaquín Romero Troya, and importantly the French anthropologist Dr. George Pratlong and his family.

So many people in Qaqachaka helped us over those years that it is impossible to name them all, so I name here only the families who made a special point of helping us study the history of the place. The title-bearer Don Franco Quispe Maraza and his wife Doña María Ayca Llanque described to us with a great deal of patience the issues in play, and allowed us to consult their personal archives. Their daughter Doña Santusa Quispe

Ayca and son-in-law Don Severino Antachoque Porco gave additional commentaries. The Choque family, including Don Alberto Choque Mamanillo and his wife Doña María Ayca Colque, his son Pedro and daughter-in-law Doña Asunta Arias Tarque, offered commentaries and clarifications. Doña Asunta's parents shared their ceremonies with us and gave us the place of honour in their house patio. Don David Choque, with his ties to the Arias family, helped us understand the origins of the Mamas Kapitana and Ch'uri. Doña Bernaldita Quispe Colque and her husband Don Cristóbal Jacinto Choque Choque visited us often to share their memories about the Time Before. The Maraza family of Livichuco shared with us a document they had written about their own history. Don Domingo Inca Maraza and Don Tiburcio Maraza Mamani remembered details of their ancestors in another lineage of title-bearers. We thank with great affection Don Enrique Espejo Sepera for his immense patience telling us many aspects of Qaqachaka history over the years, together with his sister-in-law, Doña Lucía Quispe Choque, whose own thoughtful memories about this history presented a female point of view. The Espejo family always made us welcome in the pueblo, and it is sad that we never interviewed Don Daniel Espejo about his own expert knowledge concerning the history of the place. We thank Father Antonio Coca, priest of the parish of Challapata in those years, for his ever warm reception and animated conversations about the culture and history of Qaqachaka. Many thanks to Vidal Espejo who photographed some of the images used in the book, and Roberto Espejo for being a go-between in these requests.

In the Archivo Nacional de Sucre, Bolivia, Don Gunnar Mendoza patiently helped me in my first incursions into the historical archives of the region, as did Dr. Roberto Choque, then director of the Archivo de La Paz. I thank the library staff at the Universidad Católica de Bolivia, and in the Archivos del Arzobispado in Oruro and Sucre. In the Archivo de Indias in Seville, my thanks go to the staff of the Sala de Investigaciones.

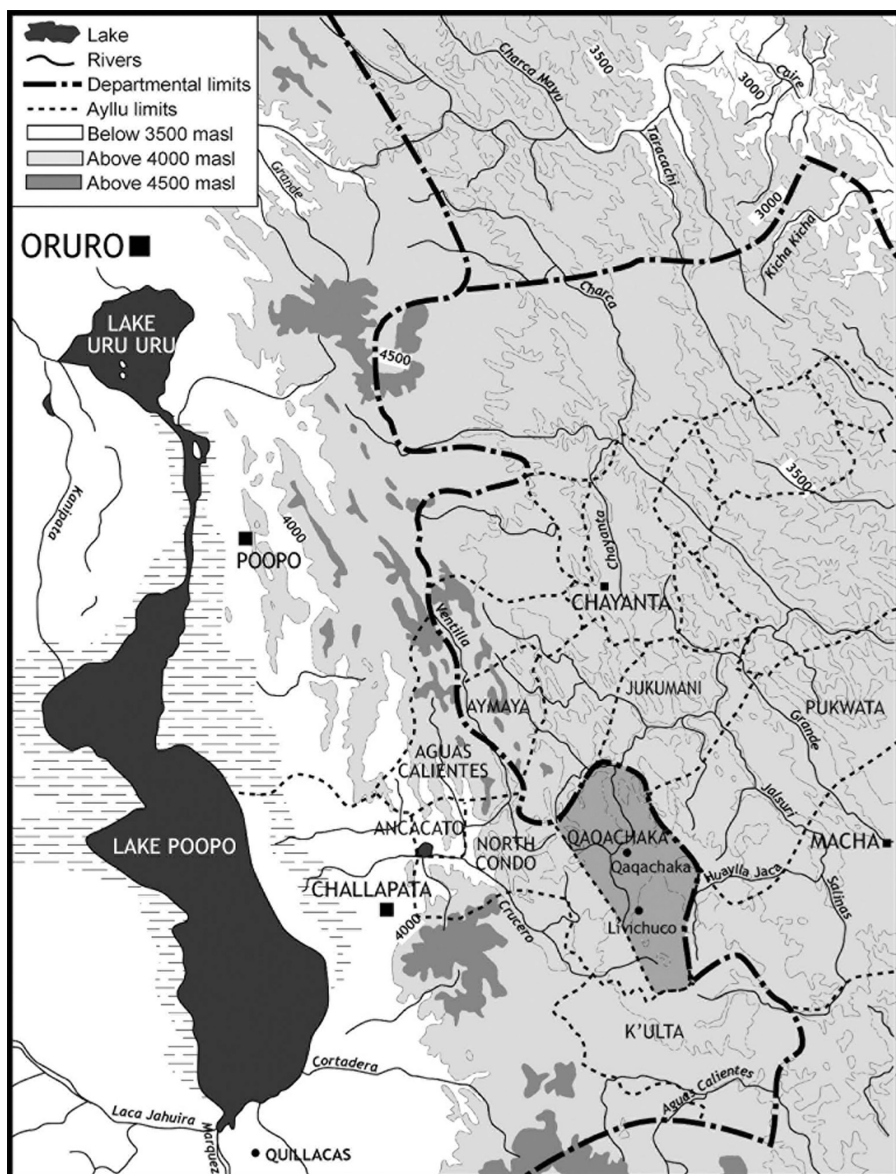
Some time ago, while I was attached to King's College London and doing the original years of fieldwork between 1991 and 1993, William Rowe offered me his wise reflections about work in progress. Among other colleagues who helped me understand better the history of the region, I thank Tom Abercrombie for sharing some archival documents from Condo; Burckhart Schwarz for comparative material from the pueblo of Corque, on the other side of Oruro; Robert Kruszinski for sending me bundles of reference papers with his characteristic efficiency, promptness, and good humour; Lucy Therina Briggs for having transcribed quickly the contents of some archival documents lent to us for a short period; Ramiro Molina Rivera and Rossana Barragán for the comparisons they made with Quillacas; Cassandra Torrico for her comparisons with Macha; and especially Don Domingo Jiménez Aruquipa for his innumerable commentaries about Qaqachaka from the comparative perspective of the valleys of Mitma (Aymaya). Work in progress benefited from the comments of Donato Amado, Penelope Dransart, Vincent Nicolás, Stephen Nugent, Paulina Numhauser, Alber Quispe, Pablo Sendón, Alison Spedding and Paula Zagalsky, and my students at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz. Collaborations with Francisco Pazzarelli inspired some ideas developed here, as did the observations by Lucila Bugallo and Mario Vilca on an essay about the history of the Qaqachaka saints. For seeking out difficult to find bibliographic references, I thank Lola

Paredes of the Fundación Albó, and my colleagues Carlos Abreu Mendoza and Carolina A. Garriott. A special thanks to Hugo Montes for his critical reading of the manuscript.

I recognize the support of research grants from the Social Science Research Council (SSRC Pool award No. G00428324093) for 1984–1986, a Radcliffe-Brown Memorial Award from the Royal Anthropological Institute, and a Thomas Witherden Batt prize from University College London for the preparation from 1986 to 1988 of my doctoral thesis with its first explorations of Qaqachaka history. These were followed by a grant from the Wenner Gren Foundation (No. Gr. 5074) to visit Qaqachaka in 1989, and another from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC Post-doctoral Research Award No. R 00023 2682) for visits from 1991 to 1993. Finally, a small project grant at the Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas y Arqueológicas (IIAA), at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, in La Paz, in 2017, allowed me to complete this book, and thanks to the director there, Dr. José Teijeiro, and the secretaries Wendy Zeballos and Virginia Vaca Portillo.

My heartfelt thanks go to the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, ILCA, in La Paz, for modest funds to visit the Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, in Sucre, and the Archivo de Indias, in Seville, Spain, during 2017. Dany Mena helped me as always with everyday office chores, and last but not least, Juan de Dios Yapita corrected my Aymara language, with constant commentaries in a long voyage in common.

Denise Y. Arnold
Madrid, January 2020



Map 1. The site of Qaqachaka.



Map 2. The Quillacas-Asanaque and Charkas-Qharaqhara Federations.

INTRODUCTION

... the question is how to reconfigure people as theoretical agents instead of
“passive subjects.”

Viveiros de Castro (2004, 4)

IT HAS TAKEN me many years to complete just a part of the history of Qaqachaka, nowadays a major ayllu situated in Avaroa province (in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia) (see Maps 1 and 2), concentrating here on the colonial period. One excuse is that I had been waiting for several other studies on the history of the region, in a comparative sense. Apart from the seminal study on *Qaraqara-Charka* by Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, published in 2006, I wanted to consult the histories of Qaqachaka's neighbouring ayllus, among them the study on K'ulta by Tom Abercrombie (1986, 1998) and that on Tinguipaya by Vincent Nicolás (2015).

In addition, I was keenly aware of the need to dedicate time to rethink historiography and historical method from the perspective of Anthropology and Andean Studies, in the light of recent changes in these disciplines. In the 1980s, when we carried out our original fieldwork, the Black Legend in vogue, with its anti-Spanish bias, tended to skew any interpretation of the historical processes of the colonial period in overly dichotomic terms: “*lo andino*” versus anything Western, goodies (the Indians) versus baddies (the conquerors), and so on. However, my early examinations of local narratives already revealed a greater complexity in play.

