Julián Míguez:
“Opposing Diagrams”

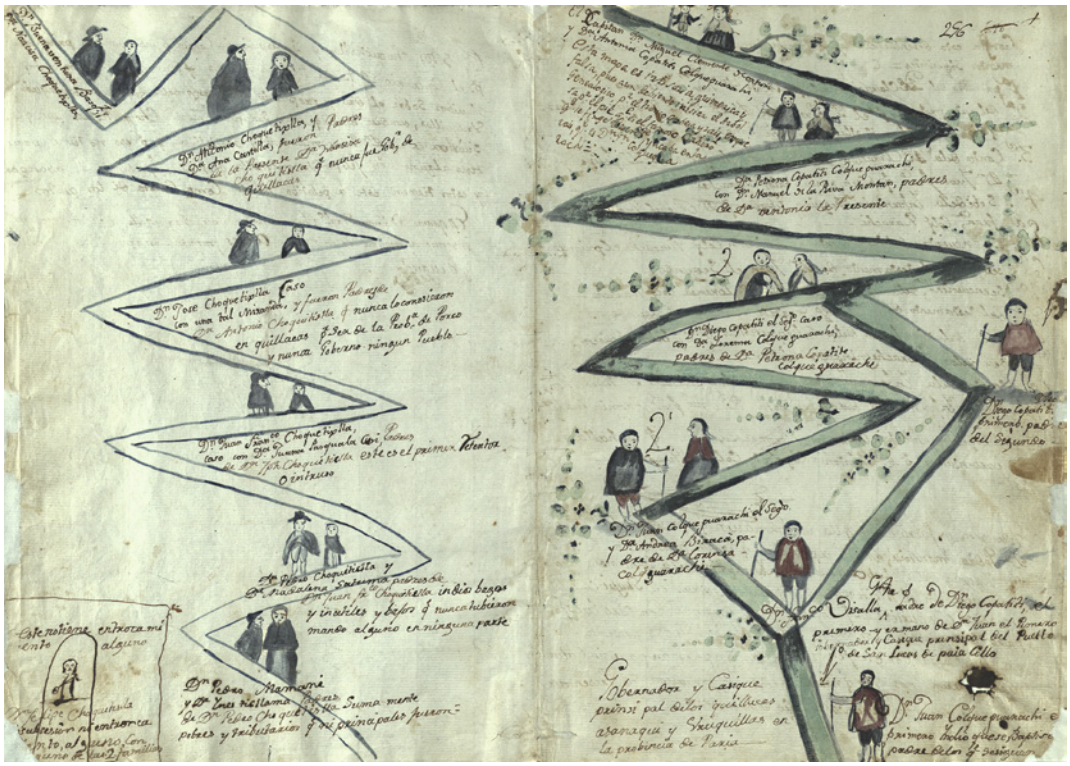
in: Eric Hounshell, Ruth Amstutz (eds.):

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SHADOW OF THE TREE

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OPPOSING DIAGRAMS Exploring the Diagrams



Untitled manuscript, described as "Autos seguidos ante la Audiencia de Charcas, entre doña Narcisa Choqueticlla Colque Guarachi, cacique y gobernadora del repartimiento de Atunquillacas, partido de Paria con Antonia Copatite Colqueguarachi, sobre el derecho de propiedad a dicho cacicazgo", 266 folios, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.

The diagrams of *doña* Narcisa Choqueticlla and *doña* Antonia Copatiti Colque Guarachi.

When seeking visual diagrams in the National Archive of Bolivia, the one shown here captivated my attention immediately. It surprises the viewer on various levels, and with each look something new can be discovered.
At first glance it is immediately clear that it cannot be of European origin, and yet it is obvious that it must contain genealogical information. Due to the fact that different persons are connected horizontally by lines, a kinship connection between them becomes apparent, even if the form seems peculiar and unusual for most. After a brief overview, several questions arise: why are there two diagrams and, especially, why is the one on the right much more colorful, both the lines and the people, while the one on the left is kept in a dull gray? Why are the people in the right diagram so much more detailed, and why does it have an extra branch in the middle? And what is that grim-looking figure in the lower left doing? In order to get to the bottom of these and other questions, it is first necessary to trace the general circumstances of the creation of this diagram.

