THE PAST WEIGHS ON THE MINDS OF THE LIVING: Culture, Ethnicity, and the Rural Lower Class*

Ward A. Stavig
University of California, Davis

THE ANDEAN PAST: LAND SOCIETIES AND CONFLICTS. By Magnus Mörner. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. Pp. 300. $30.00.)

THE ECONOMIES OF MEXICO AND PERU DURING THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD, 1760–1810. Edited by Nils Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle. (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1986. Pp. 428.)

LA PARTICIPACION INDIGENA EN LOS MERCADOS SURANDINOS: ESTRATEGIAS Y REPRODUCCION SOCIAL, SIGLOS XVI A XX. Edited by Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson, and Enrique Tandeter. (La Paz: Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social, 1987. Pp. 768.)

RESISTANCE, REBELLION, AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE ANDEAN PEASANT WORLD, 18TH TO 20TH CENTURIES. Edited by Steve J. Stern. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987. Pp. 446. $45.00 cloth, $15.00 paper.)

For several decades, much of the best work on rural society in Latin America was written by historians peering over the shoulders of *hacendados,* colonial officials, and merchants, endeavoring to make sense out of their worlds. These historians often brought to their work sophisticated analytical tools and ideas that were mainly materialist and political in nature but cultural as well, and they continue to write complex and intriguing history. In recent years, however, different shoulders are being looked over with increasing frequency: those of the Indians and others in the rural lower class.[1]

These rural peoples were far from invisible in works focusing on the hacienda or colonial government. Indeed, their labor was often found

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1. The works under consideration cover a broad time span and a complex range of peoples who underwent transformations. No single term adequately describes everyone under these conditions. For these reasons, although I am well aware of differences and debates over usage, I use terms such as *Indians, campesinos,* and *rural lower class* interchangeably, trying to employ the most appropriate term for the particular work being considered.

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at the core of such studies. The perspective adopted, however, was not that of the Indian community or rural lower class because the historians'concerns were dominantly materialist and political. The result thus reflected the analytical view employed and the questions that were asked. How were rural peoples brought into the local, regional, national, or international marketplace as workers, producers, and sometimes as consumers? What demands did the state place on these groups? How did their potential power affect politics? Who used them? Who abused them?

As the works under review here clearly attest, the world of these groups, especially Indian peoples, becomes much more complex and fuller of the "stuff of life" when the lens trained on them reflects their own views. This perspective has begun to alter understandings of their world. Culture and ethnicity are being used to examine issues as diverse as class, ethnic "nationalism," feminism, and market relations. The point is not that materialist concerns figure less. Adam Smith and Karl Marx, along with their disciples and critics, still loom very large. But culture is receiving more attention. It is becoming increasingly apparent that while material life shapes culture, culture gives form to the impact of material life.

Individuals and ethnic groups bring cultural baggage to the situations and problems that confront them. The persistence of culture and cultural concerns among Indian peoples means that the context in which peoples, epochs or events are analyzed often needs to be expanded. Worldviews and ways of life developed in "time immemorial" (not always that far in the past, as Brooke Larson has pointed out) affect actions in later periods.[2] Individuals and ethnic groups may react or not react to situations for reasons relevant to their lives in ways that are not always self-evident. For instance, individuals may choose not to maximize their economic returns in order to maintain a social network. Indeed, it is hard to separate economy and culture because as Karl Polanyi noted about premodern societies, "man's economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships." This observation continues to apply to some modern societies, especially in Third World countries.[3]

In much the same way, the vision of the state has also changed. The state certainly has not been "written out." In fact, the nature of the problems being addressed in several of the works under review is framed in terms of peasant-state relations. With the state, as with economic issues, culture helps mold the relationship between it and Indian peoples. Culture also plays a role in determining if or when resistance, revolt, or rebellion will occur and the form it will take. Concerning larger political movements in which Indians or peasants participated, it has become

2. Brooke Larson, "'Exploitation' and 'Moral Economy' in the Southern Andes: A Critical Reconsideration." Paper presented at the conference of the Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLASCO), 26–29 June 1986, 27.

3. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (New York: 1944), 46.