The current paradigm shift in the Social Sciences, above all the “ontological turn” in Andean Studies with its recognition of a more dynamic and transformational world, offered me the opening I was waiting for. Alternative theories in the region, and emerging interpretations of the elements of the world, and the relations between them, contributed to my alternative approach to the history of the place (Arnold 2016a and Arnold 2016b). The challenge ahead was how to articulate my sense of *déjà vu* with these new ideas in the making.

Towards a Philosophy of Andean History

These recent paradigmatic changes in the Social Sciences and the Humanities make us aware that notions such as “history” and “memory” are neither singular nor monolithic. In the Andes, given its colonial setting, the practices of history and memory are even more complex, having been forged first in the interrelations between Andean populations themselves (Aymara, Quechua, and Uru speakers), and since the Conquest, in relation to Spanish society. New notions have been coined to understand this gamut of relational possibilities, whether “identities in common” (in a new “imagined” community, in the terms of Benedict Anderson 1991/1983), “relational identities” (in the sense

developed by Fredrik Barth) or “alterities” (applied to an Andean context by George Lau 2013). These relational possibilities can also be skewed by questions of status (from the point of view of the common folk or *comunarios* as opposed to the chiefly class), or race, combined with caste or rank (in approaches directed at whites, mestizos, indigenous people or blacks), social class (seen from the position of elites, miners or *campesinos*), ethnicity (seen from whatever regional group), sex and gender (from the perspective of men or women), and age and generation (see Canessa 2012, on the dynamic interplay of these). In a historical context, differences in age and generation exert influences on knowledge about, and approaches to the past, and the distinct modalities of how to transmit history from one generation to another. I sensed the additional challenge of using critically terms such as “indigenous,” which had been introduced into the region in a discourse of Simón Bolívar only in 1826, once the Republic of Bolivia had already been established, and to seek more pertinent alternatives for the previous period.

Above all, I wanted to avoid the hard and fast division made in historiography, in general, and ethnohistory, in particular, between written and oral history, which tends to separate out sets of practices and interpretations mediated through written documents or oral narratives respectively. In real situations, as we shall see, each set of practices is defined mutually with respect to the other.

Faced with these insistent binarisms, the new paradigmatic changes helped me switch my attention from essentially “epistemological” questions, of *what* is known about the world (in terms of data and knowledge) and *how* the world is known, to “ontological” ones, of *how to be in and of* the world. In the Andes, as in the Amazonian region, all the distinct elements of life (human, animal, plants and things) conform part of a world in common (Cavalcanti 2007; Arnold 2019). In these changes in approach, tales about the history and memory concerning each one of these elements (ancestral personages, saints, ritual objects) treat these as “beings,” usually “living beings,” in a world in common. An ontological interest seeks to understand these relations between the different elements of the world in a more symmetrical way (as equal to equal), closer to that held in the perceptions of local populations.

This challenge to understand the ontological relations between the things of the world often demands returning to the principles of “animism,” not in the former sense of an evolutionary stage on a path towards monotheism, but in appreciation of the interrelations between the vital and material processes taking place in the world. I adopt this approach here in relation to Andean terms such as *animu* (spirit, from the Spanish *ánimo*), *surti* (luck, from the Spanish *suerte*) and *ch’ama* (energy, force, or strength). In this rethinking, the ontological relations between the elements of the world become more fundamental than the elements in and of themselves (cf. Bird-Davis 1999; Barcelos 2008).

In adopting this ontological approach to study the history of an Andean community such as Qaqachaka, I had to rethink the colonial interrelations between the populations in contact, with their respective levels of power, no longer as two fixed axes (whether “colonized” and “colonizer” or “the Andean” versus the “Western”) in a permanent struggle, as they used to be portrayed, but as a series of interrelations within their respective hierarchies. Instead of giving exclusive attention to the struggle between each

part, in which Spanish impositions were counterposed by Andean struggles of “resistance,” I perceive a series of constant negotiations and counter-negotiations in juridical, religious, and economic ambits, where legal pluralism vies with local history. Here I derive my inspiration from Steve Stern’s multi-faceted critique of resistance (ed. 1987, 1994), Gonzalo Lamana’s idea of colonial domination but without an overtly dominated population ([2008] 2016), Coronil’s insistence on understanding the world from the point of view of a specific locality (1998), and Mignolo’s call for a new locus of enunciation in postcolonial studies (2003).

I interpret the spirit of these negotiations according to the “Andean textual-ontological theory” we identified some time ago, with its proposition that the creative practices of the region derived from the appropriation of certain aspects of the Other and their transformation into one’s own (Arnold 2000; Arnold with Yapita 2006, 8). In previous works, I examined these ideas as an Andean variant of “ontological depredation,” a lowland practice concerned with head-taking explored by the Brazilian anthropologists Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1992) and Carlos Fausto (1999), among others. Our theory proposes that in the past, as in the descriptions of the taking of the *tsantsa* shrunken heads among the Shuar of the Ecuadorian lowlands,¹ a young man was obliged to capture an enemy head, and with it the spirit that dwelled within, and to pass this on to his partner, who was then charged with caring for the head, offering it incense, songs and libations, first to dominate it, and then to transform it into a baby of the head-taker’s household (Arnold and Hastorf 2008, 65). In capturing the enemy head, and caring for it in this way, the couple achieved three years of luck and plenty for their household, in which they would produce several harvests of babies (human, animal, and vegetable) in their domestic economy. In these previous works, I analyzed the ontological equivalence of the male head-taking followed by weaving activities by the women, as the vital processes through which a head was converted into a new being of the head-taker’s household (Arnold 2000).

In a historical context, I propose that the symbolic power of trophy heads, and of weavings made from these, was transposed to alphabetic writing and the bureaucratic processes introduced by the Spanish with the Conquest (Arnold with Yapita et al., 2000, 73–75; Arnold and Hastorf 2008, 139–40). Given these precursors in the thought and writing practices of the region, I was first interested in the nature of these appropriations by the inhabitants of Qaqachaka, especially those concerning the colonial Spanish demands written into the body of colonizing laws known as *Derecho Indiano* (Indian law). These legal dispositions, promulgated by the Spanish monarchs and their delegated authorities in Spain and hence into the New World, applied to all the territories of the “West Indies,” later called the “Americas,” during 300 years. Despite their basis in Castilian law, these dispositions were to undergo severe critiques and a certain degree of negotiation during this period, which I put under scrutiny here. Second, I was interested in how these appropriations of Spanish law had been reconfigured by Andeans themselves, not as the basis of colonial oppression, but as a creative impulse to found, in the Time of the Spanish, the new *pueblo-marka* in its territory, and the

1 See for example Descola (1993) and Taylor (1993).

everyday ritual practices concerning them, inspired in their own previous experiences. The basis of some of these appropriations in the former practices of head-taking (and weaving), permitted me to re-read the Andean colonial experience from a more situated perspective.

An ontological approach here posited a challenge to historical methods, ethnohistory and even ethnography as autonomous disciplines. It permitted me to focus more on the social processes that occurred in certain conjunctures, instead of the rigid periodizations of a universalized history, with its presumed characteristics. For us, “time” defines such periodizations, but this concept does not exist in the Andean languages. At least, in Aymara, the term *timpu* has been borrowed since the early Colony to define the temporal division that accompanies the forces of modernity. Added to which there is ample evidence that Andean peoples live simultaneously in multiple periods of time. This is expressed in narratives in which *Chullpas* (or *Awichas*) and even Inkas live contemporaneously with us in certain moments and in certain places. So, in any rethinking about historical time, I leave to one side the temporal ruptures formerly established between past, present, and future, together with the tendencies of modernity to live in a fleeting present, which diminishes its importance and directs us unceasingly towards the future (Santos 2006, 21), to immerse myself in the alternative of living multitemporality (Bergson [1896] 1990; Hamilakis 2017).

Towards a History of Qaqachaka

These multiple conceptions are already evident in the existing attempts to describe the history of Qaqachaka, albeit from different positions. In academic studies, fragments of this history appear in the written accounts of the wider region of which it once formed part, including the great Aymara federations of Charkas-Qharaqhara (Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris 2006) and Quillacas-Asanaque (Abercrombie 1998). However, the disadvantage of these works, written from the openly structuralist stance in Andean Studies of those decades, is that they tend to present the historical developments of each region as if they were part of a process in common (Ángelo 2005). The study by the Belgian ethnohistorian Vincent Nicolás (2015) on the neighbouring ayllu of Tinguipaya is distinct, as it applies the indiciary paradigm proposed by the Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg to produce a more nitidly local account. Exceptionally, Alfredo Ayca Chambi, born and raised in Qaqachaka, wrote a short *Historia de Cacachaka* (2003), based on oral accounts and his enquiries into some early written documents, but without paying attention to the local modalities of historical processes practiced there.

A key work on the archival history of the great Federation of Quillacas-Asanaque in the early decades after the Conquest appears in a long essay by the Peruvian historian Waldemar Espinoza Soriano (1981a). On the basis of that work, Thomas Abercrombie (1986, 1998) developed the historical context of his doctoral thesis on Condo, another integral part of Asanaque, and within it of K’ulta, like Qaqachaka a former ecclesiastical annex of Condo as a reduction town. Nathan Wachtel (1971) refers to the history of the same Federation in his studies on the Urus, Gilles Rivi  re (1982) alludes to that history in his studies of Carangas to the west, and this larger Federation is mentioned in passing

in some studies by Terry West on the region of Pampa Aullagas (1981a, 1981b). For their part, Barragán and Molina (1987) traced the historical transitions of those great Aymara *señoríos* to become finally modern communities, with special reference to the pueblo of Quillacas, where they had the opportunity to consult the local archives (see also Molina 2006). Fernando Cajías studied the populations of Paria and Oruro (in 1978 and 1987a, respectively). Each of these studies differs in its interpretations of the archival documents, but the principal studies of Espinoza Soriano, Abercrombie, and Barragán and Molina do mention in passing the early history of Qaqachaka, which relieves me of the task of repeating it in detail in this book.

