

ILLUSTRATIONS



FIGURES

(all photographs by the authors, unless otherwise noted within the figure captions)

1. Goatskin packets used to protect campesino household titles and papers 3
2. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's drawing of a village councilman holding both a book and a khipu 8
3. Guaman Poma's drawing of a "scribe of the [village] council" working with paper only 8
4. Lidia Ramos's general store as writing-rich space 34
5. In the mid-1990s Shining Path messages still overlay the painted propaganda of legal parties in San Juan Tantaranche 34
6. The book collection in the mayor's office, with a "retired" statue of Admiral Bolognesi 35
7. The library of Tupicocha's public school (1999) 35
8. Global and local inscription (1997): "Have some delicious Tarmeña beer" 38
9. The reverse side of the same sign with highland woman in urban or traveling clothes 38
10. Article from a Lima Sunday tourism supplement as example of carefully hoarded print materials from urban media that refer to the village 39
11. Rural bus lines carrying Tupicochans and their correspondence in and out of diaspora 40
12. Students' names, symbolizing academia and official learning, oil-painted over petroglyphs depicting camelid fertility 42

13. Detail of a Ministry of Health poster explaining how to stop cholera contagion 44
14. Army flyers scattered through areas of Shining Path activity 44
15. Fujimori period political mural with nonwhite faces, a novel iconography ca. 1992 45
16. San Lorenzo de Quinti chalkboard reminding members of Llacuz Ayllu of their day for collective canal labor 49
17. Tupicocha bulletin board announcing irrigation turns 49
18. Segunda Satafasca's 1997 secretary records his peers' compliance with levies of labor in reciprocity 50
19. "Hour of custom": Secretaries of the parcialidades and the Community writing records of the work along with coca-taking ritual 50
20. A document of 1652 in Tupicocha's Community archive, with trace of vicerojal seal 53
21. Taking inventory of church liturgical objects, 1997 54
22. At the General Audit, the Community inspects its entire archive 55
23. Receipts in simplified Chinese characters, preserved in Tupicocha's Community archive 56
24. Flyer circulated among emigrant "Children of the Village," advertising urban fundraising festivals that replicate Tupicochan village customs 60
25. Outside the village jail, Lucio (Lucifer) exhibiting his "Testament" in Tupicocha on Saturday of Holy Week, 1997 61
26. Transport of Segunda Satafasca's ayllu books to the inventory and audit meeting 64
27. Homologization: A 1936 page from Chaucacolca *Ayllu's* book containing "seals" of nonindigenous organizations and those of the originally pre-Hispanic parcialidades 66
28. Introduction: Ayllu Cacarina in 1949 applied state format for farm and livestock census to its own membership 68
29. Basic khipu terminology and structure 73
30. Three common knots used in Inka khipus 73
31. A khipu with arithmetical values 74
32. The "Alphabetic *khipu* of Mangas" from Cajatambo, as drawn by Román Robles Mendoza 78
33. The tablet on which celebrants of the canal-cleaning *faena* at S. Pedro de Casta, Huarochirí, registered participation 82
34. An 1898 page from the first internal book of an ayllu 88

35. Book in Tupicocha circa 1870 exposing villagers to styles of commercial correspondence 90
36. A Tupicochan khipu, Kh 1A-01 of ayllu Primera Allauca 92
37. A 1923 *relación* or *padroncillo* of ayllu members' attendance at work days for mutual benefit 94
38. A 1982 *padroncillo* or table of Ayllu Segunda Allauca with the variables member, month, and work type within month 94
39. A draft of a 1996 *padroncillo* of Ayllu Segunda Satafasca recorded in a secretary's notebook 95
40. Still-undivided Satafasca Ayllu's 1920 book announcing its reformed criteria for membership 98
41. Locking in the Community quorum at the beginning of the General Audit 101
42. Participatory auditing: Reckoning of every transaction by all members 103
43. *Croquis* drawing by Santacruz Rojas commemorating his ayllu's part in a series of faenas to improve the Willcapampa Canal 105
44. Sail of the raft carrying Concha Community's offerings to the divine couple residing in Lake Yanascocha 112
45. Dancing celebrants launch a boatload of coca, tobacco, and other gifts for the lake deities Pedro Batán and Mama Capyama 112
46. Concha Community members anxiously awaiting the moment when the underwater deities will reach up and accept the offering-boat 112
47. Snapshot taken by a participant in the encounter with the "Owners" of Willcapampa's water on July 6, 1999 114
48. Copy of *El Mosaico* from 1927 in possession of a Tupicochan elder in 2005 133
49. Mural from 1980s, when Left-nationalist teaching glorified insurgent "Inka" patriot-peasants, such as 1750 neo-Inka rebel Francisco Inca 140
50. The village's foremost private book collector, León Modesto Rojas Alberco 147
51. Lexical-chronological representation of */camachico/* compared with */presidente/* 165
52. Cajuela, or religious diorama, an important pledge token 178
53. León Modesto Rojas's likeness of a 1630 petition to the viceroyalty 189
54. Another work of local paleography: This series of transcribed inventories counts as a master document attesting to the integrity of Tupicocha's foundational archive 189

55. From a current national high school textbook: Warning not to listen to people who use “barbaric” verb forms 195
56. Word *FUNERARIA* (‘funeral parlor’) written as *FUNIRARIA*: Example of hesitation regarding vowel uses 204
57. Local and overarching loyalties: Curcuches descending to Tupicocha village carry twin standards, the Peruvian flag and the *pullagua* flower 224
58. The sparsely inhabited hamlet of Llaquistambo was the orientation point for the 1608 Quechua Manuscript of Huarochirí 226
59. South peak of double-peaked snowcap Paria Caca, patron of the Huarochirí region and, until “extirpation,” its chief pilgrimage sanctuary 231
60. A painting of water resources tendered by Concha litigants in their lawsuit against Sunicancha (ca. 1645) 233
61. Don Antonio Anchelía of Sunicancha, on route to a meeting, with his manuscripts 242
62. A dam (this one at Yanascocha) of the type described in Antonio Anchelía’s 1994 manuscript and in 1608 Quechua Manuscript of Huarochirí 243
63. The 1999 statue of Julio C. Tello in Tupicocha’s plaza 246
64. Tello’s legacy in provincial capital of Huarochirí: Buildings with neo-“Inka” facades 248
65. Images of Julio C. Tello omnipresent in Huarochirí schools and offices 248
66. Former Tello home in Huarochirí housing a ghostly mannikin made to demonstrate Inka weaving technique 249
67. Abelardo Santisteban Tello holding portrait of the archaeological pioneer at the door of his house 250
68. “Folkloric” performance of Huarochirí’s Kon Iraya troupe at the National Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Lima 252
69. The heroine of the 1971 play “Chokesuso” onstage at the school in San Lorenzo de Quinti 255
70. The Curcuches spoofing officials who try to command society through writing 258
71. Stamped and ratified records of secret society of Curcuches 258
72. “Danza de las Ingas” performed by the Huarochirí colony resident in Texas and photographed for its website 282

MAP

1. Map of Huarochirí Province, with transect below illustrating altitudes 19