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increasingly clear that rural groups were often pursuing their own cultural, economic, and political needs and interests. Because this process was ongoing, the issue of whether such rural groups were largely reactive or initiators becomes a difficult definitional one to argue. As the works under review make manifest, these groups were not passive. Their actions were often complex, and they sought solutions rather than merely redress of grievances or settling of old scores. The desire to preserve older, even conservative values could take radical or revolutionary forms. As John Womack noted regarding the *campesinos* of Morelos, "their longing to lead a settled life in a familiar place developed into a violent struggle."[4]

When linked to questions of culture and the impact of material life, the issue of population looms large. Do new economic situations or alternatives "push" or "pull" individuals and families as much as population fluctuation, especially population growth, forces them to accept or seek alternatives? Unfortunately, demographic information on rural Latin America is not usually complete enough to generate good statistical data.

Further complicating questions of culture and identity is the issue of ethnicity. Linguistic, cultural, and geographic fragmentation, to mention but a few factors, made a human mosaic of native American society, particularly in the Andes. These groups recognized the differences among themselves to a greater degree than Europeans did and acted on these differences. Ethnicity has thus been a powerful and persistent force in much of Latin America and other parts of the world. For example, recent tensions in Eastern Europe have highlighted just how deep and long-lasting ethnic divisions can be.

Ethnohistorians and others seeking to understand the impact of broad economic and political processes on rural peoples have drawn attention to the importance of factors like culture in shaping this relationship. The concept of moral economy has emerged as one of the more powerful theories in reuniting material and cultural life. It was first developed nearly two decades ago by E. P. Thompson to elucidate the actions of rural folk in England as their way of life began to unravel with the impact of the flying shuttle, the spinning jenny, and the industrial world these inventions represented. Since then, moral economy has proven to be an effective analytical tool in many parts of the world. Although mentioned with increasing frequency, the moral economy concept has been used only infrequently in the Latin American context.[5] Yet

4. John Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution,* (New York: Random House, 1969), x.
5. E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 50 (Feb. 1971):76–136; James L. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976). For the Andes, see Brooke Larson, "'Exploitation' and 'Moral Economy' in the Southern Andes"; Erick D. Langer, "Labor Strikes and Reciprocity on Chuquisaca Haciendas," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65, no. 2 (May 1985):255–77; and Ward Stavig, "Ethnic

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moral economy seems particularly well suited to studying relationships between the state and indigenous peoples of the New World in "core areas" whose cultures often included notions of reciprocity, especially before the late nineteenth century when fuller integration into the capitalist world economy further eroded traditional ways.

The outside observer often perceives little that is "moral" in moral economy. The agreed-on ties that maintained social relations were usually uneven. But the native peoples' sense of justice or injustice was not tied to equality of exchange or reciprocity with authority figures. They sought instead to assure and preserve access to rights and resources that allowed them to maintain their way of life, their social reproduction. The system could, indeed needed to, fluctuate and bend to meet changes and crises. What was acceptable at one point might not be acceptable at another time. What were "customary" rights and obligations could and did change under pressure, or else the entire system was jeopardized. Population growth, drought, changes in ethnic identity, and new demands were only a few of the factors that might require readjusting the understood rights and obligations. Sometimes wrongly thought of as bucolic, enforcement and readjustment of the moral economy required individuals to be tough as nails. Resistance in its violent and everyday forms could be and was very much a part of a functioning moral economic system. Unless violence challenged the basis of the system (rather than aspects of the system or individuals who maintained it), such actions often functioned to preserve, rather than destroy, the informal and formal understandings and relationships that collectively formed the moral economy.

In the Andean highlands, it can even be argued that two different sets of moral economic relationships functioned in Indian society throughout most of the colonial period, one with the state and one with the *curaca* that overlapped the relationship with the state.[6] Both relationships were weakened, transformed, or destroyed in the late colonial period and the new republics.[7] Because of the curacas' role in the rebellion, their position was undermined further in the era following Thupa Amaro II (Túpac Amaru). Meanwhile, forces of "progress" in the independent Latin American nations sought to create "free" citizens in place of colonial understandings of "exploitative" paternalism and unequal reciprocity that had functioned between state and Indian.[8]

Conflict, Moral Economy, and Population in Rural Cuzco on the Eve of the Thupa Amaro II Rebellion," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68, no. 4 (Nov. 1988):737–70.

6. Stavig, "Ethnic Conflict, Moral Economy," 739–40.

7. On the erosion of curaca power in the late eighteenth century, see David Cahill, "*Curas* and Social Conflict in the *Doctrinas* of Cuzco, 1780–1814," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 16, pt. 2 (Nov. 1984):241–76. For dual relationships in the moral economy, see Stavig, "Ethnic Conflict, Moral Economy."