In his classic study, Espinoza Soriano emphasizes that the Quillaca-Asanaque nation was “one of the seven most notable nations and kingdoms in the southern Altiplano” being “as important as the nations of Charca, Caracara, Sora, Carangas, Chuy and Chicha” (Espinoza Soriano 1981a, 179).² It was known for its pastures and herds, and salt production from the salt flats of Garci Mendoza, Uyuni, and Coipasa. A sixteenth-century account cited by that author describes the habitat of the Quillacas-Asanaques as being “composed of frozen punas, sterile and poor for agricultural activities; however, its inhabitants were rich for being ‘people with herds’ and, similarly, in possession of land or fields and herding hamlets (*estancias*) in ‘many local parts’ in template climates pertaining to other territories and kingdoms” (Ayavire y Velazco [1582] 1969, 140, cited in Espinoza Soriano 1981a, 182).³ Here is an early reference to the ongoing ties between the cold high puna and the warmer valley lands of the Quillacas-Asanaques.

I had already outlined the history of Qaqachaka in my doctoral thesis, based on the documentation available in those years (Arnold 1988). Later on, I tried to understand the region with less academic pressure, “from within” and not “from without,” and following a properly Andean “order of things.” We applied this alternative approach first in the book *Hacia un orden andino de las cosas* (Arnold, Jiménez, and Yapita 1992) where we located the history of the place within local tales and songs, and then in *El rincón de las cabezas* (Arnold with Yapita et al. 2000, translated into English in 2006 as *The Metamorphosis of Heads*), in which we related Qaqachaka history more closely still to the more authentically Andean textual practices and textual forms managed by local populations to record the past (songs, textiles, quipus). I returned to the same issue in a

2 The original Spanish says “*una de las siete naciones y reinos más notables del sur del Altiplano,*” and “*tan importante como las naciones Charca, Caracara, Sora, Caranga, Chuy y Chicha.*”

3 The original Spanish says “*compuesto de punas heladas, estériles y pobres para la actividad agraria; no obstante, sus habitantes eran ricos por ser ‘gente de ganado’ y de poseer, asimismo, tierras o chacras y estancias en ‘muchas partes’ localizadas en climas templados pertenecientes a territorios y reinos extranjeros.*” These peripheral lands located in the territories of other chiefdoms, often several days walk away with a caravan of llamas from the original ayllu, were called *kapana*, and they allowed communities located at the higher ecological levels to cultivate at the same time a wider range of cultigens in the temperate climates of the lower levels. These lands formed parts of archipelagos in the so-called “vertical ecology” that characterized Andean civilizations (Murra 1972). By contrast, the lands sited in ayllus of the same nation or province were called *aynuqa*.

recent essay exploring local educational memories about *ushnus*, and their association with the Inka occupation of the region (Arnold 2014).

I sought other approaches into the history of Qaqachaka from evidence in regional textiles, where an alternative history, managed this time by the local women, becomes visible, and ontological attention becomes redirected towards the transformation of a captured trophy head into a new being (a baby) of your own group (Arnold 1992, 1994, 2000, 2018a, 2018b, 2019; Arnold and Yapita 1998a). I traced this gendered interrelation in the practices concerned with trophy heads and weavings in the book *Heads of State: Icons of Power and Politics in the Ancient and Modern Andes* (Arnold and Hastorf 2008). In this alternative history, key affirmations of identity are signalled in local dress and in special textiles woven to serve as historical cartographies (Arnold and Espejo 2005, 2010, 2013).

In other studies, I presented the religious history of Qaqachaka on the basis of a regional version of the biblical tale of Adam and Eve (Arnold 1996), and in an ecclesiastical history of the zone (Arnold 2008a) based on some tales about the local saints and how they had arrived there along their respective “pathways of the gods” to settle finally in the central church in the main pueblo of Qaqachaka (Arnold 1996, 2007b; Arnold with Yapita and Espejo 2016). In our stays in Qaqachaka, we heard similar tales about how the first ancestors had arrived at the place (Arnold with Yapita et al. 2000; Arnold 2007a, 2007b) and a pending task was to explore the similarities and differences between the two blocks of narratives focused on these “model personages,” whether saints or ancestors.

In my innocence, I first tried to compare the degree of “veracity” in these local oral histories to that of the written history we found in the local ayllu archives, or in the Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, in Sucre, and other historical archives in the region (Arnold 2007b). Understanding the textual formations of religious interpretations was another axis we explored in relation to Easter, and the significance of Christ, his death and resurrection, for the people of the place, a theme I take up again in this book (Arnold and Yapita 1999, 2007). Over the past few years, a renewed interest in the religiosity of the region and in the cults around the popular saints in particular (see Gil 2010, 2015) fed into the analysis of the saints I present here, even though the accent in these is often from the perspective of Northwest Argentina or Spain.

With a greater awareness of the problems of historiography, I began to study ways of recording the past using the methods of history as a discipline as compared to the methods of ethnohistory (Arnold 2008b). But I was still at a loss to understand the ties between the sources, methods, and practices of historiography. Studies over the last decade have gone a step further in this direction, by paying attention not only to material recorded as fact (or not) but to the political questions of *who* had documented that which had been recorded, with what aim and what specific terminology (Zagalsky 2012). In these studies, a strong call to attention signals the dangers in a literal use of many terms formerly taken for granted, amongst them *señorío*, ethnic group, community, *pueblo*, ayllu, chiefdom, capital (*cabecera*), and settlements (*asentamiento*), according to the modalities of the day in distinct disciplines, with their advantages and disadvantages (Morrone 2005). One alternative option is to

appeal to their Andean equivalents in the precolonial period. Another is to be more conscious of the internal struggles in play in the redaction of history. These struggles can be perceived in many colonial documents charged with political and administrative preconceptions, managed from the point of view of the Spanish and their notaries or scribes (*escribanos*), or in the strategic use of the same terms by the social actors of the day, even Andean leaders trying to better their positioning in negotiations with the Spanish Crown.

Another new field of study I take advantage of here is concerned with construing Andean ritualized landscapes and the pathways that interlace between, and connect them throughout the whole region. Following the seminal work by Abercrombie (1998) on “pathways of memory” in nearby K’ulta, we explored similar pathways in Qaqachaka, together with the places named along these mnemonic routes, which resound constantly in the memories of the local population (Arnold and Yapita 1998a; Arnold 2009a, 2016a; Arnold with Yapita and Espejo 2016b). Here the multitemporality lived by local people is experienced in those extraordinary places that figure in the great narratives of the region.

Yet another vital aspect of Qaqachaka history that called our attention was the notorious warfaring reputation of the place and its inhabitants, and its relation to the historical past and even to its very origins. This came to light a generation ago in the context of the so-called “war of the ayllus” in the year 2000, which we experienced first hand (Arnold and Yapita 1996; Arnold and Hastorf 2008; Arnold 2015a). However, in this book I give more attention to the conflicts that emerged in the 1980s between the minor ayllus that make up Qaqachaka, as a reaction to changes in the system of turns in the authorities of the place.

Given these differences in approach, a central challenge in this book is how to respect these distinct validations of sources, methods and practices, as well as the distinct voices of the social actors immersed in the history of Qaqachaka and the wider region, in a coherent but not a singular narrative.

Revisiting History as a Discipline and the Methods of History in the Andes

About the Sources

Apart from the present-day paradigmatic changes in the Social Sciences, many aspects in our rethinking of Andean notions of history and memory derive from new perspectives towards the past in the disciplines of Anthropology, Archaeology, and History. It is now practically taken for granted that the history of the past is really a “history of the present,” forged by the interests and preoccupations of living generations (John and Jean Comaroff 1992). But it is equally important to be conscious of the connections and associations applied in the construction of a certain history of the past as if it were more “authentic” than other versions.

One entry into this problem, developed from within History as a discipline, is that of analyzing the supposedly “universal” forms for constructing history, as compared to their regional variants. The Haitian historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot, in his book *Silencing the*

Past. Power and the Production of History ([1995] 2017), does just that, in his proposal that written history is constituted on the basis of certain key moments:

- The moment of *creating* the “facts” or “data” (making the sources);
- The moment of *assembling* the “facts” or “data” (making the archives);
- The moment of *recuperating* the “data” (making the narratives);
- The moment of *giving meaning* to the “data” retrospectively (making history).

Trouillot gave particular attention in the production of history to the “power of narrative.” In dealing with this issue, Trouillot debated the positions taken up by the positivists, who perceived a difference between history “as it really happened,” and “that which was said to have happened,” but hiding the real relations of power at play, and the constructivists, who assumed that this distinction is nothing more than a super-positioning, thus denying the autonomy of social and historical processes. Even so, Trouillot’s approach is still too singular, not giving enough credit to the complex interweaving of practices that occur in colonized societies.

The question remains of how these steps in history-making were carried out by Andean and Amazonian populations, where orality too played an important part and where these peoples were in constant negotiation with the colonizing powers that be. A clue is found in Aymara language, in the more corporeal and sensorial notion of “grasping” a memory in the heart (*chuymar katuqaña*), where there is no attempt to accumulate “data,” just to “personalize” it.

In the lengthy debate about the similarities and differences between written and oral history, as distinct historical practices, a key aspect has questioned which of these leads to a greater degree of veracity concerning what “really happened” in the past. We face a variant of the debate about a supposedly “scientific and objective” history, versus a “non scientific and quite subjective” regional version of history. For the Austrian philosopher Paul Feyerabend (2003/1970), this kind of debate does not take into account the range of options in play in scientific practice, in whatever conjuncture, and it must be the same in the practice of history. On one side are the more official practices, backed by academic institutions and their ways of disseminating the results, and on the other, a series of less hegemonic alternative practices, in which many of the same scientific methods are applied, but to arrive at different conclusions.

