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Introduction

Rethinking Temporality and Historicity from
the Perspective of Andean Archaeology

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For many Andean archaeologists questions of time are limited to chronological questions, rather than indigenous temporalities or conceptions of time (but see Dillehay 2004; Hocquenghem 2008; Roddick 2013; Weismantel 2004). Scholars have interpreted social change, as expressed in shifts in material styles or settlement patterns, as a strictly etic problem, separate from how past communities experienced time's passage, understood historical process, or ritually constructed social memory. However, sociopolitical transformation is often directly related to changes in temporal cycles and the ideological regulation of time itself, and the intersection of chronology and temporality demands consideration in Andean archaeology. If the tempo of culturally specific practices leaves distinct material signatures, then the formulation of both relative and absolute chronologies should be sensitive to lived temporal rhythms. In other words, stratigraphic and stylistic analyses should be designed not simply to demarcate chronological phases and social boundaries; they should be geared to exploring how past subjects actively created and managed time itself (Alcock 2002; Bailey 2007; Bradley 2002; Gosden 1994; Lucas 2005; Murray 1999; Olivier 2004).

In this chapter, we outline why archaeologists have become increasingly critical of chronologically based models of historical change. We then briefly review influential theories on temporality and relate these perspectives to interpretations of time, historical consciousness, and memory in the Andes. Ultimately, the chapter evaluates innovative anthropological approaches to the complexity of time and its inextricable relationship to the construction and experience of Andean political landscapes. This discussion includes a critical reappraisal of the horizon chronological schema that has long been employed to both order and explain the culture and political history of the pre-Columbian Andes. The second half of the chapter explores some of the overarching commonalities in Andean historical consciousness and conceptions of time. Finally, we review the contributions of the volume, highlighting the diversity of Andean constructions of history, memory, and temporality.

ARCHAEOLOGIES OF TIME AND HISTORY

The Limitations of Chronology

Recently archaeologists have endeavored to uncover subjective experiences of time and "period making" as a complement to the traditional construction of regional and site-based chronologies (Lucas 2005). Of course, an investigation of past temporalities cannot simply replace traditional (often ceramic-based) relative chronologies, and the latter constitutes the inevitable starting point for analysis. However, archaeologists are devising new interpretive frameworks to move "beyond chronology" (see Lucas 2005: 1–32), and it has long been recognized that chronologies alone provide a poor means of explaining historical process (Adams 1979; Kubler 1970). As Lucas notes: the "restrictive conception of time in chronology" fails to disentangle time and historical transformation and has led to "impoverished interpretations of cultural change" in archaeology (Lucas 2005: 2) (see also Sayre [chapter 2], Roddick [chapter 3], this volume). As has been criticized by archaeologists and philosophers alike, standard chronological schemes reduce time to a uniform, linear phenomenon and by extension history is construed in terms of the homogenized passage of artificially bounded events (Gell 1992; McGlade 1999; Munn 1992; Murray 1999; Olivier 2004: 208). Indeed, chronologies in use in South American and elsewhere often resonate with social evolutionary models; time moves linearly and in directed fashion from one circumscribed stage to another. To quote Lucas once again (Lucas 2005: 27, 52): "Cultural evolution, as articulated in terms of a social typology and stages of historical change, reproduces the same basic temporal structure as chronology. . . . Most relative chronologies reflect temporal narratives of progress" (see also Olivier 2011; Roddick this volume [chapter 3]).

The major problem with stand-alone chronologies is that successive events are plotted in linear sequence with little attention to their duration or the retentions

of such actions on later social practices (Husserl 1966). Of course, chronology, as an exemplar of John McTaggart's B series of time, is an indispensable tool for representing the abstraction of time's phenomenal passage (McTaggart's so-called A series) (see Gell 1992; Gosden 1994); however, when employed as historical explanation, it inevitably effaces the culturally specific experience and sensual flux of time itself (Munn 1992). In other words, chronology must be expanded to encompass different modalities and durations of time if archaeologists wish to reconstruct both unique histories and temporalities (Bailey 2007; Lucas 2005). In a similar light, anthropologists increasingly recognize that objects and landscapes (and archaeological remains in general) defy the successive event-based timescales of conventional historiography. The physical persistence of the past in the present and the efficacy of buildings and accumulated artifacts to direct future action reveal that "archaeological time" is dynamic and "pluritemporal," one of diverse retentions, protentions, and discontinuities (Swenson 2017; see also Dawdy 2010; González-Ruibal 2014; Gosden 1994; Olivier 2011).

Andean archaeologists have recently recognized such problems when dealing with standard chronologies, in particular the uncritical conflation of ceramic seriation with historical process. For instance, Rafael Larco's sequence of five phases is still commonly used as a general benchmark on the North Coast of Peru. Yet the considerable diversity that characterized ceramic industries in different valleys of the North Coast suggests it only has limited applicability in the larger region (Bawden 1996: 193–95; Quilter and Castillo 2010; Kaulicke 1991; Koons and Alex 2014). In some cases, stylistic types were likely related to functional differences (such as vessels used in funerary contexts as opposed to other ritual or political events) rather than to separate temporal phases (Bawden 1996: 194–95; and see Janusek and Alconini 1994 for a similar argument for Tiwanaku phases in the Titicaca Basin). Bawden notes that the Larco sequence, which highlights systematic difference between the various phases, tacitly supports interpretations of Moche sociopolitical dynamics as having been shaped by abrupt and pervasive change (where history is viewed as discontinuous; see Stone-Miller 1993: 22–25). That is to say, the sequence implicitly reifies each phase as a static sociopolitical phenomenon that suddenly and systematically transforms into the next, relatively static social formation of the following period. The typology leaves little room for interpreting the actual meaning of stylistic differences or how they might relate to both historical transformations and possible shifts in the spatiotemporal modalities of social practice.

Moreover, it is now evident that styles fashionable in an earlier phase in a particular valley gained popularity in other regions during later periods. In other words, the various "phases" existed at the same time in different areas (Bawden 1996: 196; Chapdelaine 2011; Donnan 2009; Koons and Alex 2014; Millaire 2009), with various incongruities between supposed temporal phases and artifact styles.

For instance, the Moche I molded ceramics from the tombs at Dos Cabezas appear to date to the Middle Moche Period (AD 400–600) (Donnan 2001: 59; 2007: 197–98). More recent radiometric analysis suggests that the Moche III assemblage was the first to emerge and predated the Moche I and II styles, a tradition that now seems to have been largely confined to the Chicama and Jequetepeque regions (Koons and Alex 2014). Ceramics diagnostic of the Moche IV style are also conspicuously absent in Jequetepeque and other valleys north of Chicama. Chronological work with Tiwanaku ceramics has presented similar kinds of problems. The pioneering work of C. Ponce Sanginés (1981) defined a sequence of five cultural phases, which have served to frame conventional temporal narratives in the Lake Titicaca Basin (Burkholder 1997; Isbell 2013: 169–70; Janusek 2003; Marsh 2012). The Tiwanaku I, II, and III phases (today commonly referred to as Late Formative I and II), however, remain problematic. While settlement surveys have been conducted for the region based on Ponce's Tiwanaku-centered timeline, it is now clear that there were many more localized elements that do not fit into this scheme (Roddick 2009, this volume [chapter 3]). Furthermore, key phases in Ponce's scheme, such as Tiwanaku III, now appear to be limited to the urban center itself.

As archaeologists produce more radiometric dates and fine-grained stylistic analyses, they continue to encounter such confusing spatial and temporal overlaps. For instance, Owen and Goldstein's work in the middle Osmore drainage, near Moquegua, has explored the relationship between the Chen Chen and Omo styles of ceramics (Goldstein and Owen 2001; Owen 2001, 2005). Once thought to be a chronological sequence demonstrating Tiwanaku colonization in the region, their stylistic analyses, radiocarbon dates, and stratigraphic analyses suggest that rather than the Omo style marking an earlier time, Omo style sites and Chen Chen sites were actually occupied at the same time. As Owen stresses, such chronological refinements can change "the whole nature of the Tiwanaku occupation of the Osmore, and raises new possibilities for understanding Tiwanaku itself" (Owen 2001: 2). Similarly, Claude Chapdelaine's (2000, 2001, 2011: 196) research in the urban sector of Cerro Blanco on the North Coast has found that the Moche V pottery styles of Galindo emerged concurrently with later manifestations of the Moche IV style at Huacas de Moche (see also Lockard 2009). In response to these finding, some have argued for the formulation of valley-specific ceramic sequences for proper understanding of local manifestations of Moche history (Castillo and Donnan 1994; Chapdelaine 2011: 195–97).