8. David A. Brading and Harry E. Cross, "Colonial Silver Mining: Mexico and Peru," *His-*

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This review essay will focus on ways in which culture and ethnicity are being used to expand and deepen knowledge of the diverse groups who have composed the rural lower class of Latin American society. I have also sought to write the review in the style of much of this new work. The analytical stage is set and problems are stated, but the analysis and development come from those who created the history or, in this case, wrote the articles. For this reason, I will provide citations from the works themselves to allow the reader to savor the complex flavor of the history and writing.

In several ways, *The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810,* edited by Nils Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, is the odd work among those under consideration. Its focus extends beyond the Andean region, covering a relatively short period with emphasis on the economy. Indigenous peoples and others from the rural lower class are included but are not placed center stage as in the other works. Even so, this collection complements the others.

Like the work by Magnus Mörner, *The Economies of Mexico and Peru* employs a comparative approach. Several problems arise in comparing Peru and Mexico, however, because the data base for developing comparisons is neither well nor evenly developed for the two areas. Puhle and Jacobsen themselves acknowledge that "any statements about the growth of the Mexican and Peruvian economies during the late colonial period continue to be mere extrapolations from the data on precious metal mining and foreign trade and from qualitative indicators on the other sectors." The lack of sufficient data for comparison is one factor that led most contributors to focus on either Peru or Mexico. Comparison is achieved through separate articles on similar topics and through often insightful discussions at the end of each section. For instance, Susan Deans-Smith writes on the tobacco monopoly in New Spain while Christine Hunefeldt deals with the same topic in Peru. John Coatsworth treats Mexican mining and John Fisher, mining in Peru. Brooke Larson, Guy Thompson, and Miriam Salas write on the textile industries in Cochabamba, Puebla, and Huamanga, respectively. Although this regional approach may not be what the editors had in mind when they first conceived of a comparative study, it proves to be a strength rather than a weakness in that it allows individual authors to examine their topics in a complex, close manner that broader comparisons might not have permitted.

For example, Albert Meyers's article on indigenous communities in

panic American Historical Review 52, no. 4 (Nov. 1972):545–79. For the sake of convention, I have left the title of the rebellion in the more common Spanish spelling, Túpac Amaru. For the correct spelling of the revolutionary's name, see John H. Rowe "Thupa Amaro: nombre y apellido," *Boletín de Lima* 4, no. 24 (Nov. 1982):6–9.

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the Central Sierra of Peru focuses on regional differences but also on three levels of economic concern that affected the indigenous population: "The extraction of agricultural goods for the Spanish Crown, the supply of the nonagrarian population, and . . . the subsistence of the agrarian producers themselves." Meyers is also sensitive to the impact of rapid demographic growth that "caused much social unrest." In analyzing problems related to cultural subsistence, he incorporates an organic understanding of the necessary quantity of land needed to support a family while examining changing land-tenure patterns in the late colonial and early independence eras. He also demonstrates how native peoples used the *cofradía,* a cultural institution introduced by the Spanish, to protect lands that came under assault.

In a perceptive essay on the merchant elite of Lima, the late Peruvian historian Alberto Flores Galindo pointed out the importance of Indian peoples to the economy. He states that free trade and contraband combined with rural and urban tumult to weaken merchant power. In the interior, "the other pillar of fleeting mercantile splendor," the violence and disruption (caused mainly by Indians) diminished the lucrative trade with Indian peoples.

Jacobsen's "Livestock Complexes in Late Colonial Peru and New Spain," a fine piece of comparative history, enmeshes itself in the geography, natural resources, culture, population, and economy. Taking all these factors into consideration, Jacobsen presents a complex analysis that grasps the larger issues of the indigenous community's economy and survival. He also analyzes the role of livestock in the colonial economy and society in a convincing fashion. Beginning with a nineteenth-century government official's assertion that "hogs . . . contributed as much to Mexico's GNP as the domestic consumption of sugar and associated products," Jacobsen points out that the annual value of marketed cattle equaled the value of wheat and corn production. He goes on to discuss the importance of livestock as sources of transportation, power for industry and agriculture, raw materials, and food.

Although the ecology of Mexico was well suited to cattle and sheep, nature provided no large beasts to domesticate before the Spanish conquest, and Indians in Mexico therefore had no livestock traditions. In Peru, however, experience with cameloids had prepared the Indians culturally to deal with livestock, causing them to use vast tracts of land that they were able to preserve after the conquest, unlike Indians in Mexico. Thus differences in the gifts of nature and the economic and cultural evolution that followed helped create distinct realities for sections of Mexico and Peru.