For instance, some time ago, the Belgian anthropologist Jan Vansina proposed that oral history in Africa also had its own methods of interpretation, which included reflections about the sources used, with estimations of the probabilities of their veracity (Vansina 1965, 1985; Vansina and Udina 2007). Vansina took up the idea, first proposed in the seventeenth century by the Italian philosopher of history, Giambattista Vico, that the history of memory has to locate its materials in the former oral practices that had already been ignored for some time (cf. Ramos 2011, 139). In the same debate, it was argued that the social distribution of access to historical sources and to knowledge in general should be taken into account, as these constituted the real range of sources and practices in each case under consideration. Additionally, in order to understand the forms of intergenerational transmission, it was necessary to consider the practices and

contexts of the learning and transmission of historical notions in each group. Only in this way could the modalities in each group for judging the degree of veracity of the history produced by distinct sources and types of knowledge really be understood.

In the Andean context of the early colonial period, regional criteria about managing the knowledge of the past were quite distinct from those of the Spanish courts. With contact, rural communities such as Qaqachaka were forced to intermingle these criteria in order to sustain any kind of dialogue in the emerging juridical negotiations. Many aspects of the oral traditions of the region still existed, such as the great myths about the origins of the world which tended to organize such narratives, and in which the primary sources still used were weavings and knotted quipus, songs and tales, and importantly, the long sessions of libation-making. The traditions of certain experts who could “read” these properly Andean sources and communicate their content to others was also quite distinct from the Spanish traditions of reading and writing. At the same time, in the early Colony, another vital part of regional archives were written documents (called the “grandparents’ papers,” *awil achach papila* in Aymara) or copies of these. These documents were usually related to the possession of land, and any services and material goods assigned to the Church, noted in the local registers of communal participation in tasks, building works, and other labour obligations in each region.

This phenomenon of mutual negotiations is captured in this insistent duality of sources, as in the discursive styles of many historical documents. Or was it that, with the Colony, the medieval peninsular idea of “mutual obligations” just became transposed to a new setting (Jurado 2014)? From a communal perspective, it is often possible to hear in these discourses a moralizing voice about injustice in the unfolding historical processes, similar to that in the pages of the early seventeenth century *Nueva Corónica* by Guaman Poma de Ayala. Besides, as Steve Stern points out (1987, 1994), with the Colony we are immersed in a period of intense debate, in which differences of opinion, even among the Spanish administrators, often favoured the indigenous claims of those times. These new attempts to enter into debate with non-Andean interlocutors, involved a semiosis between “writing” practices. The regional populations adopted alphabetic writing and Spanish forms of literacy, with its written conventions and often visual styles, together with the juridical and theological arguments in vogue. In parallel, the Spanish learned about Andean sources, partly in order to appropriate them, for even the Spanish courts permitted evidence to be read from quipus long into the colonial period, given that the data expressed therein was often more precise than that contained in written documents (Loza 1998, 2000, 2001). These debates are present in many of the notarial practices examined in this book.

So, to return to my previous question, is there a uniquely “Andean” or “Amazonian” way of thinking about the past? Or are there rather distinct ways of thinking about the past, which intermix and feed off each other?

The Regional Historians as Interpreters of the Past

The last two decades of Andean Studies have already supplied some replies to these questions, given the deepening knowledge about the interrelations between oral and

written history, to the point of perceiving a series of articulations between these two facets of history.

In essence, it has been argued that oral history is not a uniform discourse, but a multiple one. On the one hand it is possible to distinguish a kind of oral history backed and constantly fed into by written documentation. This kind of oral history is managed by the regional experts in history, the so-called “title-bearers” (*cargatítulos*), “empowered ones” (*apoderados*), *mallkus*, or *segundas*, and their family members. The term “title-bearer” derives from the custom among these men of wandering around bearing bundles of land titles, or of guarding these documents in their personal archives at home, shut away in leather or wooden chests (*petacas*). These men were “empowered” by the members of their ayllus to present claims for land in the regional courts, and they were called *apoderados*, *mallku*, or *segunda* as terms of respect for carrying out these tasks.

We already know a great deal about the empowered ones of the central Altiplano through the valiant work of the Taller de Historia Oral Andina (THOA) (1984, 1991; see also Condori Chura and Ticona 1992). However, these studies tend to focus on affairs of interest to the La Paz region, especially the Republican struggle between haciendas and communal lands as a result of the Ley de Exvinculación de Tierras of 1874, and the role of the empowered ones in defending the regional populations against the usurping of their lands. The empowered ones of the La Paz region must have emerged (or re-emerged) during this period. In Oruro, the historical interests are quite distinct. Places such as Qaqachaka, situated far from any city and with lands difficult to cultivate, were never haciendas, but rather free communities, and their own historians trace the consolidation of this condition in the land compositions of the colonial period. Therefore, the range of memory of these regional historians included details of colonial history and sometimes of the precolonial period too, which the studies by THOA have tended to pass over.

Some time ago, Joanne Rappaport (1990, 1992) called this group of Andean experts, with reference to the situation much further north among the Páez of Colombia, the local “textual community.” She pointed out that these counterparts to the title-bearers further south tended to be illiterate, having learned the contents of local historical documents from the intergenerational experiences of lineages specialized in the modalities of a regional “reading” of these written sources, in which the rhythm of speaking and associated bodily gestures communicated their contents to their listeners. We do not know the precise history of this kind of discourse, although the French historian Bouysse-Cassagne (1998) cites the memories of some past caciques who on special occasions demonstrated these practices in front of their subjects.

The alternative name for the title-bearers of *segunda* or *segunda persona* (second person), remembered by Doña Bernaldita Quispe of Qaqachaka, could be relevant here, as it refers to the authority obliged in former periods to handle quipus, and later on to manage the accounting registers of the populations (and lands) under their charge, and to send mitayos to the mines of Potosí (Jurado 2008, 207). The title-bearers we knew used to compare their written documents, guarded in leather chests and wrapped in rawhide or more recently in plastic, with the quipus of the

past, guarded in similar chests, together with ropes and a llama foetus. They were placed there with the pendant cords wrapped in a spiral, like the hair of a captured trophy head (*p'iqi*) (Arnold with Yapita 2006, 242–43). Consulting quipus in the past was an extremely ritualized activity. Before depositing them within the leather chest, they had to be offered the herb bittermint (*q'uwa*, Lat. *Minthostachys mollis* Epl.) and be lubricated with llama fat. If they were not, it was in vain, as there would be no production, neither of animals nor food produce. The treatment of the colonial written documents followed a similar logic, demanding a blood offering of a sacrificed sheep and a toast to the ancestors. This is why the opening pages tend to be speckled with liquids (Yapita 2006, 286).

Quite different from this kind of oral history, fed constantly by written sources, is another type, much more mythical in content and less based in writing. Jacques Le Goff (1992, 55) calls this “ethnic memory” and proposes that it deals in the absence of writing with the oral myths concerning the origins of “ethnic groups.” We find examples of this second kind of memory in Qaqachaka and they tend to be managed by comunarios with less knowledge about written historical sources, having more distant ties to the families and specialized knowledge of the title-bearers themselves (Rappaport 1992; Arnold 2007a, 2008a, Arnold 2008b). The mythical history they present tends to have less historical precision about events, and is often focused on the deeds of personages that are more mythical than historical. As we shall see, this more mythical history and memory also describes a certain genre of discourse about origins.

Nonetheless, in this book my main attention is directed towards the historical narratives of Qaqachaka according to some of the last historians or “title-bearers” of the place. One of these was Don Franco Quispe, descendant on his mother’s side from the Inca Maraza lineage, well-known empowered ones since centuries ago, whose ascendants included Don Feliciano Inca Maraza, active in the 1920s, and his son Robustiano. Don Franco had his own archive of written documents, a part of which he shared with us, together with his formidable memory of the oral history of the region. Doña Bernaldita Quispe Colque, daughter of Mallku Mariano Quispe, and hence another person endowed with a great deal of knowledge about the local documentary history, shared many commentaries and tales with us. We heard about other regional lineages of such mallkus, including Mallku Martín Choque Inca Maraza of Irunsata, and Mallku Nicolás Colque of the hamlet of Qhatüma, but did not have the opportunity of conversing with them. Doña Bernaldita stressed the status of these mallkus in the community, and how, given the demands of their work travelling from place to place, the people left in Qaqachaka used to work for them, cultivated and harvesting their lands.

The narratives of these local historians form the documentary basis of this book. Even so, I am conscious that these narratives are incomplete, and that we are still faced with the question of how to deal with the existing silences in them, in oral sources as well as written ones. I could only experiment in the book with certain historiographic operations, by developing in the text a series of explicative hypotheses, always leaving open the possibility that these could be improved with access to more data in the future.

Gendered Differences in Ways of Thinking about the Past, and the Practices of Remembering and Relating it

Other differences in the practices in Qaqachaka of remembering and relating the past derive from the gendered questions we observed throughout our stay there. Some of these differences have to do with access to the sources of historical data. In the recent past, few women attended school long enough to learn to read and write, and so it was left to the men to manage the historical documents about land titles.

Other gendered differences concern approaches towards the performativity of the oral history of the place, in the kinds of discourse and performance in which the past was usually expressed. Here, the men tended to “narrate” this history, in some cases in allusion to written documents and in others to more mythical tales, and always in relation to their travels outside the immediate ayllu, criss-crossing the regional landscape, which served as the territorial basis for their present-day memories and points of historical reference. For their part, the women tended to “sing” this history, wrapping the historical personages they named in layers of sound, and their background sources included, instead of written documents, the textiles they wove. In these textiles, they expressed, according to their own criteria, the elements of the regional landscape, although in those years they did not use to travel much outside the ayllu as the men did. In exceptional cases, young weavers par excellence were charged with expressing in a specially woven documentary the historical cartography of Qaqachaka territory within the wider region. In the book, I include narratives by both men and women, the songs to the saint-gods, mostly by the women, and some references in passing to the textiles.