The differential retentions of specific styles and other corporate traditions demonstrate the urgent need to consider Andean temporal practices and conceptions of history if we wish to improve our understanding of the diverse and changing political landscape across the Andes. As Chapdelaine (2009) notes, the continuation of Moche IV ceramic styles at Huaca de La Luna, well into the

Middle Horizon, suggests that Huacas de Moche became defined by an uncompromising "conservativism" that may have translated to the maintenance of traditional political forms (but see Uceda 2010). This emphasis on tradition and continuity no doubt speaks to a specific ideology of history and memory (González-Ruibal 2014). Christopher Donnan (2009) has raised a similar point in invoking the "Gallinazo illusion" and the failure of archaeologists in general to recognize that the long-term retention of utilitarian wares should not necessarily be confused with cultural continuity or the ascription of essentialized ethnic labels to past archaeological cultures (see also Millaire 2009).

Of course, the mobilization of ceramic-based chronologies to explain historical process has been the subject of sustained critiqued in the Andes and beyond. George Kubler (1970: 133) long ago questioned whether ceramics are effective indexes of periods and meaningful historical transformation. He showed that major shifts in fine pottery in Classical Greece had nothing to do with political, religious, or cultural change (see also Adams 1979; and Stone-Miller 1993: 18, 26). In contrast, the establishment of the Choson Dynasty in Korea (1392–1911) resulted in new sumptuary laws, and new perspectives on fine celadon wares, which ultimately led to the abrupt cessation of the production of these vessels, which were the hallmark of the preceding Koryo Dynasty (AD 918–1392) (Finlay 2010: 181–83). In a more bottom-up perspective, Olivier Gosselain (2015) traces a recent male potting tradition in Niger, drawing out the wide range of social, economic, and political processes that contribute to what archaeologically emerges as a recognizable tradition. Andrew Roddick and Christine Hastorf have similarly argued that we explore the historic processes and memory work of the Formative Period in the Lake Titicaca Basin, calling attention to the historical dynamics and active strategies of maintenance behind traditions that are too often simply explained away (Roddick and Hastorf 2010; see also Lightfoot 2001 and Bray, this volume [chapter 9]).

Time beyond the Horizon

The same problems undermining the standard Moche and Tiwanaku chronologies have beset traditional applications of the horizon model that has long ordered cultures in space and time in Andean archaeology (Isbell and Silverman 2006; Menzel 1964; Rice 1993; Rowe 1956; Stone-Miller 1993; Willey 1951). A creation of the "cultural-historical goals and efforts" of the early twentieth century, the Horizon/Intermediate Period schema is nonetheless still commonly employed to explain global historical processes in western South America (Rice 1993: 3).[1] Thus, the Early Horizon is correlated not simply with the widespread distribution of a singular material culture tradition ("a spatial continuum . . . of a recognizable art style" (Willey and Phillips 1958: 625), but it is often implicitly equated with a fixed block of time associated with the religious and political

influence of the Chavín Cult (see Silverman 2004: 11–14; see also Sayre [chapter 2] this volume). In a similar manner, the imperial conquests of Wari or the religious-commercial allure of Tiwanaku are thought to explain the general homogeneity of iconography, political landscapes, and material culture defining the Middle Horizon (McEwan 2012). The horizons are distinguished from the intensified regional styles of the intermediate periods, interpreted as signaling political balkanization and cultural isolation.

Recently, David Beresford-Jones and Paul Heggarty have argued that the Wari Horizon corresponds to the rapid spread and imposition of Quechua in the south-central Andes (Beresford-Jones and Heggarty 2012). Based on tentative evidence (toponyms and the geographic distribution of linguistic groups), they suggest that the dissemination of Aymara may possibly correlate with the spread of the Chavín Cult during the Early Horizon.[2] Drawing parallels from the Roman Empire, Beresford-Jones and Heggarty contend that conquest and political incorporation of subject peoples better accounts for the adoption of Quechua by nonelites communities than would religious proselytization or long-distance trade. They also suggest that the horizon styles expanded relatively rapidly over a delimited period of time, thus validating the "core-periphery" spatial dynamic "implicit in the construction of horizons" (Rice 1993: 2). However, how and why political administration may have led to pervasive and long-lasting linguistic replacement and related shifts in ideology and material culture is never adequately explained. John Hyslop (1993) and Rebecca Stone-Miller (1993: 34) also caution that the Inca conquest did not lead to "monolithic stylistic takeover" (for a more culturally sensitive interpretation of the possible relationship between horizon, language, and material culture, see Urton 2012).

Problems notwithstanding, Beresford-Jones and Heggarty's linguistic and archaeological study, along with the research of many other archaeologists, proves the potential heuristic value of the horizon in making sense of Chavín, Wari, or Tiwanaku and interpreting their changing political relationship with other Andean polities (Isbell and Silverman 2006). For instance, Michelle Koons and Bridget Alex's systematic radiometric analysis strongly indicates that around AD 600 to 650 much of the North Coast witnessed major transformations in settlement patterns, temple construction, mural art, and the distribution of corporate wares, evidence that points to significant sociopolitical reconstitution at this time (Koons and Alex's 2014). Similar explosive changes appear to mark the Middle Horizon in the south-central Andes, though dates continue to be debated (Isbell and Knobloch 2008; Janusek 2003; Marsh 2012). Evidently, "abrupt" sociopolitical and religious realignments seem to define the first half of the seventh century and the early years of the Middle Horizon.

However, the horizon model fails as a stand-alone explanation of historical developments in the Andes. As Elizabeth Boone (1993: vii] noted more than

twenty years ago: "Because of its simplicity and relative neutrality [the horizon concept] is a strong model for structuring the past; but like all universalizing structures, it hides cultural variability and the nuances of the archaeological record, and it does carry its own message." She continues that "the horizon concept is too broad and simple for the scholar, but useful for the student." Indeed, the Early and Middle Horizons defy reduction to unilinear chronological stages, thus countering Gordon Willey and Philip Phillips's assertion (Willey and Phillips 1955: 723) that "the horizon is characterized by its relatively limited time dimension and its significant geographic spread" (see also Rice 1993: 1). Of course, Willey (1945: 55) acknowledged that "horizon styles were not absolutely coeval in all parts of Peru" (cited in Rice 1993: 5), and the spans of time in which the material corpora indexed a horizon clearly differed from region to region in the Andes (see also Rowe 1962: 48). This temporal ambiguity is apparent in the competing timeframes proposed to delineate the Middle Horizon (originally 650–850 and recently expanded to 550–1000), evidence that points to the varied durations and effects of horizon-like material regimes in different regions of the Andes (Cook 2004: 158). In fact, research questions could productively explore how the spread and adoption of such material and spatial regimes led to possible shifts in historical consciousness and the temporalities of everyday practice. Therefore, an analysis of the varied persistence or transformation of definable "horizon markers" should provide a more nuanced appreciation of the scale, intensity, and meaning of interregional political, economic, and religious exchanges. For instance, it has been argued that maize production, feasting, and intensive agriculture expanded significantly during the Middle Horizon, and such developments may well have led to shifts in the experience and construction of temporal rhythms (see Swenson this volume [chapter 6], Roddick 2013). The latter could be conceivably interpreted in changes to household configurations, waste-management practices, irrigation agriculture, and the scheduling of festivals. Thus the presence of Middle Horizon ceramics and architectural forms at a particular settlement are meaningless unless properly contextualized vis-à-vis the structure of quotidian regimes of practice (e.g., continuity or change in the tempo of farming, funerary rites, household renovation). In turn, such an exercise would permit improved interpretations of the scope and nature of Wari influences outside of Ayacucho, and Tiwanaku outside of the Titicaca Basin.

In the end, archaeologists "need to add greater temporal complexity" to the investigation of archaeological deposits so to avoid reducing history to "chronological charts" or to phases and sequences (including horizons and intermediate periods) that provide little recourse to explanation (Lucas 2005: 38; see also Stone-Miller 1993, and Roddick this volume [chapter 3]). In this vein, archaeologists have recently sought inspiration from the Annales School of history to better decipher the complex interrelationship of social change, continuity, and long-term

historical developments (Bintliff 1991; Bradley 1991; Gosden 1994; Knapp 1992; Swenson 2015). Proponents of Annales history recognize that social practices and the structures they reproduce occur at different rates of time. Following Fernand Braudel's (1970) classic model, Annales-inspired archaeologists commonly recognize at least three principal timescales in their analysis of historical change, a schema that transcends reductive linear models. They include the *longue durée*; the *moyenne durée* (conjunctures); and the event, or *événement*. In the Andean North Coast, structures of the longue durée (300–1,000 years) were most likely defined by culturally sanctioned labor relations, the technical imperatives of irrigation technology, belief in gender complementary, sociocosmic dualisms, sacrificial political theologies, the millennial trade of spondylus, and so forth. The moyenne durée (50–200 year periods) possibly encompassed generational conflicts between coastal and sierra polities, protracted environmental perturbations such as the sixth-century drought, poorly understood demographic cycles, competition between Moche polities, and the rise and fall of coastal dynasties, including Dos Cabezas, Huacas de Moche, and Pampa Grande. Short-term events—embedded in and shaped by varied middle- and long-term temporal structures—would include the burial of a priestess at San José de Moro, revitalization movements, the violent destruction of Pampa Grande, or a phase of architectural renovation at Huacas de Moche.