In Mexico, the native peoples eventually owned sheep in some numbers. Cattle, however, seem not to have been adopted to any great extent by most core-area Mesoamerican Indians, other than as draft

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animals for agriculture. This trend was important to the evolution in Mexico of a system of large ranches dominated by Europeans. In Andean zones of cameloid production, in contrast, the livestock tradition allowed Indians to incorporate sheep and cattle into their way of life with greater ease. Even though cattle and sheep at least partly replaced cameloids, Andean Indians continued their roles as herders as well as agriculturalists and were able to hold on to their lands. Jacobsen notes, "in late colonial Peru, . . . the Andean peasantry still held a major share of the region's livestock population, and livestock estates of creole or peninsular Spaniards on the average were smaller—both in area and in livestock capital—than those in New Spain." For instance, in the altiplano province of Azángaro, Indian peasants in the early independence era still controlled "60 percent of all sheep and nearly 70 percent of cattle, with the rest belonging to haciendas of creoles, *kurakas*, church institutions, and the one or the other corporate community."

But in regions of Peru such as Cajamarca, where the cameloid tradition was not as strong, the evolution of land tenure and livestock arrangements tended to parallel the Mexican pattern. Jacobsen concludes, "In the Andes, even by the late eighteenth century, the extension of the *mancha india* [Indian settlement] was practically identical with what may be called the *mancha cameloida* [cameloid territory]. . . . In other words, the survival of an Indian community peasantry was most marked precisely where the continuity of Indian livestock raising had been strongest."

Norio Yamamoto's article on a related topic, "Papa, llama y chaquitaclla," takes the topic even further.[9] Elaborating the symbiotic relationship that evolved over centuries between llama herding and agriculture, particularly potato production, Yamamoto details a productive complex in which crop rotation, field preparation, and llama dung (later partially replaced by sheep manure) maintained agricultural production. Thus the importance of livestock goes beyond the significance of transhumance and control of broader expanses of land to include economic value, and the cultural tradition of herding. The animals were also integral to maintaining agricultural production, which deepened their cultural importance. In the Southern Andean highlands, the complex of potatoes, llamas, and foot plows helped preserve a way of life and a culture that was strong enough to retain lands and remain the dominant producer of livestock throughout the colonial period. These understandings provided from the ground up by Jacobsen and Yamamoto facilitate

9. Norio Yamamoto, "Papa, llama y chaquitaclla: una perspectiva etnobotánica de la cultura andina," in *Recursos naturales andinos*, edited by S. Masuda (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1988?). Some very interesting work is being done related to use of animals in the productive process. For example, see Arnold J. Bauer, "La cultura mediterránea en las condiciones del nuevo mundo: elementos en la tranferencia del trigo a las Indias," *Historia* 21 (1986):31–53 (published by the Universidad Católica de Chile).

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understanding of why Indian-European relations and regional colonial economies evolved as they did.

Another topic addressed in *The Economies of Mexico and Peru* is the significance of Bourbon reforms to the economy and society. This concern is also reflected in the other works under review, which recognize the importance of events and changes in this period while sometimes questioning the impact of Bourbon reforms. Beyond the complexity of the era, analysts must decide whether the period is an entity unto itself, a transition period, the end of the colonial era, or the beginning of the modern period. In *The Andean Past: Land, Societies, and Conflict,* Mörner emphasizes the significance of this era: "from the mid-eighteenth through the early nineteenth century, the Western world underwent a process of profound cultural, economic, social and political change. Even though Spanish America was a marginal area of that world, the culmination of Spanish colonialism and its ensuing collapse took place within this general framework." The collection edited by Steve Stern, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World,* devotes much space to the Bourbon period while questioning the role of economic reforms in relation to other factors in eighteenth-century rebellions.

The tentative conclusions drawn by Jacobsen and Puhle reflect regional differences as well as divergence in various economic sectors, given that "the direct impact of the new Bourbon policies varied from sector to sector." Relying on John Coatsworth's contribution, the editors conclude, like others before them, that "the Bourbons' singleminded pursuit of revenue maximization lead them to favor the increasingly inefficient mining sector to the detriment of the rest of the economy . . . , a misallocation of resources." The editors also cite an "almost total neglect of agriculture," and the textile industry did "not note any significant royal policies directed toward development." This observation does not imply that other sectors of the economy were stagnant, however. Jacobsen and Puhle conclude that overall "one arrives at a rather motley picture of the Bourbon reformers' impact on the colonial economies of Mexico and Peru. Policies may have affected the timing and rate of economic changes, but not the secular trends."

Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy considers the significance of Bourbon economic changes in *Las reformas fiscales borbónicas y su impacto en la sociedad colonial del Bajo y Alto Perú*. She discusses in particular the increase and expansion in the *alcabala* (sales tax) and the inauguration of customs houses as causal factors of the great rebellions of 1780. Godoy believes that implementation of these two policies, on top of other changes and obligations, was too much for colonial society, or what she calls "the feather that broke the camel's back." These fiscal changes affected Indians and non-Indians alike. Commercial trade routes in Upper and Lower Peru were disrupted, which hurt Indians involved in transporting goods. The

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sales tax was increased from 4 to 6 percent and was expanded to include previously exempt items produced mainly by Indians: *ají* (peppers), potatoes, and *chuño* (freeze-dried potatoes). The problem was especially acute in the Southern Andes, where there was much trade and a dense Indian population. Godoy concludes that because these regions were also affected by the *mita,* the *reparto,* and other obligations, the new changes made the Southern Andes the place where "the colonial contradictions accumulated." She argues that "if the Bourbon fiscal reforms had not been applied with such rigor in this region, the great rebellion probably would not have broken out, or in any case, it would not have manifested itself with the same intensity."

The debate over the importance of economic changes in the Bourbon era is also found in other works under consideration. Counterbalancing earlier heavily economic explanations for revolt, several authors in *Resistance and Rebellion* draw attention to cultural factors as causes of tension and rebellion. In *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos,* Jorge Hidalgo's "Tierras, exacciones fiscales y mercado en las sociedades andinas de Arica, Tarapacá y Atacama, 1750–1790" focuses on the disruptive nature of economic demands, particularly the reparto. He characterizes it as "la fuerza motora" of Andean (Indian) participation in the markets during this period. Thus the lively debate over the role of Bourbon economic reforms goes on. Hidalgo notes one aspect of its complexity in this conclusion: "the situation created the classic contradiction of colonial exploitation: the forced market threatened to destroy the subsistence base of the peasantry, on which rested the apparatus of state (tributary) extraction."

Brimming with new questions and analytical tools, scholars are increasingly seeking to understand the extremely complicated relations between peasants and nonpeasants. This process has been aided by the organization of local and regional archives in recent decades, which allows diligent scholars to comprehend better the world revealed in the often crumbling and yellowed documents brought by archival employees from the musty rooms where the retrievable past is stored. The emerging body of work is greatly altering the stereotypical image of Indians and others as largely passive or reactive.

Violent outbreaks such as rebellion and revolution have already drawn much scholarly attention. Considerably less is known of the daily lives of the traditional majority of Spanish American society, the rural lower class. Before colonial empires broke up and national liberation movements appeared in the wake of World War II, many analysts focused on the ways that peasants adapted or were forced to adapt to new cultural and economic forms imposed by the world beyond their world. Some of this work took into consideration difficult problems such as similarities, at least in form, between cultures. Robert Ricard's study of the "spiritual

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conquest" in Mexico exemplifies such work. Others have focused on resistance or, more commonly, on syncretism. Toribio de Benavente (also known as Motolinía), Vasco de Quiroga, and their co-religionists brought native peoples into the fold of the Christian God, but "idols behind altars" remained.[10]

In the postwar era, as European empires diminished and the Sierra Maestra became a mountain range that many could locate on a map, attention switched from adaptation to resistance, especially the more violent forms of resistance. Scholars, reflecting concerns in their own world, brought the struggles of the "wretched of the earth" to the fore. More recently, they have begun to explore different aspects of relations such as the struggle for cultural and economic survival and subtle forms of resistance that do not necessarily involve violence.[11] Adaptation is even being reintroduced into the debate.

In an inherently coercive situation, Indians in late colonial Cuzco adapted some European values. Other values that closely paralleled their own were also accepted, making syncretism likely. At the same time, the Indians tried to avoid or outflank certain aspects of European society that were being imposed, that they disagreed with, or that offended their values. Thus closely held cultural values, not just economic well-being, were fiercely defended. In these instances, neither compromise nor adaptation was possible without force or coercion. It is also clear that Indians were not just acted upon but that Europeans too adapted, resisted, and compromised on issues of Indian culture in dealing with native peoples. The world of cultural values and the vast grey area between violent resistance and passive adaptation was indeed complicated.[12]

From this milieu come the fine articles that compose *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries.* As the title implies, resistance and violent confrontation are central topics, although actions are often understood in subtle and complicated ways that stress culture or the consciousness created by culture. Editor Stern notes that peasants were "simultaneously disposed to 'adapt' to objective forces beyond their control and to 'resist' inroads on hard-won rights and achievements." He postulates the notion of "resistant adapta-

10. Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966). Also, Anita Brenner, *Idols behind Altars: The Story of the Mexican Spirit* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon, 1970).