The book notes how it was the men who recorded the great deeds of the male ancestors of the place, emphasizing as they did so their physical strength and their political achievements, whereas the women gave pride of place to the deeds of the great female ancestors, emphasizing their reproductive powers and their achievements in founding and defending the ayllu lands. So, instead of simply distinguishing between the *oral* and *written* modalities of history, we can now distinguish between the “forms” of orality (narratives, songs, dances) and the “textual supports” for memory (written documents, textiles, landscapes), each of these in turn being skewed by the kinds of membership of the ayllu members, as well as their sex.

The Narrative Forms of History and Memory

To understand the narrative forms practiced in the history and memory of Qaqachaka, I had to take into account other factors based on a series of question. How was I to characterize the representations of the philosophy of history and the forms of historiography found there? And, associated with these, how could I characterize the kinds of memory privileged in each case?

As Carlo Ginzburg shows, history as a discipline tends to speak about other things but not of itself, its methods, its epistemological positionings, or its ways of writing to convince. One result, as in the case of textual criticism, has been a progressive dematerialization of the text under scrutiny, which ignores the processes of its creation to become focused exclusively on the final text (Ginzburg [1986] 1992, 107). So, another challenge

in this book was how to recover the events, and with them the performances of the social actors of Qaqachaka and the wider region, which still lie in the background of the “texts” that remain, whether these are oral or written.

In examining such problems, the North American historian Hayden White gives attention to the construction of *historical discourse*, as a vital part of a representation that mediates between the past to be represented and a type of written narrative (White 2003, 141; Barnett 2017). For White, philosophies of history at a universal level take their data from a specific past, to order it in hierarchies of congruent relations within a particular vision of a past reality, but it does this through a specific narrative structure (White [1978] 2003, 148).

Here we are not dealing with the validity of the data presented by philosophers of history, but rather the function and place that each element of data occupies in the construction of historiography, and the sense of each narrative structure in this wider setting. White’s approach designates *two* ways of understanding philosophies of history: by correspondence with reality and by congruence with the data organized in hierarchies. As a result, White assumes the historical text as a system of judgments in which none has validity in isolation, only as an integral part of the discursive structure. For him, each historical narrative is a “verbal artifact that pretends to be a model of very ancient structures and processes and, consequently, is not subject to experimental or observational controls” (White [1978] 2003, 109). And since historical narratives are not subject to the controls related to scientific methods, they are more similar to literary constructions—White uses the term “tropology”—in a combination of fictional elements invented by the historian, and elements found in historical documents. So, for White, historical narratives must be understood as “texts with discursive qualities,” generated in their own moment by the social actors involved in the original events, or by the researcher identifying and describing the relations between the elements revealed in the historical field (White [1978] 2003, 168). To this end, White defines four tropes to understand the structure of universal historical narratives: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony.

White’s conclusions make me think that, in the context of historical narratives in the Andes, instead of dealing with “universal” tropes in the construction of history, we face more “regional” ones, derived from distinct historical traditions and, from the Conquest onward, their points of encounter and articulation. Even if the narratives of written history do appeal to the four tropes identified by White, the narratives of oral history in places such as Qaqachaka appeal to quite different tropes: the generic and specific motifs that structure discourse, analogies between elements, formulaic phrases, images of the landscape, verbal readings of quipus and textiles, the rhythms and verbal content of songs, the recitations of the long series of libations of the “pathways of memory,” to name just a few (Arnold and Yapita, 1998, 2004).

It is equally necessary to consider in each case the supports that served as material points of reference for generating these distinct tropes, and the forms of articulation between those supports and the tropes in discursive practices. Taking into account this combination of support, trope, and discourse shows that the distinct kinds of history in play are really the result of inscriptional practices of one form or another, in a broader

sense. Likewise, the “texts” that remain with us long after a performance (whether in oral memories, or else textiles, quipus and written documents), permit us a later reflection on these events, by means of these fresh external supports, to contemplate the ideas in the making. The linguist Roy Harris (1989, 2000) and the philosopher Richard Menary (2007) call the cultural process of fashioning such cognitive supports a creation of “autoglottic spaces” (Arnold 2015b). In the inscriptional practices of these commemorative acts, whether through the supports of written documents, textiles, quipus, songs, narratives or the verbal sequences of libation-making in the pathways of memory, each distinct support provides an autoglottic space for reflection, linked to specific practices of memorizing history through the specific tropes of practical performances.

These reflections helped me analyze another key aspect of Qaqachaka’s oral history, this time in relation to the very detailed descriptions of the travels of the saints that occupy the colonial church, from their place of origin to arrive finally in the main pueblo. In practice, these “pathways of the gods” (*yusa thakhi*) throughout the landscape serve as autoglottic supports for their recitation in the paths of memory during libation-making. In an Amazonian context, the Spanish anthropologist Fernando Santos-Granero (1998) explores in such commemorative practices the corporeal aspects for these performances, especially those in which the local landscape becomes transformed into the principal support for history and memory. He is interested in how certain Amazonian groups have inhabited their territory in precolonial times, through such acts of consecration of this territory, identifying the sites of creation and veneration. He is similarly interested in how these territories were lost in colonial, republican, and modern times, and how their inhabitants perceived these losses (in terms of the *pishtacos*, a kind of vampire, profanation, and destruction) (Fernando Santos-Granero 1998, 131). Santos-Granero explores these tendencies as “practices of inscription,” although he goes a step further to perceive the mnemonic practices enacted in the landscape as “topographic writing.” He proposes that, with the landscape as a support for these practices, we face a “proto-writing” in the sense of a “semiotic system” of topographical references (cf. Goody 1993, 8).

This landscape-as-support approach allows us to trace the development of the relation between landscape and the mythical-mnemonic, given that, as these practices evolve, the spatial episodes that occur within the landscape are combined and recombined as “mythemes.” For Santos-Granero, these practices must have been closely tied to social institutions of the past, while these same practices quite probably conformed the reference point upon which these institutions were developed historically. From there emerge the key mythemes of historical inscription, such as that of “sowing history” among the Páez of Colombia (Rappaport 1989, 87).

Within these landscapes, instead of tropes in and of themselves, Santos-Granero prefers to speak about “topograms,” and identifies in the Amazonian region where he works *three* kinds of topograms: personal reminiscences, collective oral traditions, and mythic narratives. Through these topograms, some memoristic traces become permanent in the history of the group (Santos-Granero 1998, 141), preserving memory as would a proper system of writing. Santos-Granero’s approach helps me go a step further than simply identifying the material supports for the narratives in question, or the

externalization of an autoglottic space that permits reflection upon them, to understand better the nature of the ties between these conceptual supports and the narratives generated around them, whether in the system of *ceques*, the pathways of memory or the ancestral pathways taken by the saints of the place.

The Indiciary Methods of History

As a whole, the observations about historical practices made by White, Harris, Menary, and Santos-Granero make us even more aware of the research processes involved in the historiographic operations we carry out, as we decide which are the most pertinent data to use from the past, how to identify these, follow them, and then order in a viable historiography. And we must do so not only from the perspective of the present, but in a way that makes sense in relation to the past and for the people of the locality.

One of the most useful methods for identifying and then ordering historical data has been the indiciary paradigm, where priority is given to examining the details of a specific case, instead of becoming preoccupied by the broader historical tendencies. We are dealing here with methods directed at the predominantly qualitative data of specific cases, although the methods themselves could be applied to other cases. Best known is the application of this method in Carlo Ginzburg's historical case study, described in his book *The Cheese and the Worms* (1976). It deals with the detection of evidence or clues (as in a crime) by examining the details, material and non material, in order to follow the events of a past we did not witness, decipher them, infer their causes and effects, to then reorder these details and the interpretations about them to reconstruct a comprehensible totality (Ginzburg [1986] 1992).

Similar methods had been applied already by historians of art, such as Aby Warburg (who coined the phrase "God is in the details"), in his ethnographic studies of the American Southwest, and his iconographic studies of the Florentine Renaissance. Carlo Ginzburg took from the Warburgian method his way of linking figurative representations to the experiences, pleasures, and mentality of a specific society (Ardila 2016, 24). In his own studies of Italian Renaissance art, Ginzburg examines the circulation of knowledge and images between the subaltern and dominant classes by considering the relative access of each group to reproductions of these images. Previous historians had not taken into account this circulation of the symbolic among social strata, and this cultural circulation between classes inspired Ginzburg to develop his masterwork, *The Cheese and the Worms*.

I appeal to the same idea in this book, as a way of explaining the similar influences and tendencies in Europe and the Andes, say in the juridical negotiations between each side during the colonial period. However, we are still facing a method that is selective of the data under examination in an indirect, conjectural, and abstract way. And although the mentalities of societies are now under the microscope of historians, we are still a long way from the performative, gestural, sensorial, and emotive context of the commemorative acts and practices that record the past.

The Practices of Memory

In order to recover the “practices of memory” in Andean societies, such as Qaqachaka, I first scrutinized previous studies on the theme. The classic study by the British anthropologist Paul Connerton (1989) on how societies remember the past is focused on the ways in which memory might legitimize the social order through similar processes of ordering certain expectations in common. In that approach, the social aspects of history and memory are recognized (Connerton uses the term “social memory”), but even so, history and memory are treated as “things” rather than as “practices.”