John Barrett (2004: 14) admonishes that "the distinction between process as cause (structuring) and event as consequence" is inherently problematic, "for processes must be generated through the working of events." Nevertheless, the Annales timeframes at least serves as a reminder of the complexity of past sociopolitical transformations as having been conditioned by temporally varied structures, landscapes, and social-ecological fluctuations. Although critical of Annales approaches, proponents of "Time Perspectivism" also recognize the vastly different temporalities (in terms of duration and effects) of distinct ecological and social processes (Bailey 2007; but see Harding 2005). Therefore, in order to understand historical change, say in the Moche context, we must grapple with the varied and polyrhythmic tempos of social practice on the North Coast of Peru. Ultimately, time and event are not separable phenomena; rather, collective tasks (that in reality defy reduction to bounded "events") are shaped by specific practices of "temporalization" (see Munn 1992).

In acknowledging the complexity of historical process as underwritten by different rates and scales of time, scholars often make a distinction between temporality and historicity. The temporal refers to duration, continuity, and cyclicality, while historicity pertains to change and conscious time-reckoning. In fact, a number of dichotomous interpretive frameworks have been devised that discuss time as either explicitly marked (history, memory, myth) or as habitually internalized in social practice. Variations on this dichotomy include

Michael Herzfeld's monumental and social time, Christopher Gosden's public and habitual time, Luicen Febvre's *temps mesuré* and *temps vécu*, Paul Connerton's notion of inscription and incorporation, and Alfred Gell's employment of John McTaggart's A and B series (see Febvre 1947: 471; Gell 1992; González-Ruibal 2014: 27; Gosden 1994: 124–26; Heidegger 1962: 374; Herzfeld 1991: 6–10; Ingold 2000; Joyce 2000; Last 1995; Lucas 2005; Munn 1992: 98; Rice 2008: 276; Roddick 2013). Archaeological research has demonstrated that habitual, iterative practices can be read from archaeological deposits, ultimately retracing the "taskscapes" of the past (Ingold 2000; Lucas 2005: Lucero 2003; Olsen 2010; Mills and Walker 2008; Roddick 2015). As a corollary, the varying media in which society memorialized past events and explicitly recorded their succession should be equally informative of specific temporal ideologies (see Wilkinson and D'Altroy this volume [chapter 4]).

This particular dichotomy resonates with theories that postulate the often unique temporal framework of ritual performance as distinct from everyday practice. For instance, Richard Bradley (1991: 212) contrasts mundane with ritual time arguing that "by observing the interplay of ritual and mundane time, we can practice a form of contextual archaeology, but one which makes a proper use of sequence" (see also Dillehay 2004). In a similar manner, Lisa Lucero (2003) contends that archaeological investigations of past historical change should focus on "purposeful deposits"—created by repetitive, formalized actions (see also Richards and Thomas 1984): "rather than just evaluating strata in terms of chronology, we can view them as reflecting sequences of (ritual) behaviours—more specifically, ritual replication, in which similar formal ritual activities took place in a variety of architectural contexts, from houses to palaces to temples" (Lucero 2003: 526). Social scientists have shown that ritual performance is integral to the making of time (Leach 1961; Rappaport 1992). Although ritual can create a place and time "out of time" (i.e., a liminal suspension of temporal routines), its chronometric faculty is evident in its capacity to delineate stages, phases, and series (Rappaport 1992: 6–10; Swenson 2017). In his influential work on social memory, Connerton (1989) makes the distinction between commemorative rites of history making ("inscription") and the more unconscious rhythms of what he calls incorporative practices of a routinized nature. Commemorative rituals conjure up and literally materialize the past as a conscious construct, and rites of this kind often performatively reenact past historical and mythic events, including, most notably cosmogonic narratives. It is in precisely through such ceremonies that history, identity, and community are ideologically constructed.

Nevertheless, temporalized practices often entail both unconscious and conscious behavior, and the temporal cannot be relegated simply to the realm of everyday behavior and the historical or eventful to the domain of ritual, myth, and ideology (Bradley 1991; Connerton 1989; Olsen 2010: 124–25). The

periodicities of quotidian practices were often shaped by ritualized spectacles of history and place making, and they no doubt inculcated culturally specific understandings of time's passage (Dillehay 2004; Gosden 1994: 125; see Swenson 2017). Thus the evanescent, peak periods of public ceremonies could create a powerful sense of anticipation that motivated more prosaic tasks defining protracted intervals of "mundane" life (i.e., the production of *chicha* [corn beer] or the construction of a temple). The creation of such anticipation no doubt played a critical role in the construction of past political subjects. Furthermore, routinized practices—irrespective of their degree of synchronization with "public time"—can slowly sow the seeds of environmental, economic, and ideological change (Munn 1992: 102; see also Roddick, Bruno, and Hastorf 2014).

In light of our critique of the temporality/history dichotomy, archaeologists cannot simply presume that corporate fine-wares changed more rapidly than domestic pottery and can thus always be interpreted as transparent markers of "history," political culture, or uniform horizons (Donnan 2009; Millaire 2009; Roddick 2016; see Roddick this volume [chapter 3]). In other words, there is a tendency in archaeology to treat utilitarian ceramics as materialization of the unconscious or doxic mode, Heidegger's "ready at hand," while corporate ceramics are to be analyzed as indexes of the consciously ideological and historical, Heidegger's "present at hand." Alfredo González-Ruibal (2014) has suggested that the anthropological understanding of history *as transformation* betrays Neoliberal values, and he argues that the deep temporalities of certain things speak to the resiliency of particular structures of practice (see also McGlade 1999; Turner 1988). These practices were often the prerogative of women and subalterns, and González-Ruibal remarks that they should be interpreted as strategies of "timework" as equally significant as political revolutions or messianic movements (Flaherty 2011; see also Picazo 1997). In other words, there may be situations when domestic pottery was as actively politicized as corporate wares, and in some instances utilitarian ceramics underwent replacement as rapidly as elite styles, something Swenson has identified with certain cooking pots that disappeared at the end of the Late Moche Period in Jequetepeque (Swenson 2017).

Michel Trouillot's distinction between "historicity I" and "historicity II" provides an alternative to the temporality/history dichotomy. The former signifies the "materiality of the socio-historical process," while the second term refers to the "sociopolitical management" of this material process entailing its ordering, sequencing, and narration (Trouillot 1995: 29, 106; see also Chase [chapter 5] and Sayre [chapter 2], this volume). Historicity I—the actors, events, and accumulated practices that leave material traces—certainly limits the narratives (historicity II) that can be told about these happenings. However, the latter, as either an explicit ideology or as tailored by unconscious political dispositions, can distort, mystify, and inevitably "silence" certain aspects of past events and processes (hence, the

title of Trouillot's famed book). The concept of Historicity II recognizes that the creation of narratives forms part of the sociopolitical process and is itself historically mediated (thus making "human beings doubly [fully] historical"; Trouillot 1995: 22–24). The heuristic thus acknowledges considerable cultural diversity in the selective making of history.

It deserves mention that the notion of historicity has a complex genealogy. Among different philosophers, ranging from Marxists to phenomenologists, it originally served as a critique of universalist theories and signified that all concepts, innovations, worldviews, and so forth were the product of distinct historical processes. In other words, no aspects of reality can be explained independently of a particular historical context (for a recent and thorough discussion of the concept, see Hertog 2015). Among anthropologists, the term is often conflated with historiography, epistemology, commemoration, and history itself (see Whitehead 2003). For instance, Neil Whitehead (2003: xi) argues: "Historicity . . . encompasses historiography, which is the culturally particular methodology of how the past may be written or otherwise expressed." This definition parallels Trouillot's emphasis on historicity II as subsuming "the means of historical production," which entails "four crucial moments": the making of sources, the assembly of facts in archives, the ordering of facts into narratives, and the "moment of retrospective significance . . . the making of history in the final instance" (Trouillot 1995: 26, 140). For Whitehead (2003: xi), "histories" refer to the actual texts, ritual performances, oral accounts, monuments, and so forth produced by historiographic agents. At the same time, he expands the definition of historicity to include "the cultural proclivities that lead to certain kinds of historical consciousness within which such histories are meaningful" (Whitehead 2003: xi). Thus, deeply ingrained ontological and epistemological orders of time—whether construed as cyclical, fatalistic, teleological, presentist, and so forth—will partly predetermine political constructions of history and historical knowing. Trouillot shows that early nineteenth-century Europeans were incapable of perceiving the Haitian Revolution as a true "revolution" for their "ready-made categories" on race, colonialism, human nature, and historical progression were "incompatible with the idea of a slave revolution" (Trouillot 1995: 73–74). This particular "cultural proclivity" of the early modern period can partly explain why professional historians and more influential purveyors of history (the press, heritage groups, politicians) continue to downplay the significance of the Haitian Revolution.