11. Two examples of such works outside the Latin American context are Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974); and James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

12. Ward Stavig, "Amor, sexo y violencia sexual en las comunidades del Cuzco rural: un estudio de los valores indígenas en la sociedad colonial," manuscript.

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tion," which is understandably vague. Stern comes closest to defining it as "innovative political engagement of the state by the peasants."

To help understand the world of Andean peasants, Stern offers four methodological suggestions that reflect the concerns of many researchers in the field. First, "Explicit analysis of preexisting patterns of 'resistant adaptation' is an essential prerequisite for any adequate theory or explanation of peasant rebellion." Second, "The method used to study peasant rebellion should incorporate long-term frames of references explicitly in the analysis." Third, "Peasant consciousness [should be treated] as problematic rather than predictable, should pay particular attention to the 'culture history' of the area under study, and should discard notions of the inherent parochialism and defensiveness of peasants." Fourth, "Ethnic-blind analysis should be justified rather than used as a point of departure" (pp. 11–18).

The issue of ethnicity runs through several articles in the Stern collection, reflecting the ties and fragmentation that existed among native peoples and between native peoples and non-Indians. Spanish colonial policy heightened this fragmentation and altered concepts of ethnicity. By the late colonial period, ethnic identity in rural Cuzco had been reduced almost to the community level. A similar process occurred among the Yura of Bolivia, where "a consciousness of wider ethnic identity was lost; 'new' loyalties based on the *reducciones* were evolved, demonstrating a more localized sense of ethnicity."[13] Although their work is not based on ethnicity, Magnus Mörner and Efraín Trelles argue in their contribution, "A Test of Causal Interpretations of the Túpac Amaru Rebellion," that "the province level is obviously not close enough to the immediate social reality." Trying to understand local actions and attitudes based on ecology, community size, economic activity, leadership, and other factors, they quantify certain of these potential causal factors of rebellion while noting that such an intricate matter "cannot be resolved on the basis of quantification only." This essay gives a good indication of their work, but the specialist will want to consult the more detailed version in Spanish.[14]

In another contribution to the Stern volume, "The Andean Experience of Bolivian Liberalism," Tristan Platt draws attention to the continued lack of ethnic awareness, arguing that "students of Andean rebellion have seldom tried . . . to distinguish between the institutions and representational systems specific to each ethnic group or region,

13. Roger Neil Rasnake, "Kurahkuna of Yura: Indigenous Authorities of Colonial Charcas and Contemporary Bolivia," Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1982, 187–88. See also Stavig, "Ethnic Conflict," 766.

14. Magnus Mörner and Efraín Trelles, "Un intento de calibrar las actitudes hacia la rebelión en el Cuzco durante la acción de Túpac Amaru," *Estudios Históricos sobre Estructuras Agrarias Andinas*, no. 2 (Mar. 1985). This journal is published by the Institute of Latin American Studies in Stockholm.

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which offer a filter through which changes in state policy and in wider cultural and economic currents are perceived and analyzed. Hence the need to integrate ethnographic perspectives with the documentary evidence." Xavier Albó focuses on the continued strength of community ties in "From MNRistas to Kataristas to Katari." He finds that the communal structure of the altiplano provided the basis for labor organization in the twentieth century, where "at the root of every local union was the community with all its historical strength and depth, and behind that, the ayllu."

In some ways, because of ethnic-cultural divisions, one can really speak of a broader Indian consciousness only under two conditions: when the native peoples have lost much of their traditional identity (some would argue that at this stage, *campesino* or *peasant* or *rural lower class* is a more appropriate term than *Indian*); or when a cultural force such as a millenarianism provides the vehicle for unification.[15] Stern comments that ethnicity introduces "complicated and awkward complexities to the general discussion of 'peasants'. . . [that have] probably impeded explicit intellectual dialogue between Andean specialists and students of peasantry in general." The recent reemergence of issues of ethnic identity and ethnic conflict in Eastern Europe, however, may thrust Andean specialists into a different debate as these questions become the focus of wider concerns.