A streaming video created by the author examines some peculiar features of the diagrams and the questions posed above, focusing in turn on each relevant section of the manuscript.

Julian Miguez: "Exploring the diagrams", streaming video (2022), based on untitled manuscript, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.
VIDEO ▸ cache.ch/0404

OPPOSING DIAGRAMS Legal Dispute

Both diagrams are part of one archival unit of more than five hundred pages that dealt with a legal dispute over the succession of a *cacicazgo,* that is, simply put, a territory of an indigenous ruler. It includes dozens of individual documents such as testimonies, wills, and legal explanations dating back over four centuries. The diagram itself probably dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the legal dispute took place. At the center of the dispute were *doña* Narcisa Choqueticlla, seen in the upper left, and *doña* Antonia Copatiti Colque Guarachi, standing with her husband at the top of the right-hand diagram.



Detail from untitled manuscript, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.

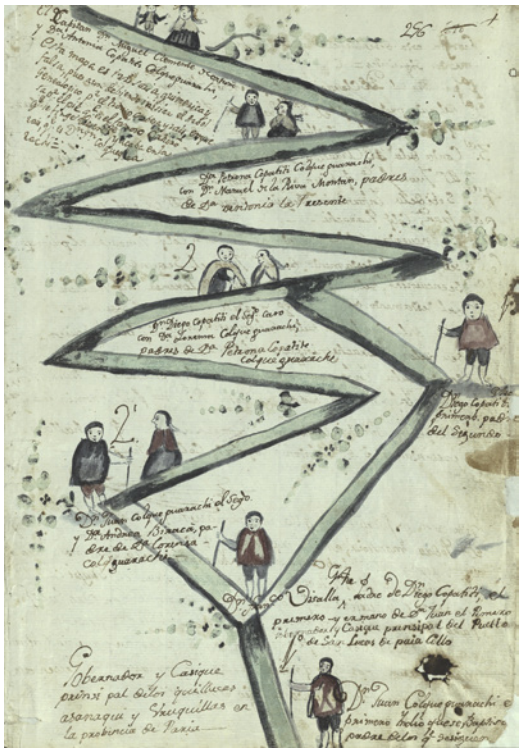
Doña Narcisa Choqueticlla standing with her husband, seen at the top of the left diagram.



Detail from untitled manuscript, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.

Doña Antonia Copatiti Colque Guarachi and her husband, standing at the top of the right diagram.

OPPOSING DIAGRAMS Colors and Cousins



Detail from untitled manuscript, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.

The diagram of *doña* Antonia Copatiti Colque Guarachi.

"*Gobernador* and *casique* principal of Quillacas, Asanaqui and Uruquillas in the province of Paria. *Don* Juan Colque Guarachi the first *indio* to be baptized, father of those who follow."

Untitled manuscript, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.

The texts to the left and right of *don* Juan Colque Guarachi at the bottom of the right diagram.

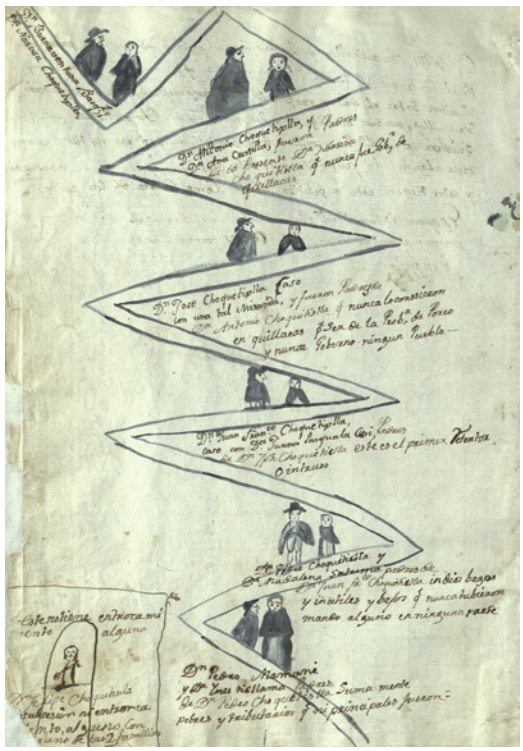
First, let's look at the brightly colored diagram of Antonia on the right. At the bottom is *don* Juan Colque Guarachi, a powerful indigenous leader of the sixteenth century, ruler of large territories and, as his description makes clear, the first indigenous person to be baptized. Antonia invokes his ancestry, and the diagram begins with him. The thick, colored lines seem to represent a path on which don Juan has firmly placed his staff. The path zigzags upward as if it were a steep mountain trail in the Andes. First, it goes straight up to the first junction where his brother Francisco stands. From there, one path branches off to the left and the other to the right. The first goes to *don* Juan the second, son of the first, and his wife. The second path goes to *don* Diego Copatiti, son of Francisco. The paths then rejoin again because at the top where the two are reunited stand Diego Copatiti the second and Lorensa Colque Guarachi, second cousins to each other, who through their marriage