In this volume, we avoid ascribing absolute meanings to the above terms and recognize their heuristic utility in capturing the complexity of time and history as social and political creations.[3] Indeed, Trouillot formulated historicity I and II to move beyond reductive theories that history can only be understood as either factual events and processes (positivist approaches) or as invented stories about

the past (constructivist perspectives). He writes: "My trust here is that too many conceptualizations of history tend to privilege one side of historicity over the other . . . this one-sidedness itself is possible because most theories of history are built without much attention to the process of production of specific historical narratives" (Trouillot 1995: 157). Trouillot recognized that this production is an exercise of power and is not something restricted to chronicles produced by the "guild" of professional historians. Instead, it commonly entails rituals, calendar rounds, performances, and the construction of meaningful places (Trouillot 1995: 58–66; 116–18). Hence, temporalities—routinized social practices and related phenological processes—cannot simply be relegated to historicity I (the materiality of the sociohistorical process), for they could at once influence or be the partial product of the epistemological ordering, ideological management, or silencing of the significance of past occurrences. Indeed, the production of history—whether in the form of monumental architecture, public commemorative rites, or the remaking of landscapes—can have direct consequences for how time is experienced and conceptualized.

In the end, Trouillot's dual concept of historicity can serve as a reminder that the naturalization of social rhythms could be the direct outcome of historiographic projects. In a similar manner, Henri Lefebvre develops the concept and "method" of "rhythmanalysis" to capture the deep-seated effects of capitalism on the minutiae of social life. He argues that "biological rhythms of sleep, hunger, thirst, walking, excretion and so on" have been largely determined by the commodification of time underwriting the scheduling of the workweek in capitalist societies (Lefebvre 2004: 6). He further contends that the temporalities of the Mediterranean World differed from North Atlantic Europe given variation in ecology, level of industrialization, and religion. Lefebvre argues that Mediterranean cultures better resisted the sublimation of their temporal *habitus* and circadian rhythms to the mechanized time regimes of capitalism. Much has been written on how the mechanical clock in the early modern period led to increased bodily discipline and to the tighter regulation of embodied routines (Thompson 1967). However, this was a process that met fierce resistance as indicated by the tenacious maintenance of irregular feast days and the popularity of "Saint Mondays" among the British artisanal class (Thompson 1967).

In light of the above discussion, the temporal and historical defy rigid dichotomization (Assmann 2006: 8; McGlade 1999); instead, archaeologists should be attentive to the degree in which they may have coincided in past cultures (see Swenson, this volume [chapter 6]). As mentioned above, an investigation of the intersection of distinct regimes of temporalized practices with culturally specific ideologies of history could provide a more a fruitful avenue to reassess the processes behind the patterns we identify as horizons in different regions of the Andes.

ANDEAN HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND IDEOLOGIES OF TIME

Despite considerable diversity in premodern Andean representations of time ("Trouillot's historicity II"), it is worth identifying some general trends in Andean time reckoning and historical consciousness. This brief survey should facilitate comparison with temporal ideologies documented in other cultures but also provides a basic framework to interpret archaeologically recorded differences in Andean experiences of time explored in the following chapters. Commonalities in Andean constructions of time and history are evident in at least four domains of philosophy and practice: (1) (meta)physical/linguistic notions of time; (2) ideologies of duration and change (including the agents or movers of "history"); (3) calendrics and time measurement (delimitation of phases, and astronomical and seasonal revolutions); (4) and the politicoreligious institutions of memory, myth, divination, and archive.

(Meta)physical/Linguistic Notions of Time

In considering the first domain, Andean peoples generally recognized that space and time were inextricably bound, similar to the thinking of contemporary philosophers (see Aveni 2015a: 2; Lefebvre 2004; Nair 2015; Zuidema 2010: 209). For phenomenologists, space and time "come together in place . . . and arise in social action" (Adams 2007: 396). This (meta)physical understanding is captured in the oft-discussed Quechua concept of *pacha*, signifying at once "earth, time, world, and place." Frank Salomon and George Urioste define the term as "a moment or interval in time and a locus or extension in space" (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 14). In Inca mythology, *kay pacha* created by the Viracocha (or the sun) at Tiwanaku, refers to the present world, current temporal order, and the (middle) earth of the here and now (Cobo 1990).

As reflected in the polysemy of the linguistic term *pacha*, time in the Andes was (and in many cases still is) physically inscribed and remade in the ritual construction of place and landscape (Arnold 1992; Bouysse-Cassagne 1986). As Wilkinson and D'Altroy discuss in chapter 4, political-religious "monuments," including everything from the shrines of *wak'as* (*huacas*) to the extraordinary geocalendar of the Inca *zeq'e* (*ceque*) system, cannot be viewed as "memorials" of bygone events but were vital to the creation of the present and future. In supporting this argument, we are not simply asserting the oft-invoked archaeological abstraction that the physical persistence of the material world constrains and enables present actions—comparable to Oakeshott's "encapsulated past" (Oakeshott 1983; Olivier 2011). Instead, Andean people understood the past as inhering in and animating the here-and-now, and the storied agents of primeval times remained living social actors that largely determined the unfolding of future events (see Chase [chapter 5], Spence Morrow [chapter 7], and Seoane and Culquichicón [chapter 8] this volume).

Such thinking is immediately apparent in the authority of *malquis* and mummified Inca emperors, who were continually consulted by their followers. The wak'as of individual *ayllus* or *llactas* (a larger grouping of people that identified with a powerful wak'a) were celebrated as the movers of a primordial time of world creation (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 23). However, they usually remained active in the present affairs of their devotees, who fed, cared, and communicated with their wak'as (see Bray 2015). The power of these divinities was signaled by their ability to talk and prognosticate future events, while sacrificial offerings reciprocally ensured the material and spiritual well-being of their respective ayllus (Curatola Petrocchi 2008). The sustained influence of "ancestors" as stewards of etiological time has been documented in many premodern societies (Bloch 1971; Nyord 2013), but the Andean case is remarkable for the degree to which wak'as and culture heroes were involved in day-to-day social practices and decision making.

Ideologies of Duration and Change

Drawing from the work of Gosden and Gary Lock (Gosden and Lock 1998), Charles Cobb and Adam King note: "Many societies employ concepts of both genealogical history (where the past is created through links to ancestors) and mythical history (where a more distant past is evoked), and the ways in which specific groups articulate these histories relative to one another foster different notions of continuity and change" (Cobb and King 2005: 172).[4] In the Andean context, the mythical and genealogical were largely isomorphic, and the living landscape compressed the distance between the here-and-now, primordial origins, and generational reckonings of time (see Seoane and Culquichicón [chapter 8] this volume, Wilkinson and D'Altroy, this volume [chapter 4]). In his exploration of Quechua ontological categories of being, substance, and transformation, Salomon explains (Salomon 1998: 9, 10): "The huacas have in some contexts, individuality and properties, but in others they are seemingly imaged as long-term overarching sequences of phenomena or deeds . . . the accumulation of eventual being."

As architects of cosmogony, wak'as were the movers of history and social change (the second domain outlined above), and political figures, including Inca kings, drew inspiration from wak'as in their projects to remake the world (space-time) (Gose 1996; MacCormack 1991). Therefore, to write history was tantamount to creating place; the battles of deities in the Huarochirí manuscript carved out mountains and valleys, and the Inca "inscribed their place in history" by obsessively modifying, sculpting, renaming, and reconfiguring the natural and political landscape (Aveni 2015a: 5; Kosiba 2010; Nair 2015: 119–20; Swenson 2013). Wak'as were often associated with heroic ancestors who emerged from *paqarinas* (dawning places), usually caves and rivers that became important

shrines. The lithification of ancestors created wak'as as sacred places, and rites and offerings ensured the continued flow of animating energies between divine progenitors and their mortal descendants (and thus between a spatially interconnected "past and present") (Bray 2015; Dean 2010).

This is not to argue that Eliade's "eternal return" (the constant ritual reenactment of cosmogony to ensure the continuation of world order) accurately captures Andean ideologies of historical origins and the perpetuation of spacetime (see Seoane and Culquichicón this volume [chapter 8]). As calculating and animate social beings, the "creative" force of wak'as was far from predictable or repetitive but could lead to the complete reconfiguration of sociopolitical, geographic, and economic relations (Dulanto 2015: 157; Salomon 1998: 16; Salomon and Urioste 1991). Their acts did much more than revitalize the world by rebooting time or reactivating and circulating primal energies, and much would be lost in describing Andean temporal ideologies as simply "cold" (strategies that deny or neutralize change and discontinuity; but see Seoane and Culquichicón this volume [chapter 8]) (González-Ruibal 2014; Gose 1996; Hill 1988; Turner 1988). As both Wilkinson and D'Altroy (chapter 4) and Seoane and Culquichicón [chapter 8] discuss in their analysis of linguistic markers of time in Quechua and Aymara, the past and present were fused, but the pacha of the future was perceived as distant, precarious, and unpredictable.