In a fascinating contribution entitled "Ideology and Factionalism during the Great Rebellion, 1780–1782," Leon Campbell deals with culture history, peasant relations, and ethnic divisions that separated Indian peoples during the Túpac Amaru Rebellion. He explains, "Aymara-speaking inhabitants of the altiplano area surrounding Lake Titicaca preserved proud traditions of having struggled to defend their independence from the Incas of Cuzco and, for their part, any rumors of Aymara expansionism were not well received in Cuzco." There were "profound differences between the neo-Inca nationalism as it was expounded by the elitist Túpac Amarus of Cuzco, whose purpose was to unite everyone who was not a 'Spaniard,' and the radical, populist and separatist views held by the commoner, indigenous Kataris of Upper Peru, whose ideas were shaped by the strong [negative] presence of native community leadership." Campbell also elaborates other tensions between native peoples, noting that Tomás Katari was turned over to the Spanish by Indians he refers to as "disloyal." One might ask disloyal to whom or what, and why? Were they disloyal to themselves? Campbell also notes that rivalry

15. Karen Spalding, *De indio a campesino: cambios en la estructura social del Perú colonial* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1974); and William B. Taylor, "Banditry and Insurrection: Rural Unrest in Central Jalisco, 1790–1816," in *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico,* edited by Friedrich Katz (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 231–32.

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existed between the Tupamaros and the Choqueguanca family, also of Inca royal blood. Ethnicity was evidently a powerful dividing force that united some but separated other native peoples.

Racial identity was also significant, especially in a negative sense. Campbell, Jan Szeminski, and Flores Galindo all note that Indians referred to Spaniards derisively as "puka kunka" ("rednecks"). To what extent the practice or tactic of defining the opposition in negative or hateful terms served to unify Indians or allowed ethnic groups to work together against a common enemy is an interesting question. Heraclio Bonilla brings up this point in another essay in questioning Florencia Mallon's notion of peasants and nationalism in nineteenth-century Peru. Szeminski's contribution begins with the provocative question, "Why Kill the Spaniard?" His discussion most fully develops the issue of racial hatred by analyzing it in relation to Andean culture and syncretic Christianity. For instance, Spaniards killed near Copacabana were not buried, an important practice in both the Catholic and Andean religions (except in special cases such as mummification). According to Szeminski, they were not buried "because all the Spaniards were excommunicated and demons." Instances also occurred of ritual mutilations, including eating hearts, drinking blood, and cutting off heads. Szeminski argues that "Andean tradition condemns cannibalism. If a part of a Spanish body was eaten, either the act must have had a magic meaning or the Spaniard was considered nonhuman." In this context, it is interesting to note that contemporary Peruvian peasants, struggling for their communities and their lives against the Sendero Luminoso, have at times decapitated Senderistas.[16] Just as other ancient cultural values persist and affect the present, so do those that help maintain the social-cultural order by dehumanizing or dictating the ritual mutilation of those who have transgressed such values.

Millenarianism and religion—indigenous, Catholic, and syncretic—have been important in the lives and political actions of Indians and peasants. As an attempt to deal with the largely hidden realm of why people think what they think and do what they do, the topic could scarcely be more elusive. Since the Spanish conquest, the cultural resonance of certain ideas and beliefs has allowed them to reemerge, if in different forms and perhaps with altered meanings. Flores Galindo notes that "lo andino" is not static but has changed over time: "What was Andean [in the eighteenth century] was not that which had reigned during the sixteenth century; nor was it, however, that which reigns today."

According to Flores Galindo, the Inkarrí myth of "an ancient Cre-

16. "Peruvian Farmers Said to Kill Rebels," *New York Times*, 4 Mar. 1990, p. 13.

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ator who would return to restore justice and harmony" revived in the eighteenth century, as did the legend of Gran Paititi, the supposed jungle kingdom of a surviving Inca monarchy.[17] Although such ideas were widespread, they were not universally believed and are better thought of as "little islands and archipelagos."[18]

Millenarianism has led to broad-based movements among Andean Indians and, as Flores Galindo points out, among some Europeans as well. As mythical and transformed as eighteenth-century perceptions may have been, Juan Santos Atahualpa and Thupa Amaro benefited from the Inkarrí and Gran Paititi myths that added to the appeal engendered by their Inca heritage. Because the Inca was both God and ruler, political power inhered in that position, and leadership was expected by those attracted to the movement. Thupa Amaro not only became the leader of an Andean-based belief system, he also took on dimensions of Christian power as he "accepted the mantle of Messiah bestowed upon him by certain followers and began to attribute to himself the power to raise the dead." At the same time, rebels used Andean religious shrines (*huacas*) to spread their message and to remind others of their obligation to their ancestors, given the important Andean religious practice of ancestor worship.