I went on to examine the nature of memory, especially social memory, and the social trajectory of memory (in the work of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, of 1925), together with the locus of memory and the systems of memory in distinct societies and at different times. In this concern over the “social” uses of the past, memory is perceived as a documentary source and a framework of interpretation or field of interlocation in common (Halbwachs 1925, in Ramos 2011, 132). Later on, even Halbwachs (in later work published in 1950) started to examine the characteristics of a more “collective memory,” and its ways of creating a social consciousness about history through the use of common temporal and spatial frameworks, as compared to the trajectory of individual lives. Even so, Halbwachs’s approach, while allowing us to identify subaltern histories within other hegemonic histories, does not offer us the instruments to understand the distinct histories that emerge in the even more complex situation of multiple influences and plurality that we face in the Andes (Ramos 2011).

Turning our attention to more Andean socio-cultural practices of memory, as a societal modality for remembering the past, I already mentioned how these practices constantly interact with diverse autoglottic supports (archival documents, quipus, songs, narratives, libations) to generate their respective discursive tropes. Here it is not so useful to distinguish insistently between written and oral history, or their points of intersection with the Conquest, and much more advantageous to examine the relations between these material autoglottic supports and the practices that emerge in their use, in transmitting the memory of the historical past from one generation to another. For these reasons, there is no hard and fixed differentiation in the Andes between “history” and “memory” as in the West (cf. Lambek 1998, 2006; Ramos 2011, 139).

Neither do Andeans perceive history as “one thing” and memory as “another thing,” in a Western sense. From the point of view of the Canadian anthropologist Michael Lambek, the Westernized materialization of history and memory has been the result of the Romantic objectivizing of memory, in which the proliferation of conceptual divisions follows the logic of possessive individualism. In Andean languages, there is no appeal to different nouns to describe history or memory. You could force definitions of oral history as “talk of the past” (*layra parla* in Aymara) and written history as “the grandparents’ papers” (*awil achach papila*), but in practice as in discourse there is a constant articulation between both kinds of history. In the practices of memory we found in the Andes, neither is it an individual who “possesses memory”; rather each person is immersed in a complex set of relational practices shared between subjects. And although there are Aymara verbs, such as *amtaña*, for “commemorating” and “remembering,” it is

more common to refer to the practices of following the “pathways of memory” (*amtaña thakhi*), while reciting in an ordered way the series of libations. Thus memory and history have much more to do with practices *constructed socially* than those concerned with the subjectivity of individuals.

In practice, it seems to me that history is constructed socially in relation to the processes through which things happen. It is the *comunarios* of places such as Qaqachaka who act as the social actors and agents who construct the local archives of written history and the verbal narratives of oral history. That is why the approach of regional populations towards memorizing and commemorating the past are not singular nor static, but constantly changing along with the influences and tendencies at a local, regional, national, or international level, and the hegemonic struggles for power between individuals, families, *ayllus*, regions, or nations.

Memory, History, and Interpretations of the Past

If indeed ideas about the past are really contemplated from the present (according to the proposal by the Comaroffs, in 1992), then what are the cultural practices through which the present can organize and interpret the past?

In the Andes, there are the interests, modalities, and indices of connections and associations that present generations tend to apply to notions of the past. But, in addition to these, we cannot underestimate the power of social movements, indigenous movements, and political movements in general—whether from the left or the right—to mould notions of the past from the present for whole generations. In countries such as Bolivia, certain groups of intellectuals (in THOA for example), and some leaders of opinion in social movements, from Nina Quispe to Fausto Reinaga and Felipe Quispe, have been key figures in these political influences. Likewise, certain well disseminated texts about the past have been fundamental in this politicization, whether from the more generalized influence of *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, by Eduardo Galeano (1971), to the specific influence in the South-Central Andes of *La identidad aymara*, by Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne (1987) (cf. Arnold 2009b, 53 and chapter 5; 2016c).

At a more conceptual level, the universal academic practices of analyzing history through chronological configurations of the past, derived from the structured organization of time imposed in the processes of modernity to divide it into identifiable blocks, has been taken for granted. These blocks of time tend to derive in turn from the temporal organization according to certain periods of reference. Studies on the Andes refer to the moments of expansion (the Horizons) and contraction (the Intermediate Periods) of civilizations or empires, or to the major events of official history (the Spanish Conquest, the Wars of Independence, the formation of the republics). But for the *ayllu comunarios* of the South-Central Andes, neither these conventional chronologies, nor the great events of official history, influence their own notions of history. For the Qaqachakas, the Conquest is neither mentioned nor felt as a key event of the past. And as I have already mentioned, the experience of time, evident in the regional languages of Aymara and Quechua, is multiple rather than singular. This book includes an episode

about the regional rebellions of the 1770s, given their importance in the wider history of the region. Likewise, in his history of the neighbouring ayllu of K'ulta, Abercrombie compares the memories of the K'ulteños of the time before and after the rebellions of the 1780s. But again, I insist, in the oral history of the place these events are totally absent.

In order to free the history of Qaqachaka from the Western preoccupation about identifiable and separate temporal units, I resorted to the paradigmatic shifts explored by some philosophers (Bergson, Heidegger, Deleuze and Guattari), which allowed me to appreciate the overlapping of time periods, of past and present, in a multitemporal framework instead of a unitemporal one. The recent work of certain archaeologists (for example Hamilakis 2015) also helped me rethink the nature of temporality in archaeological sites, not simply as instances of a distant past relegated to the universal chronological concepts of Archaeology as a discipline, but as places just as recognized in the present by local populations.

Other researchers, especially those that belong to these regional populations, seek to obviate the lineal conventional time frames of official history, in favour of alternative approaches. Some reject the ontological separation established between nature and culture, the notion of progress, and the insistent tensions between the universal and the particular. They privilege instead the social processes that occur and reoccur in the repeating cycles of returning, the *pachacuti* of regional history, lived in common by these populations (Uturunco 2017). Here the Andean concept of *pacha* captures the ambiguity in regional notions between a more specific time, whether of a lineal or cyclical nature, and a longer epoch or chronology, or between a more generalized space or a well defined locality. In these regional perceptions of history, priority is given to the cyclical character of agricultural and pastoral periods, and of astronomical cycles, instead of the stratigraphic notions of Archaeology or the chronological divisions of official history.

Another factor worth taking into account in these Andean designations of time is that, in the original oral narratives in Aymara that we recorded in Qaqachaka, it is the ontological significance of distinct verbal tenses that come to dominate discourses about the past. In these narratives, a key distinction is made between a verbal tense that indicates something the narrator *has seen* with his or her own eyes (using the verbal termination of the near remote tense to express direct knowledge and applying the *-ta* suffix), or another verbal tense that indicates that the narrator *has not seen* that event (using the verbal termination of the far remote to express indirect knowledge, in this case applying the *-tawi* suffix in Qaqachaka, equivalent to *-tayna* in La Paz). In the case of direct knowledge, it is common in historical tales for the narrator to confirm the veracity of a fact or of an event of a specific practice, by adding the expression "I've really opened my eyes to this" (*ukarupiniw uñattata*). In the case of indirect knowledge, the narrator marks his or her distance from those events by adding the comment "he or she said," *siwa* in Aymara, although this often demands a whole chain of verbal transmission through the use of the verb *saña*, "to say," *ukham sasaw satayna*, "so saying they'd said." Over the last centuries, Andean Spanish has adapted to these Andean perceptions of the witnessing of time, and, in comparison with Peninsular Spanish, appeals to the past perfect auxiliary *había*, "had," to refer to something not actually seen (either in the past or the present), whereas the auxiliary of the perfect tense *ha*, "has," is used to refer to something *actually*

seen personally. I acknowledge these fundamental differences in some translations into English of the original Aymara oral narratives we made.

Concerning Methods of Work

Taking these factors into account as a method of work, in coordination with the linguist Juan de Dios Yapita, we first taped episodes of oral history in the narratives of the distinct local historians with whom we worked. Then we transcribed the texts of these narratives in our notebooks, where we went on to translate the Aymara original into Spanish (and here in this book into English), giving special attention to the use of certain verbal tenses already indicated. The next step was to order and contextualize these narratives.

Although this phase of work involved many challenges, without any doubt the greater task was that of contextualizing these episodes narrated orally over several years, when we sought out and then analyzed any pertinent written documents. In these searches in the historical archives at local, regional, national, and international levels, we gradually traced and contextualized the personages and events we had already found in the oral narratives. The final steps were to contextualize the corresponding historical events “from the region” and not “from outside it,” and even more difficult, interpret these events from the way of thinking of the local people.

In these stages of work, it was essential to appreciate regional notions of time in the historical processes of the place. In the absence of a term in Aymara (or Quechua) for “time” as such, it has become commonplace to affirm that in Andean languages *pacha* signifies both “time” and “space,” although this is not certain. This perspective is far too Cartesian for my point of view, and I prefer to translate *pacha* simply as “epoch” or “era.” Besides, any attempt to rescue a precolonial purism through such concepts of the past seems to me to be equally mistaken. In reality, we are talking about long-term negotiations over the meanings of these concepts, where appropriations and re-appropriations took place during centuries by both the Andean populations and the Spanish or Creole administration.

The solutions to these challenges are more pragmatic. Faced with the Spanish concepts of time written into the colonial documents handled by local historians such as Don Franco Quispe, it became usual to borrow into Andean languages the original Spanish term, now as *timpu*, in combination with the different historical periods (translated as *pacha*). This tendency is not directed at dividing time into fixed and unidirectional periodizations such as the pre- and post-Conquest periods, but into distinctive epochs, although these were often superimposed upon each other in the multitemporality at play. So, in oral narratives there is often a certain doubt in the minds of the people of the region about which period precedes another. And frequently these time periods become mixed up, making it difficult to separate them out, as do historians (and archaeologists) formed in the West.