The anxiety surrounding the uncertainty of future events is exemplified by the preeminence of oracles in Andean political history and religious philosophy (Curatola Petrocchi 2008; Gose 1996; MacCormack 1991). For instance, the *sapa* Inca would never embark on military campaigns without consulting the oracles, an act that entailed prodigious sacrifices, fasting, taboos, and back-up divinatory procedures (Curatola Petrocchi 2008; MacCormack 1991). The arts of divination in the Andes were varied and complex, and they offer a fascinating point of comparison with other premodern civilizations (see Bahrani 2008). Auguries were obtained from observing the flight of birds, the movement of spider legs, and the patterned arrangement of tossed coca leaves, and by soliciting the spoken prognostications of oracles (Curatola Petrocchi 2008; Huertas Vallejos 2008). Oneiromancy and extispicy were also highly developed, and the entrails of sacrificed guinea pigs and llamas were read to predict the future (Cobo 1990; Huertas Vallejos 2008; Hyland 2010; Mannheim 1987). Variants of divinatory dice games, such as *pichca*, widespread in the Andes at the time of the conquest, have even been identified in the iconography of the Moche (Gentile 2008; Salomon 2002).

It would be wrong simply to portray Andean ideologies of history as cyclical, and cultural understandings of "process" were highly complex and context-specific (Aveni 2015a: 4; Dulanto 2015; see Chase [chapter 5] and Seoane and Culquichicón [chapter 8] this volume). In their analysis of the Huarochirí manuscript, Salomon and Urioste (1991) describe Andean conceptions of history not

so much as cyclical but as "metamorphic" (see also Seoane and Culquichicón this volume). The world was changed and remade by acts of feeding, growth, and the circulatory exchange of biological energies (Allen 1988; Cummins and Mannheim 2011: 7; Duviols 1973; Ramirez 2005; Salomon 1998: 10–11). Alternating movements between wet and soft to dry and hard states underwrote this metamorphic (and relational) ontology of time (Allen 1988, 1998). Notions of time and regeneration are more aptly described not so much as cyclical but as circulatory—a process that entailed the kinetic and transformative flow of energy, fructifying liquids, and material substances (Cummins and Mannheim 2011: 15; Lund Skar 1994; Weismantel 2004).

This circulation of life matter did not necessarily occur in a singular or predictable way, and the teleological space-time of wak'as and divine kings differed from the temporal trajectory of mortals (Gose 1993; Salomon 1998: 11). Thus the lithification of cultural heroes not only signaled a sense of permanency and power, but reflected the decelerated and enduring temporality of certain wak'as (Salomon 1998: 9; Salomon and Urioste 1991). The latent but fertilizing potency of desiccated *malquis* (a word denoting mummy and sapling in Quechua) served to draw water to their living communities, but mummy bundles remained responsive to the needs of its people only if properly fed and propitiated (Gose 1993). Scholars of Andean religion have shown the Andean theological concept of *camay* best encapsulates this sense of circulatory time; *camac* or *camaquen*, a vitalizing being (wak'as, mountains, constellations, divine progenitors) created, sustained, and reenergized their progeny on earth (Taylor 1974–76). However, camay theory affirms that this exchange of vital being was only possible through the reciprocal circulation of sacrificial offerings. The allocentric construction of space in Quechua (the position and identity of a given thing is determined relative to other objects, peoples, and places) further underscores the relational and circulatory contingencies of time in Andean thought (Mannheim 2015: 209).

The metamorphic basis of historical change was further expressed in "the inseparability of complementarity from conflict" in Andean concepts of process which Salomon and Urioste (1991: 10) describe as the "motor force in the mutability (what we would call the historicity) of west Andean society." Thus Andean understanding of social change might distantly compare with theories of the dialectic (contradictions and their resolution), the driver of history in Marxist social theory (see Swenson 2013). In the region of Huarochirí and elsewhere in the Andes, historical dynamics were expressed in terms of both violent conflicts and the marital union of deities. The nuptial alliances of different huacas, especially from different ecological zones, explained the changing geopolitical and economic fortunes of rival social groups (Duviols 1973; Swenson 2014; but see Chase [chapter 5], this volume). Of course, structuralists have long recognized that affinal relations serve as a metaphor of social reconstitution.[5] In contrast,

divine sibling bonds in the Huarochirí region were expressive of continuity and more stable forms of social integration (see Salomon and Urioste 1991).

Billie Jean Isbell's (1982: 354) notion of "reversible dualism," similar to Salomon's (2002) analysis of "alternating dualism" (*dualismo alternante*) in the community of Pacota (Huarochirí) resonates with a mode of historicity based on a dialectic of conflict and complementarity (see also Gose 1996). History is propelled through the oscillation of polar opposites including the rising and setting of celestial bodies (critical to calendrical dating) and the pairing of ayllus, architectural complexes, ecological zones, and wak'as. Salomon similarly argues that present and future are articulated in terms of the alternation of opposed but complementarily apportioned spaces, people, and activities.[6] An intervallic ritual time (a "time out of time and a space out of space") allows for the physical union and subsequent passage from present to future (see also Rappaport 1992: 11–15). In other words, ideologies of time are largely congruent with philosophies of social space; *suyu, hanan, hurin* and the continuously divisible nesting of peoples and places are activated in the temporal sequencing of ritual practice, political offices, and productive activities (see also Abercrombie 1998; Arnold 1992; Bouysse-Cassagne 1986; Gelles 1995; Gose 1993, 1996; Harris 2000; Seoane and Culquichicón [chapter 8], this volume; Spence Morrow [chapter 7], this volume).

The famed Inca zeq'e (ceque) system of the Cuzco Basin operated on just such a principle of alternation and rotation (*mit'a*, or "round"). The zeq'e system consisted of 328 huacas arrayed on forty-one sight lines or processional waves, and these numerous shrines were analogous to knots tied onto *khipu* chords, the Inca recording device (see below; Bauer 1998; Cobo [1653] 1990; Zuidema 1964). The wak'as consisted of rock formations, hydraulic installations, astronomical landmarks, or other ritual constructions that were distributed in all four of the *suyus,* the gross provincial divisions of the Inca Empire that converged at the Temple of the Sun (*Qorikancha*). This remarkable complex consisted of an integrated agricultural and water shrine, a monument to Inca conquest and mythic history, a mnemonic device, a sidereal-lunar calendar, and a materialization of the social and ethnic identities of the circum-Cuzco region (Bauer 1998). The performance of rituals by set peoples at prescribed times and places created a vast, living calendar that served as a mythic charter for social action (Aveni 2015b; Zuidema 2010). The spatial arrangement of specific types of wak'as expressed principles of homology and hierarchy, and each individual shrine was organized in relation to a particular zeq'e line according to a tripartite schema of status based on degree of genealogical (and thus temporal) relatedness to the Inca king (*Collana*, primary kin; *Payan*, subsidiary kin, and *Callao*, no relationship to the ruler). (see Aveni 2015b; Zuidema 1964, 2010).

As mentioned, the entire complex radiated out from Cuzco, the sacred navel of the empire, but the individual wak'as were maintained by separate social

groups (lineages or ayllus). Among the 328 wak'as arrayed around the forty-one zeq'e lines, only a few appear to have been ritually activated on any particular day of the agricultural year, and time was thus materialized and set into motion by rotating sacrifices orchestrated at individual shrines (Cobo 1990). The timing of rituals conducted at individual wak'as within the zeq'e complex appears to have moved both clockwise and counterclockwise (depending on their location within one of the four *suyus*) and outward toward the horizon as dictated by the passage of the stars, sun, and moon (Aveni 2015b).[7] Moreover, the scheduling of agriculture, infrastructural projects, communal work activities, and the religious liturgy was precisely timed by the geoastronomical measurements made possible by the zeq'e system (Aveni 2015b; Zuidema 2010). Communities in charge of a particular wak'a were thus associated not only with a distinct place, but a distinct periodicity, both in terms of mythic historical events and calendrical phases of ritual and work (days, weeks, months). As a consequence, pilgrimage to an activated zeq'e shrine was tantamount to time travel, affording not only an intensive experience of place but of an alternate moment in time. A striking exemplar of Mikhail Bakhtin's "chronotope" (Bakhtin 1981, see Roddick this volume [chapter 3]) the zeq'e is extraordinary for the degree to which it fused time with geography and social identity (Abercrombie 1998: 321). In a sense, it delivered the calendric system from the realm of abstraction, converting it into a living, pulsating, and sensual organism. Therefore, Inca zeq'e represented a radical project to both control "the means of historical production" and to regulate the routines, memories, and identities of subject populations (Trouillot 1995; see Rice 2008: 278).