reconnect the paths. They are the grandparents of Antonia.

A streaming video created by the author leads the viewer up the path of the diagram, explaining in detail the kinship relations between the individuals in the right-hand diagram.

Julian Miguez: "Climbing Up the Diagrammatic Path", streaming video (2022), based on untitled manuscript, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.
VIDEO ▸ cache.ch/0402

OPPOSING DIAGRAMS Poverty and Prison



Detail from untitled manuscript, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.

The diagram of *doña* Narcisa Choqueticlla.

While Antonia's diagram attempts to show her illustrious descent from powerful indigenous leaders, the one on the left of Narcisa does just the opposite. Let's have a closer look at this diagram. According to the descriptions, her ancestral parents at the bottom were exceptionally poor and never leaders. The following generations are also described as lazy, useless, and without any exercise of power. This should probably also become visually recognizable. The path is much shorter in many places, sometimes narrow and entirely colorless. The characters are all kept in a boring gray and can hardly be distinguished from each other.

"*Don* Pedro Mamani and *doña* Ynes Ticllama, parents of *Don* Pedro Choqueticlla, [they were] downright poor and tributaries who never even were leaders.
Don Pedro Choqueticlla and *doña* Madalena Satuma, parents of *Don* Juan Francisco Choqueticlla, lazy, good for nothing and low indios who never had any authority in any place."

Untitled manuscript, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.

This text appears with the bottom two ancestral generations of Narcisa.

But what did the grim-looking man in the bottom corner, who has the same last name as Narcisa and yet didn't even make it into the insulting diagram of her, do? Apparently, no one wanted to have anything to do with him, and even the artist drew him inside a box in the corner, locked away from the rest. It is as if they wanted to put him in a prison from where he should have no chance to get into either diagram. As specified in the description, Felipe has no family ties to either of the two lineages.



Detail from untitled manuscript, early 19th c. (ca. 1800-1804), Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia, EC Ad-1804-82, 255v-256r.

Don Felipe Choqueticlla, the grim looking man at the bottom left corner. The description emphasizes that he has no connection to either family.

OPPOSING DIAGRAMS Persuasion and Criticism

The example shows how kinship diagrams could acquire entirely new forms in the colonial context and, in this case, were used in legal disputes to derive indigenous privileges and property claims. The juxtaposition of the two diagrams, one intended to show one person's favorable lineage and the other one a different person's claimless ancestry, creates a

powerful image intended to captivate and, of course, persuade the viewer. Its intention was to be used as evidence in this legal dispute. However, by no means did this representation seem to convince everyone. At the top right, under Antonia's name, in a different script, someone harshly criticized the diagram. Probably irritated by the form of the diagram, which in the same sentence was called map and genealogical tree, the writer stated that it was ridiculous, delusional, and just completely wrong. Diagrams are therefore by no means self-explanatory, and their persuasiveness seems to be often in the eye of the beholder.

Further Readings

Mario Julio Graña: "Autoridad y memoria entre los killakas: Las estrategias discursivas de don Juan Colque Guarache en el sur andino (Siglo XVI)", in: *Histórica* 24/1 (2000), pp. 23-47.

Mario Julio Graña: "La verdad asediada: Discursos de y para el poder. Escritura, institucionalización y élites indígenas sur andinas. Charcas. Siglo XVI", in: *Andes* 12 (2001), pp. 1-13.

Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza (eds.): *Historia de la Villa imperial de Potosí por Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela*, 3 vols., Providence: Brown University Press (1965).

Ximena Medinacelli: *Los pastores de Oruro, mediadores culturales durante la colonia temprana* (Doctoral Thesis, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos 2006).