On this basis, the historical concepts managed by Don Franco in his narratives include the Time of the Gentiles (*Jintil Timpu*), populated by the Gentiles (pre-Christian people), the Time of the Chullpas (*Chullpa Timpu*) when the Chullpa people lived (*chullpa jaqi*),

followed by the Time of the Inka (*Inka Timpu*) when the Chullpa people were wiped out, and then by the Time of the Spanish (*Ispañul Timpu*). Even though the Conquest is never mentioned as such, this transcendental event comes to define the limits to the history of the place, given that the emergence of Qaqachaka originates when the Spanish arrive.

The Institutional Forms for Transmitting the Past

In the retrospective application of present interests and worries back to the past, the fluidity of these current regional practices, combined with any cultural acts concerned with the transference of memory, are vital. There is also the possibility that these practices do in fact derive from that distant past.

Thomas Abercrombie (1998) identified one Andean way of expressing temporal and spatial divisions through the “pathways of memory” (*amtaña thakhi*) recited in K’ulta, not far from Qaqachaka, and Tom Zuidema (1964) identified the pathways called “ceque” (*siqi* in Aymara) radiating out from Cusco (Peru) into the surrounding landscape, associated with the ancestors and managed ritually by ayllu kin groups (see also Arnold 2007b). Through enactments of such institutionalized, ritualized, and metonymically intrinsic practices, in a present context, contacts between the present and the past were established, permitting the continual re-vindication of the past according to today’s politics. We are dealing here with frameworks of inherited intergenerational interpretations.

In ethnographic contexts, many of these institutionalized practices have been examined not so much from a historical standpoint as from oral theory and oral tradition, ethnopoeitics, and the ethnography of performance. From this literary perspective, as I mentioned in relation to the ideas of Hayden White, history constitutes a performative genre, a certain kind of narrative with certain peculiarities, and from this perspective, we can recognize the proper literary genres of Andean history (*thakhi*, *ch’alla*, *layra parla*, *awil achach papila* etc.).

However, the phenomenon of alternative histories struggling for hegemony can also result in the coexistence of contradictory comprehensions of identity and history. Gerd Bauman (1996) recognizes this kind of coexistence in the present-day multiethnic situations of London, which produce dual discursive competitions. In Qaqachaka too, distinct versions of history, whether that of the local historians as individuals, or that of certain families or gendered groups, produce not so much contradictory as incomplete versions of events. But we do encounter the dual discursive competitions at another level, in the colonial negotiations between the Qaqachakas and the Spanish, or in the present struggles between the official history of the Bolivian nation and these local versions of history, grounded in more regional experiences of the past.

From these more literary perspectives on the performative aspects of the Andean past, Cornejo Polar observes, in *Escribir en el aire* (2003), that Andeans, instead of writing or inscribing their history, tend to “dance” it. I have not examined this idea much here in the case of Qaqachaka, although I do consider the ritual and sung practices to commemorate the past.

The understanding of these ways of acting out or representing history has tended until now to differentiate between predominantly *oral* practices, whether verbal or corporeal, directed at places (the landscape), physical objects (*wak'as* or saints) or sequences of actions (the series of libations, the recitation of litanies, dance choreography, song verses), characterized by the use of certain ritual costumes and instruments, and other more *inscribed* practices, determined on the basis of a written text. But, in fact, all these practices facilitate interaction and social action by objectifying memory according to certain organizing principles, in the oral practices of repetition, the *ch'allas* of the local authorities, the rounds by foot of the boundaries of a place, the system of turns in the *cargos* of the authorities, the reading of documents written by the local historians, and the practices of the ecclesiastical authorities, just to name a few. As I explained before, I do not think this conceptual division between the oral and the written is so hard and fast, there being common principles occurring in both cases, so the alternative focus on the material supports for these processes of acting out certain practices is much more fruitful.

Likewise, resorting to a theoretical model based on this idea of supports for these practices, helps us obviate the distinction between “collective memory” and “genealogical memory.” This is because we are facing two systems of registering the past, whose juxtaposition, comparison and contrast can lead to better analytic results than their mutual exclusion (cf. Abercrombie 1998; Rappaport 1990, 78–94, 1992). More recently, the Portuguese historian Joël Candau ([1998] 2008, 140) has proposed a distinction between these two forms of memory in the following way. For Candau, “genealogical memory” is concerned with an innovative creation, based on tales of the founding ancestors and *epopeyas*, in which that which he calls *prosopopeya* is always present, since every individual death can become converted into an object of memory and identity, with greater ease the more distant it is in time (cf. Morrone 2010, 215). By contrast, “collective memory” only exists differentially, “in the heart of a relation always dynamically dependent on an other” (Candau [1998] 2008, 45, my translation).

This point underlines yet again the binary antagonisms between the concepts of history and memory which underlie these notions. We are in the domain of alternative histories, in which certain groups, ethnias, lineages, or ayllus—or indeed the struggles of sex and gender—idealize certain “model personages,” by selecting some characteristics worthy of imitation, or on the contrary, negate other reprehensible characteristics, in the politicized processes of managing and reconfiguring their identities. As Rappaport observes in her studies in Colombia, these would be some of the operations that make the historical construction of genealogical memories more viable, for example those by which a lineage could seek in the past a way of protecting its legitimacy, challenged in the present (Rappaport 1990, 79–84).

Passing on now to ritual contexts oriented towards the past, I explore in this book Hocart's proposal (of 1935) that ritual is a kind of technique directed at the continuation of life, that necessarily invokes communication not just between humans but with all non human beings too. I also examine the idea of the philosophers Deleuze and Guattari (1988), explored by the archaeologist Hamilakis (2015) that, in the application of these techniques, an “assemblage” of instruments and ritual paraphernalia of one kind or

another is used. And that it is around these assemblages that the narratives, gestures, and other goings on of ritual practice are developed, in bundles of relations (Arnold 2018b).

At the same time, the practices to objectify the components of memory resort to processes that subjectify the participants in their setting. There exists an abundant literature about the ties between memory and the sense of place in other parts of the world (Bachelard, Feld, Basso, De Certeau, Casey). In the Andes, the practices directed towards “spatializing” memory, according to the patterns (or chronotopes, *sensu* Bakhtin 1989) of pathways in the landscape, the ritual organization of landscape, the typical verses of songs to the gods, or the bodily practices of making processions, marches, and parades, especially in the case of Qaqachaka, usually resort to webs of associations related to the territorial strategies of the present (cf. Rappaport 1985). The association between memory and the ritual practices of serving certain dishes or drinks, in specific contexts, is another modality which situates the participants in the present, to contemplate the past, in regional equivalents to Marcel Proust’s remembrance of the past, the moment he tasted his *madeleine*.

In other mnemonic practices of the Andes, the effort of “materializing” memory predominates, say in the customs of giving the gifts, called *ayni*, which demands a return in some future moment, as part of habitual socio-cultural obligations. In this book, the ritual obligation that demands that the comunarios of Qaqachaka pass a feast for a local saint and, at the same time, pass a web of obligations and rights towards both the past and the future, facilitates the reproduction of social memory.

To appreciate how present perspectives can reconstruct the past, it is equally important to understand the practices of forgetting, or, at least, of choosing selectively the episodes worth remembering and silencing the rest. The tendencies to remember only the episodes of a selected history form part of the ideological constructions of a specific history. Part of the same ideological constructions are the collective ways of *tele-scoping* time, so that certain events or vital personages predominate in the memory of certain groups, to the detriment of others (Candau [1998] 2008; Morrone 2010, 215, 2015b; Quispe 2016).

Silencing is another powerful practice of memory. My impression based on the oral history of Qaqachaka is that the traumas that skew history or produce its silences, occur not so much in relation to the colonial period, as to the republican period. For the comunarios of the place, the Colony was a creative period in which they set out to negotiate and renegotiate their identity, according to the norms imposed from the outside (the Spanish laws, Catholicism, the territorial reorganization of the doctrines, the imposition of a Republic of Indians), reconfiguring their replies on the basis of their own values in order to achieve the ethnogenesis of the locality, not as a new postcolonial phenomenon, but as a suitable framework for them to preserve their own continuity. By contrast, the Republic announces a long period of state withdrawal, beginning with the deliberate destruction by the Bolivian State of the regional economy of wheat production, in order to take advantage of these fiscal entries to import Chilean flour, simply to finance the previous Wars of Independence (Platt 1982, chapter 2).

This made me appreciate how this ayllu region in the South-Central Andes is equivalent to the extensive high territorial mass in eastern Asia, characterized by the Dutch

geographer Wilhelm van Schendel as “Zomia” (see also Scott 2009) or, in the New World, to the “Territorial Autonomous Zones” (TAZ) as described by Hakim Bey (1999). These are regions usually characterized by “tribalism” (Rosen 2016) that seek in a specific historical moment to escape from state control and the demands of state administration. This self exclusion includes refusing the conventional use of alphabetic writing to manage bureaucratic documentation. The history of Qaqachaka reveals certain elements of this kind of self exclusion, above all in the Republican period. Hence the unwillingness in this part of Bolivia to teach reading and writing well in schooling, according to state modalities, or to really agree on an official alphabet with which to write regional languages, until today. Instead, custom there perceives their own way of understanding reading and writing as part of the tradition of taking trophy heads or reading from quipus, and proscribes the use of such generative elements outside of common everyday usage.

Relational Ontologies, Ideas about the Past and Notions of the Person

Returning to the recent paradigm shifts in the Social Sciences and Humanities, and the role that relational ontologies play in these, another aspect concerning the past that I examine is the configuration of the person and ideas of oneself. Conventional history tends to elevate the life of cultural heroes into memorable personages, and present their deeds during their lifetimes in exemplary lives. Michael Lambek’s argument (1998, 2006) is that this perception of history derives from existing ontologies in the West that privilege the life of the individual over and above that of the group. But, in societies such as the islands of Madagascar, where Lambek works, and in societies such as Qaqachaka in the Andes, a much more relational sense of the person predominates.