Calendrics and Time Measurement

As the zeq'e system demonstrates, conceptions of process and historical agency in Andean thought can only be understood in the context of the long traditions of calendrics and astronomical time-reckoning in the Andes, the third domain outlined in the introduction to this section. Unsurprisingly, investigations of time in the Andean context have focused primarily on calendrical systems, and there is a great deal of excellent scholarship on this subject (see Aveni 2008, 2015a; Ghezzi and Ruggles 2007; Sakai 1998; Urton 1981; Urton and Aveni 1983; see also Seoane and Culquichicón this volume [chapter 8]). In recognizing the indivisibility of the spatial and temporal, time is equally inseparable from "motion" as implied not only by the word "process" but also in Salomon and Urioste's categorization of Andean conceptions of time as metamorphic and circulatory (see also Cummins and Mannheim 2011; Nair 2015: 128). This sense of motion is further captured by the rotation of peoples and activities within the Inca zeq'e complex, which in a sense activated time in place. A cultural universal, the movement of the sun, moon, stars, and planets has been charted to plot the passage

of seasons and to regulate a myriad of social and ecological rhythms, including most notably farming, hunting, herding, warfare, and ritual life.

Archaeologists have identified the astral alignments and astronomical functions of Andean religious monuments dating as early as the Preceramic Period, and these temples have been interpreted as expressing an early concern with controlling the seasonal round and with scheduling rituals, agricultural activities, fishing expeditions, and other events (Benfer 2012; Urton and Aveni 1983). Gary Urton and Anthony Aveni argued long ago that the calculation of the movement of the Pleiades as well as the rising and setting of the sun on the days of both its zenith and antizenith passage played a central role in synchronizing the ritual calendar with the agricultural year (Urton and Aveni 1983; see also Nair 2015: 127; Orlove, Chiang, and Cane 2002). Robert Benfer (2012) has also proposed that Preceramic and Initial Period ceremonial architecture in coastal Peru (3500–1750 BCE) was built in alignment with lunar standstills, constellations, and the rising and setting of the sun on the solstices. Similar arguments have recently been made for the positioning of Formative Period architecture on the Taraco Peninsula, and for large andesite pillars at the Kalasasaya enclosure at Tiwanaku (Benitez 2009, 2013). Such features, including the famed sun pillars (*sucanas*) and *intiwatanas* (hitch posts of the sun), were also central to Inca astronomy (Aveni 2008; 2015b: 109–11).

The complex time-measurement of the Maya, founded on a series of interlocking calendars—the Long Count, the calendar round of fifty-two years, the ritual *tzolk'in* (260-day almanac), and the annual 365-day calendar (*Haab*)—finds no direct parallel in the Andes. However, Andean societies clearly developed sophisticated and integrated sidereal, lunar, and solar calendars that played a central role in meteorology, divination, production, exchange, and social control (Aveni 2008; Zuidema 2010). It is not an exaggeration to claim that time became a fundamental "means of production" by the Formative Period (Rice 2008: 279); its reification in architecture and calendrics was central to the construction of elite authority and the creation of imagined communities (Benfer 2012; Roddick 2013).[8] Andean ritual specialists, including the *yancas* documented in the Huarochirí manuscript, were described as calendric authorities and technicians of time, and they often served as arbiters of oracles, the immanent agents of the past that could foretell and influence the future (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 4, 72).

The calendrical reckoning of astral revolutions, which facilitated the planning of economic and religious life in the Andes, often seemed to have conformed to the circulatory, metamorphic, and fundamentally spatial conceptions of time discussed above. Similar to the Maya, Andean people commonly viewed time as "living, liminal creatures" (comparable to Mesoamerican Year Bearers) whose physical circulation set the world in motion (Rice 2008: 293). For instance, the movement of stars among the Inca was mimetically synchronized with the

containment, storage (liminal gestation), release, and exchange of peoples and things, entities that came to embody astronomical time.[9] Robert Randall (1982, 1990) provides a fascinating discussion of how the period of the Inca harvest (April/May), defined by the storage of cultigens in warehouses, corresponded with the disappearance of the Pleiades (one of its names being *qollqa*) and the sacrifice of women in the Siqllapampa zeq'e at the wak'a of Mama Raroy. The harvest constituted an important temporal juncture in many societies, a time that mediated oscillations of life and death and witnessed the reversal of social roles (Leach 1961: 129).

The numerous Inca rituals and astronomical events commemorating the harvest charted a westward and downward movement of water, stars, crops, seeds, fecundity, and the female life principle. These entities circulated from kaypacha to the ocean and the underworld, a place at once associated with death and latent fertility. Therefore, the months between April and August were considered to be a time of sterility, sickness, occultation, and bleeding (menstruation). Chosen women (*acllakuna or akllakuna*) were also likened to harvested crops and cloistered in the *acllawasi* in the month of April, described as a dangerous and liminal period marked by the disappearance of the Pleiades. Female fertility remerges in August with the commencement of the planting season, when the earth is ready to accept the seed and is impregnated with the return of the rains from the underworld (that recirculates upward through the Milky Way). This period of renewal corresponds with the release and distribution of seeds from the warehouse as well as the full emergence of the Pleiades (which slowly becomes visible for the first time in June). The Qolla Raymi festival in September (marked by the nadir of the Southern Cross) celebrates the full return of fertility and the female life principle.[10] Therefore, the past as a possible future to come was understood as stored in a latent and virtual state in *acllawasi* (sacred house of chosen women), *colcas* (*qullqa*) (storage constructions) and *machays* (caves and sanctuaries for ancestral mummy bundles) (see also Gose 1993).

This belief in a stored (underground) and latent time is further exemplified by the Andean millenarian tradition of the *Inkarrí*, the return of the hidden and buried Inca king. The resurrection would be consummated with the reunion of the Inca's body and decapitated head, symbolizing the reunification of *hanan and hurin* as well as the female and male principles (Randall 1990). Ultimately, this event would bring to an end the chaotic and unjust period of Spanish colonization. The boons that come with the rediscovery of a *purun huaca*, a lost or wild wak'a of an extinct ayllu, provides another example of how time is renewed through the activation of a latent state, as does the search typically in August for *conopa* stones in the shape of llama or alpacas (Allen 1997). These power objects acted to transfer (latent) fertility and well-being to the animals they resembled (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 101).

Politicoreligious Institutions of Memory, Myth, Divination, and Archive

A consideration of the fourth dimension of historicized time warrants a brief discussion on Andean notions of the longue dureé and institutions of official history. In chapter 4, Wilkinson and D'Altroy argue that the Inca temporal ontology eschewed a clear distinction between the past and present and that commemorative practices—memorializing past "events" as understood in the Western sense—were absent in Inca politics. We agree with much of their analysis and recognize that the Inca developed a philosophically unique understanding of the immanence of the past (or the simultaneity of multiple pasts) and the continued agency of primordial actors in chartering the future. Nevertheless, it is evident that the Inca ordered "events" sequentially as occurring in specific places and times, and they employed various recording media to make sense of temporal discontinuities. In other words, they seem to have developed historically specific "chronographic" projects to periodize their own history and make sense of (or mystify) the relatedness of events (Rosen 2004).

A classic debate in studies of Inca history concerned the degree to which Spanish and acculturated chroniclers distorted the mythic structures and cultural schemas of Andean people by flattening them within a linear sequence of historical development (Netherly 1984, 1990; Zuidema 1990; see Chase [chapter 5] and Seoane and Culquichicón [chapter 8] this volume). John Rowe (1945, 1985) and his followers adopted a documentary-historicist perspective and compared overlaps and discrepancies in Spanish records of kingly succession and related sequence of events to propose a chronology of Inca history (and Rowe relied in particular on the chronicle of Cabello Balboa 1951). Proponents of structuralist theory, most notably Tom Zuidema, critiqued this approach for imposing universalist, European notions of history onto the Andean past and for misrepresenting Inca historical consciousness and sociopolitical organization (Zuidema 1964; see also Duviols 1980; Pease 1991: 36–37; Urton 1996). Zuidema famously "read the chronicles and indigenous testimonies as metaphoric renderings of deeply seated Inca (and more generally indigenous Andean) organizational structures, institutions, and mentalities rather than as faithful records of actual individual actions and past events" (Kolata 2013: 33). For instance, Zuidema argued against the existence of a succession of twelve Inca kings; instead, the records point to the sharing of power between Hanan and Hurin Cusco. The period of Inca kingship was thus shorter than Rowe's proposed chronology, for the list of rulers should be read not in terms of the exploits of individual kings but as titles and offices that expressed diarchic co-rule and the existence of parallel descent groups. In other words, Pachakuti Yupanqui should not be understood as a great man in the tradition of Alexander the Great or Julius Cesar, but as a denotation of structural position that emphasized moments of rupture and sociopolitical reconstitution. As Gary Urton (1990: 7) notes: "Zuidema's position with respect not only to

Pachakuti Inka, but to all of the kings who supposedly ruled before the arrival of the Spaniards, is that each name was, in fact, a *title* in a complex dualistic and hierarchical structure of genealogical and administrative positions." He continues (Urton 1990: 8): The chroniclers "misrepresented political structures (and events) as chronological events, and in the process they effectively historicized what was, at the base of it, an ideology of history that was timeless, repetitive, and fully interchangeable—and integrated—with political, social, and ritual structure."

Although the authors of this volume are largely sympathetic with the structuralist approach to colonial records, Zuidema has been criticized for privileging synchronic structure over indigenous forms of historiography and for exaggerating the degree to which the Inca denied history and resisted temporal discontinuities (but see Seoane and Culquichicón [chapter 8] this volume). The twelve Inca kings may very well have symbolized twelve contemporaneous panacas and their living descendants, but as Gose (1996: 388) argues, a distinct history underwrote Inca notions of divine kinship (see also Julien 2000).

Scholars have long argued that conceptions of time differed between literate and preliterate societies (see Assmann 2006). Writing allowed for a dissemination and codification of culture memory that differed significantly in scale and kind from the identities crafted in recurring ritual observations, festivals, architectural projects, and oral presentations. Of course, identity is founded fundamentally on memory and the technologies of its transmission. As Jan Assmann (2006: 40, 120) notes: "With the emergence of codified writing and classics, the temporal form of culture undergoes a change. The festive distinction between primordial time and the present is now joined by another: the distinction between past and present, antiquity and modernity."[11] However, it is reductive to pigeonhole Amerindian societies into simply one of these two domains of memory and historical consciousness ("literate vs. non-literate").

This analytic is further complicated since a number of pre-Columbian cultures developed complex writing and semasiographic systems. The extraordinary Inca khipus and their antecedents dating as early as the Middle Horizon no doubt formed the principal "archive" of the late Andean state (Urton 2003). Although only 450 or so Inca examples exist today, many thousands were archived in temples, *tambos* (rest houses), and administration centers at the time of the conquest. The Spanish relied heavily on khipus before they were destroyed as pagan relics after 1580, and Urton has argued that one-third of the surviving corpus encoded historic and narrative information (Ascher and Ascher 1981; Hyland 2010; Urton 2003, 2012). The distinct materiality and tactility of khipus have long fascinated scholars, and they clearly created a unique "historical record." Instead of simply recording past histories or present realities, the khipus may also have been envisioned as mimetic, anticipatory tools that served to trigger a desired present (whether a census summoning people to work in the mit'a or a narrative that

allowed for the revival of a specific time or previously dormant place). In this sense, the khipu as historiographic device mirrors the kinetic and virtual qualities of the zeq'e system described above.

Khipus clearly played an important role in extending and reconfiguring memory that permitted novel ways of relating past, present, and future. Similar to Moctezuma's burning of the codices at Tenochtitlan, Atahualpa's desire to burn the khipus following the defeat of Huascar is a testament to the power of these records in prescribing behavior and codifying memory (Brokaw 2003: 8). Although most studies have focused on the numeric, mnemonic, and encoding properties of the khipu, recent research has begun to consider the role they played as a distinctive medium of historiography, semiosis, and poetics (see Brokaw 2003; Quilter and Urton 2002). Furthermore, the khipu as a recording and bureaucratic device can only be properly understood in relationship to the great infrastructure projects of the Inca state. The engineering marvel of the imperial highway (*Capac Ñam*) and its supporting network of reclaimed fields, rest houses, and warehouses compressed space and time and allowed for the rapid dissemination of people, armies, tribute, and information (Nair 2015). In just days, messengers (*chaskis*) could transmit government directives over thousands of kilometers. If "the past is a foreign country" (something remote, far away, and hard to grasp), then the imperial integration of far-flung territories, facilitated by khipus and the road network, likely led to new understandings of space, time, and identity. Marco Curatola Petrocchi (2008) similarly argues that Inca patronage of local oracles permitted the surveillance of provincial peoples and the appropriation of their histories. Khipus and comparable infrastructural projects have been documented for the Middle Horizon Wari, and more attention should be paid to how radical shifts in infrastructural projects, accounting, and place making might have underwritten transformations in time reckoning and historiography in the ancient Andes (Urton 2012).

Although Eurocentric biases must be taken into account, Andean people also appear to have made a distinction between ages (major pachas) of differing temporal depths. Rowe (1987) believes that the five ages or "suns" recorded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were wrongly imposed on the Andes by plagiarizing Spanish chroniclers familiar with Mesoamerican sources (mainly the chronicles of Murúa, Guaman Poma, and Blas Valera). Juan Ossio (2015), however, makes a strong case that distinct ages, inaugurated by the catastrophic destruction of the preceding era (named *pachakutis*—changes in space-time), most likely had indigenous roots in South America. For instance, contemporary Andeans view pre-Columbian structures as the houses of beings "who lived before the current sun arose" (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 51). Pachakutis referred to both destruction and renovation and could refer to cataclysmic interludes that separated more stable periods of 500 or 1,000 years. As implied by his

name, the Inca king, Pachakuti Yupanqui, was celebrated as the founder of a new world order. The chronicles report that he embodied a break between two distinct periods (between chaos and renewal), and he was renowned for having creating a new calendar, reorganizing government, and rebuilding the political and sacred landscape of the Cuzco region (Ossio 2015: 222).

A belief in the succession of ages associated with distinct peoples and zeitgeists has also been documented in Amazonia, while myths from the North Coast similarly recount the rise and fall of dynasties as coinciding with great environmental cataclysms triggered by the violation of religious taboos (i.e., the Naymlap kingdom of Lambayeque) (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]; Ossio 2015). The Revolt of the Objects in Moche iconography, paralleling myths in the Huarochirí manuscript, has also been interpreted as expressing reversals in the world order and the dawning of a new age (Quilter 1990). Although it has been debated whether the succession of ages was cyclically recurrent (as opposed to linear or teleological), these ages clearly referenced qualitatively different periods of existence. In a similar light, Justin Jennings (2008) has interpreted the emergence of the Lambayeque polity and its sudden and violent destruction as signaling revitalization movements that sought to revive a former, golden age.

Whether the rise and fall of dynasties were consciously historicized by pre-Columbian Andean peoples awaits further research—an understanding of history perhaps comparable to the Chinese "mandate of heaven" (for a similar view of the fall of Moche, see Bawden 1996). In the end, attention to how environmental perturbations, invasions, or other disruptions affected political fortunes and religious ideologies should also consider how they may have led to transformations in temporal routines and the media of memory and historiography. Gose (2008) argues that the Spanish invaders were perceived as returning "ancestors" and that such an understanding of major historical disjunctures has deep roots in the Andes (see also Harris 1995). In fact, archaeological investigations of archaistic ideologies or of the spread of horizon styles might be fruitfully analyzed in this framework of "invaders as ancestors."

The four domains of historical consciousness discussed in this section should not be viewed as mutually exclusive types. Instead they can be applied as heuristic devices to facilitate the identification and comparison of diverse historiographic projects in the Andes and beyond. As the above analysis demonstrates, multiple representations of time were clearly in play in the ancient Andes, including phases, cycles, circulations, metamorphisms, and ages of differing durations and consequences. Although conceptualized in a unique cultural calculus, some of these categories likely found parallels with contemporary philosophers' understandings of history (as event, moyenne durée, longue-dureé, virtual time, etc.). However, other modes of time work and native historiography were clearly specific to the Andes as exemplified by the khipu and Inca zeqʻe system.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUME

This volume concentrates on problems of time and history with a focus on the precolonial Andes from an archaeological vantage point, focusing not simply on Andean ideologies of history but on the ingrained temporal routines of everyday practice as can be detected in the material record. The deficiencies of standard chronological and historical models employed by Andean archaeologists are also scrutinized in several of the opening chapters.

As outlined in the above discussion, the authors of the volume are critical of a strict analytical divide between history and temporality, but seek instead to explore how they variably interpenetrated in Andean societies. However, the heuristic value of these concepts is recognized by the contributors, and the volume loosely follows the structure of this introductory chapter. Thus Sayre (chapter 2) and Roddick (chapter 3) begin the volume with a criticism of standard chronological models and the Andean horizon concept. By considering new theories and approaches, they present novel methods and analytical frameworks to interpret experiences of time in Chavín and the Lake Titicaca Basin. Sayre considers the well-established narratives of the "Early Horizon," exploring the continuing impact of Julio Tello in our understanding. Explicitly engaging with Trouillot's historicities at Chavín de Huántar, both the traces of historical processes and historical narratives, Sayre presents a reconsideration of the site's occupation history through the perspective of daily life, highlighting previous silences in our archive and in turn producing a distinct temporal narrative. Roddick also critiques normative narratives and established chronotopes in the Lake Titicaca Basin. He argues that our visual tools, or "chronographics," are having unintended effects in our writing. He teases apart the visual models of chronology employed by archaeologists, highlighting specifically the role of chronological charts, ceramic sequences, and stratigraphic profiles in our narrative constructions. Ultimately, Roddick underscores the potentials and pitfalls of both traditional and emerging methodologies in plotting temporal continuities and ruptures in the south-central Andes and beyond.