The study of group practices in societies with relational ontologies began in India, in Nurit Bird-Davis’s work on the Nayaka (1999), on the heels of Marilyn Strathern’s earlier work on the Hagen of Papua New Guinea in Melanesia, where she coined the term “dividual” to indicate the multirelationality of persons in that society, in comparison to the atomized “individuals” of the West (Strathern 1989). Incipient studies of the same phenomenon in the Andes (Harvey 1998; De Munter 2016) and among the Mapuches of Chile (Course 2010) show how, in these similarly multirelational societies, notions of the past privilege practices shared between people. So, historical narratives, as in Qaqachaka, concern the constitution of the person in the context of their relations with others, just as practices tied to memories of the past concern the socio-corporeal aspects of memory (Lambek 2006; Course 2010).

In my analysis of the historical narratives of Qaqachaka within the framework of relational ontologies, although the ancestors of the place are treated as cultural heroes at an individual level, I note the focus in these narratives on ways of acting in wider socio-cultural formations, from which the ayllu-annex slowly emerges. In other words we are dealing with an accumulating series of singular lives—whether of the ancestors, gods or saints—but focused on the relational identities between historical groups of social actors, and directed towards the emergence of the group and its reproduction through history. This phenomenon is reiterated throughout the book, in the narratives on the

origins of the ayllu, in the struggles to make it independent as an administrative and political unit, and in the tales of how the local school came into being.

Beside this, in the narrative process of constructing the historical interrelations between people, attention is always given to those practices which help “make a person” (*jaq’iña*) in an Andean setting. “To be a person” does not necessarily deal exclusively with human beings, but with a variety of other non-human beings in the world (gods, saints, textiles). So, another challenge in the book was that of finding out how people “are made” historically, in the case of Qaqachaka, where I analyze the rites of “feeding” and “clothing” the saints as examples of these practices.

To understand the high value attributed to these practices in the history of Qaqachaka, I resort again to the observations of Hocart (1935) about the nature of ritual as a set of techniques to assure the continuity of life. And I appeal to an essay by Lema and Pazzarelli (2015) about the particular valuation given, in Andean local histories, to the things, personages, and events that have encouraged the continuity of life in a specific place, to the exclusion of the rest. In the local practices of arriving at these values, those who looked after the place are remembered, and this act of looking after the place determines the presences and absences in local history over time. So the *comunarios* commemorate that which “looks after,” in practices directed towards a memory that is fertile.

Within this domain of relational ontologies, whether in quotidian or ritual practices, the *comunarios* often resort to this language of “mutually looking after” each other, as persons, both human and non-human. Men plant the seeds and women nourish them. The mountains are “fed” with offerings to their ritual sites, and the ritual ingredients are their “food.” The mountain beings approach these offerings to feed on them. Humans eat and drink to accompany them. Those places receive the offerings, and in exchange, in their condition as the owners of the fertility of the place, they respond by maintaining and caring for the communities within their domain. In describing these interrelations, agency is attributed to humans and to those sites that respond by attending to them. Ritual language in turn is directed to those places through practices of caring and kinship, in face-to-face interactions and in the etiquette of offering *k’intus* of coca leaves to the hills before chewing them. In these rites, you seek to renew the meat of a sacrificed animal through actions directed towards renovating the regional waters and pastures. And you feel keenly the obligation to renew these relations periodically.

In a community close to Cusco, Catherine Allen (2002) suggests that all places with names are “persons.” Besides, there is a fractalic quality to these places, given that they contain one place inside another. These are not “sacred” places, but very “powerful” ones, that receive more attention and greater tribulation in offerings. The level of power is associated with their altitude, the highest mountains having the greatest territories under their dominion. But these places are also capricious; they can protect their domain or destroy it, hence the ritualized attention to maintain good relations with them.

Behind these ideas lies the knowledge that human bodies are produced through the consumption of “food” which the locality offers up to the beings that dwell within its territory. In languages from outside the region, there is no terminology appropriate for this series of transactions. But in Aymara, the term *uywasiña* encapsulates these reciprocal attentions. Its literal significance is “to mutually care for,” between humans

and non-humans, and implicit in this term is the idea that, by being involved in these transactions, you are continually converted into “persons.” In the present day, a renewed interest is exploring this key idea (Haber 2007; Lema 2013, 2014; Arnold 2016a).

Resituating the Colonial Period

Attending to these many methodologies questions has demanded throughout the book not just a re-reading of the Colony, but a resituating of the Andean colonial experience (*sensu* Haraway). It is no longer viable to do this in the dualistic terms of “*lo andino*” versus “Western,” or “the indigenous” versus “the Spanish.” This binary mode of thought has been the subject of harsh critiques from intellectuals such as Orin Starn (1992) and more recently William W. Stein (2010). Both authors compared this recent construction of “*lo andino*” with the Western construct of “Orientalism” examined some time ago by Edward Said (1978).

In the Andean colonial experience, the affairs in play are definitely not binary. A cursory glance at the etymology of some of the terms in play—*marca*, *cantón*, *cabildo*, *panteón*, *gentiles*, *alcalde*, *alférez*, *alminar*—show the multiple influences at work: Roman, North European, Arab, Jewish, Spanish. From Spain, the most familiar model for interpreting the encounter between the Spanish and the Inka Empire makes reference to the Roman Empire. This is the point of reference for chroniclers such as Cieza de León and for the theological debates of Bartolomé de las Casas, who also counterposed in the spiritual aspects of the Colony differences between Islamic and Christian ideas (Lamana 2008, 125). In these manifold and multitemporal experiences, texts such as the Theodosian Code, which compiled the laws of Rome (*Derecho Romano*), were points of reference for administrative and religious affairs, and the Justinian Corpus for juridical affairs, including approaches towards the new Indian Laws (*Leyes de Indias*) (MacCormack 2006, 625).

Methodologically this more complex reality demanded a more nuanced approach towards the equally complex interpretations of the regional replies to colonizing forces (Mayorga 2002a, 2002b, 2002c). We can no longer present these replies in terms of covert “resistances,” given that this plays down the agency of regional actions, which besides are multiple and multitemporal. In relation to these creative processes of contact, my proposal is that, on the side of the *pueblos de indios*, rather we should recognize the persistence of their own civilizational foundations in their modality of living, and ways of interpreting the colonial unknown always in terms of the familiar, the proven, and that which had already been negotiated.

In the Qaqachaka region, this process resorts habitually to the memory of the Inka occupation, a short time before the Spanish invasion. Perhaps that is why the songs of oral tradition perceive the establishment of the colonial *marka* of Qaqachaka as a *pueblo de indios* in terms of an Inka settlement. Likewise, a discursive trope reiterated throughout this oral history is the comparison between the new Spanish time and the sunrise, which was evidently applied in relation to the former Inka occupation, and now re-applied in the Colony to the pattern of settlement of the *marka* as an echo of Cusco, with its wheel of *ceques* in the pathways of the saint-gods towards the central place.

In this re-reading, the evidence suggests that local populations were not passive victims of Spanish impositions, but regional actors with their own agency and sense of cultural continuity. Even in relation to the imposed processes of Catholic indoctrination, regional populations could contribute the vital elements and the liturgy which characterizes an Aymarization of Andean Catholicism (cf. Marzal 1988). While ceremonies occupy a central place in the modalities of catechesis of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians that worked in the region, we shall see that the new ceremonies that emerged in the Colony contributed a fundamental part of the rituals of the Church.

This is particularly clear in the declaration by the local historians that their ancestors “gained” the lands of Qaqachaka by working as *mitayos* in the mines of Potosí. Far from perceiving these colonial forms of negotiated indentured manual labour in tribute, called *mit'a*, in terms of the grumbling suffering, symptomatic of a positioning from “*lo andino*,” the narratives of these historians stress the ritual aspects of this communal service. The voyage towards Potosí consisted of a series of libations to places already ritualized in the landscape, where they had traversed previously to arrive at Porco or Potosí in the Inka period (cf. Morrone 2015a). It is quite probable that the very system of colonial authorities emerged as a way of rethinking the Pre-hispanic system within the framework of the religious *mit'a* (Quispe 2016). These commentaries by the local historians challenge conventional history about the terrors of the *mit'a* and of the *mitayos* within the mines. Although Peter Bakewell’s book *The Miners of the Red Mountain* ([1984] 2009) is an antidote to these preconceptions, in countries such as Bolivia the perspective of this historical phenomenon perceived from the Black Legend is still very much in vogue.

The same goes in relation to the striking absence in regional memory of the great rebellions in the region towards the end of the eighteenth century, in contraposition to intellectuals of the Left, fascinated by the local traces of this generalized conflict throughout the Southern Andes (cf. Abercrombie 1998; Cajías 2004). Some researchers posit that this rebellious spirit in the region of the present study emerges late, in the eighteenth century, as part of a more general juridical conflict between the previous colonial consensus and the emerging modes of imperial control. In practice, this conflict consisted of an incipient opposition between the machinations of a regional patrimonial system and the previous theory of the “two republics,” and the Toledan model of how to achieve state exactions in a rationalized way (Serulnikov 1996). For those researchers, at the heart of this conflict, Aymara communities became key political actors who could contest the earlier claims to power of regional elites, so subverting the forms of identity and hierarchy which authorized colonial domination. However, the evidence presented in the oral history of Qaqachaka implies that these claims were already in circulation many centuries before, and that, instead of rebellion, the preference had always been the active negotiation of more viable conditions.

The methodological challenges of resituating the Colony forced me to explore many issues not yet analyzed, and in doing so to develop a language with which to rethink the insistent dualisms of Cartesian thinking we often take for granted: between sacred and profane, work and ritual, culture and nature, universal and particular. The greater challenge was to develop more complex forms of analysis. The present paradigmatic changes helped me identify the ontological contexts in which this new language of analysis could emerge.