The ensuing chapter by D'Altroy and Wilkinson (chapter 4) explores linguistic, metaphysical, and spatial mediations of time in the Inca period. This contribution not only demonstrates the inextricability of space and time in Andean thought but proves that the relational temporality of the Andes departed dramatically from linear constructions defining modern notions of time. The chapter is of value in identifying the unique, "aniconic" technologies of history developed by the Inca that differed from the reliance on iconic historical images so characteristic of other world empires, including pre-Inca states in the Andes. In their analysis of the enclosure of stone wak'as in the Amaybamba Valley east of Cuzco, Wilkinson and D'Altroy show that the Inca did not remember, record, or manipulate an absent past but made it kin and family in the present

by housing and feeding powerful wak'as. In the end, Wilkinson and D'Altroy's critique of social memory theory reveals that Inca engagements with history were far removed from archaeological *re-presentations* of remote pasts.

In chapter 5, Zach Chase shows that the "canonical prehistory" of Huarochirí, based on the chronological sequencing of waves of highland invasions, conveniently corresponds with the horizon schema employed by historians. However, this narrative is contradicted by recent archaeological excavations at the important Checa and Inca ceremonial center of Llacsatambo. At the same time, Chase argues that the mobilization of empirical archaeological data with theories on the ritual constructions of memory and the past (what he calls "performative historicity") illuminates Huarochirano conceptions of history and time. His questioning of canonical histories and the silencing of pasts (*sensu* Trouillot) complements Sayre [chapter 2] and Roddick's [chapter 3] critique of taken-for-granted historiographical approaches and chronological models.

In chapter 6, Swenson compares the settlement data of the Late Moche center of Huaca Colorada with earlier Formative and Middle Moche sites in the Jequetepeque Valley. The comparison illustrates how conceptions of time changed significantly in the region between the Formative, Early Intermediate, and Middle Horizon Periods, a point also made by Seoane and Culquichicón in chapter 8. Ultimately, his chapter serves to highlight considerable diversity in Andean ideologies of time. Swenson further applies the theoretical framework of topology to highlight the active architectural regulation of time and creation of history. The concept of topology further permits interpretation of alternate modalities of time as engineered in space, including embodied and "affective" time. In chapter 7, Spence Morrow considers how time was literally made in place through formal acts of architectural renovation also at the Moche site Huaca Colorada in the Jequetepeque Valley. He further interprets architectural models of ritual precincts interred in the priestess center of the nearby cult center of San José de Moro as power objects that effectively stored a latent or virtual space-time. The occultation of these *maquetas* in the realm of the dead was comparable to the destruction (by burial) and renewal of architectural space documented at the site of Huaca Colorada. These practices point to a particular Moche conception of time as physical, vital, and synecdochal. By synecdochal history, Spence Morrow stresses that time was materially set in motion by constantly renewing the whole by manipulating or sacrificing the part. This regulation of a nested or synecdochal time, in which the part engenders the whole and vice-versa, is evident in both the incremental renovations of the huaca and the burial of architectural representations of sacred structures at the cult center at San José de Moro

In chapter 8, Seoane and Culquichicón examine the calendric function of Andean religious architecture from the Formative to Middle Horizon Periods.

Their identification of shifts in astronomical alignments at the beginning of the Middle Horizon provides an example of how sociopolitical changes underwrote transformations in historical consciousness and the measurement of time in a pre-Inca polity. Complementing the arguments of D'Altroy and Wilkinson (chapter 4), Chase (chapter 5), and Spence Morrow (chapter 7), they contend that historical projects in later Andean civilizations were concerned with organizing peoples in space as opposed to constructing teleological narratives of sequential events. By at least the beginning of the Middle Horizon, Seoane and Culquichicón contend, time was understood not as linear but as a continuous present. The timework undertaken by astronomers and ritual specialists intended to fix time in such a way to ensure cosmic and social equilibrium and to stave off the chaos of a dreaded nonpresent (or a space without time). Finally, the volume concludes with an insightful assessment of the eight chapters by Bray. She presents some of her own interpretations on time and history in Andean archaeology and offers advice for future research on the topic.

In the introduction of a recent edited volume, Aveni notes (Aveni 2015a: 2): "Few words in the dictionary have managed to acquire as many definitions as the word *time*." Gosden (1994: 6) also writes that "there must be as many different forms of time as there are societies." In light of these statements, the chapters of the edited volume can only provide a select study of Andean temporalities and historicities. Nevertheless, the contributions show that if we wish to improve our understanding of past Andean cultures, we need to seriously question and rework normative chronological frameworks. The contributions demonstrate that a proper understanding of historical process—a long-time obsession in archaeology—must critically reflect on the history of our own temporalizing practices, as well take into account emic experiences and ideologies of time.

NOTES

1. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Uhle was the first to propose a Peruvian chronology based on alternating periods of regional and global styles. Rice explains that "the horizon concept [has generally] served two functions . . . as a chronological marker that served to integrate the local chronologies of disparate regions [as exemplified in the work of Rowe], and as an indication of cultural processes resulting in stylistic coherence over a broad region [mainly the perspectives of Willey, but also proposed in the earlier research of Bennett and Bird]. The two are not necessarily mutually reinforcing" (Rice 1993: 9).

2. In contrast, Alfredo Torero (2002: 48) argues that the Wari spoke a dialect of Aymara (see also Urton 2012: 325).

3. Unless direct reference is made to Trouillot's historicity, the authors of this volume tend to employ the terms "history" or "historiography" to refer to the production of ideologies of the past and the creation of historical consciousness more generally speaking.

4. See also Catherine Julien (2000) for a discussion of the meaning of *capac* and gene-alogical historiography among the Inca.

5. This Andean understanding of historical causality finds parallels in other cultures and structuralist theories more generally. For instance, Edward Leach (1961: 130) makes the general observation that "myths about sex reversals are representations of time" and draws examples from Greek and Egyptian cosmology to show that the origins of time and "beginning of becoming" are activated through the creation of contraries, "the creation of male and female not as brother and sister but as husband and wife" (Leach 1961: 131).

6. In his critical appraisal of theories of Inca diarchy, Peter Gose concludes that the Early Inca kings (their mummies) belonged to Lower Cuzco, whereas latter kings were associated with Upper Cuzco. He further notes (Gose 1996: 386): "Not only were these moieties spatialized . . . but they are also temporalized, such that Lower Cuzco was primordial and Upper Cuzco was recent." In Gose's interpretation, when an Inca king died, he entered the fertilizing domain of Lower Cuzco associated with the high priest, Willaq Umu.

7. Based on the monumental research of Tom Zuidema (see Zuidema 2010), Anthony Aveni (2015b: 112) interprets each wak'a of the zeq'e as materializing 1 of 328 days of a twelve-month sidereal-lunar calendar, with an average month consisting of 27.3 days. He suggests that 328 days may possibly have coincided with the gestation period of the llama. Moreover, Aveni proposes that each zeq'e corresponded to a week and that a grouping of zeq'es, usually three in number, materialized a month within the zeq'e calendar. As recorded in other calendric systems (Bali), the number of days in a week likely varied, as dictated by the growing season or ritual round.

8. In his discussion of annual cycles and commemorations Trouillot (1995: 116) writes: "As rituals that package history for public consumption, commemorations play the numbers game to create a past that seems both more real and more elementary . . . Numbers matter also as items in the calendar. Years, months, and dates present history as part of the natural cycle of the world."

9. For an interesting parallel in ancient Greece and the writings of Hesiod, see Purves (2004).

10. Randall (1982, 1990) further explains that things stored—the harvest, the Pleiades, the *mama sara* (sacred corn effigy), the *akllakuna*—represent the female force. At the end of the agricultural year, "Pachamama, having yielded her crops, becomes sterile, retreating into the underworld" (Randall 1990: 38): In August, the male and female principles are reunited, and this period is celebrated with rituals of fertility, sexual license, sacrifice, and water rites.

11. Assmann is especially interested in how the development of monotheism and text-based religion led to radical shifts in history and ideologies of remembering and forgetting. Abrahamic monotheism and philosophies including Platonism and Aristotelianism envisioned a world created by a distant and transcendent god, unmoved by the actions of mortals. In contrast, in many societies, including the Andes, the continued existence

of the world was dependent on sustained regimes of ritual practice. Of course, such profound theological differences can explain in part gross distinctions in traditions of memory and historical reckoning. Indeed, the Judeo-Christian underpinnings of Western temporal schemes have long bedeviled our comprehension of alternate constructions of history and time (Swenson 2014; Zuidema 1990; see also Seoane and Culquichicón this volume [chapter 8]).

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