Frank Salomon's contribution to the Stern collection, "Ancestor Cults and Resistance to the State in Arequipa, ca. 1748–54," links resistance to Spanish authority in the Arequipa region to ancestor worship. It is notable that it was not the local priest who condemned such worship. He seems to have turned a blind eye toward ancestor worship. The priest even threatened to excommunicate the Spanish who came to suppress the cults and was a friend of one of the accused. Thus syncretism, toleration, and personal associations made for intriguing "on the ground" relationships and alliances that do not always conform to common perceptions.

Szeminski also addresses the functioning relationship between the Andean and Christian religions as it affected the actions of native peoples. Some Indians "loyal" to Spanish authority took nothing from rebels because they had been excommunicated, while rebels would not use the name Jesus. And when Thupa Amaro was asked by his followers not to

17. The quotation is from Campbell, but Flores Galindo, Stern, and Szeminski all mention Inkarrí.

18. In the introduction, Stern refers to the "universal" nature of the movements, but he may mean merely that they were widespread and that Europeans could also believe in them. Alberto Flores Galindo wrote, "La utopía adquiere una dimensión panandina. . . . No creamos que todos están aguardando el regreso del inca. El territorio es dilatado pero no contínuo: se trata más bien de islotes y archipiélagos. La idea no sólo se propala entre los indios: llega a criollos, españoles, nativos de la selva central, mestizos, pero no consigue la unanimidad, como es obvio." See Galindo, *Europa y el país de los Incas: la utopía andina* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1986), 67.

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have priests, the Inca responded, "Who would absolve us in the matter of death?" These examples illustrate that by the eighteenth century, indigenous belief systems had been overlaid and intermingled with Christianity in a complex fashion, and religion remained a major cultural and political force.

The cultural strength and appeal of the Inca image continues into the twentieth century. Juan Torrico and Jorge Dandler report in their contribution, "From the National Indigenous Congress to the Ayopaya Rebellion: Bolivia, 1945–1947," that in 1945 a Cochabamba Indian leader "claimed descent from the Inca emperor Atahualpa and to have given himself the title of Inca." Xavier Albó's "From MNRistas to Kataristas to Katari" notes that a leader of the new Katarista movement came from "the very community where Julian Apasa, the Tupaj Katari of 1781, was born." Moreover, the name of their movement, the 15th of November Movement, commemorates the date when the Tupaj Katari was immolated. And in Peru today, the second-largest revolutionary group, the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA), takes its name from the eighteenth-century Inca. Thus the image of the Inca, symbolic of a more harmonious and just past, lives on as a mobilizing force.

Several contributions to the Stern collection touch on subjects that could be addressed by using the moral economy concept, but only a few allude to or employ moral economic analysis. Albó notes that community-ayllu relations with the state "had long been governed by another scheme, more clearly dual. . . . This was a kind of 'contract,' certainly unequal, in which greater distances were maintained; the community paid various tributes and as a result the state respected its relative autonomy." The most explicit use of moral economy is found in Platt's essay. Providing a clue to just how much conditions had deteriorated since the transition from colonial to republican rule, native peoples in Chayanta testified in 1826 that they wished "to return to the ancient service of Potosí, since only since its suspension had they known the effects of misery." Platt concludes that in the early nineteenth century, the Indian concept of citizenship "meant freedom from the imposition of colonial 'abuses,' under the guarantees provided by republican legality; but it was not incompatible with what they considered the equitable principle of the Tributary State, based on their right to dispose collectively of their ayllu lands in exchange for the labor prestations and tribute they provided."

The essays composing *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos* are tightly focused yet span several centuries, from the final days before the Spanish conquest to the twentieth century. This collection places Andean economic life into the framework of new notions of internal economic change while focusing on the persistence of indigenous economic systems. The contributions tend to take one of two broad approaches to the topic, employing either regional economic history or ethnohistory.

Editors Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson, and Enrique Tandeter sought

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to overcome the traditional distance between ethnohistorians and economic historians, especially given the focus on the multiple and complex ways that indigenous peoples affected and were affected by economic change. Together these articles "explore the historical force and social meaning of the market from the perspective of the Andean social actors or their societies, in specific ethnic or regional contexts or conjunctures." Moral economy is located "in the crossroads of ethnohistory and economic history," and the editors note that "recent investigations of ethnohistorians and anthropologists tend to underline the variable ways in which the Andean political culture has influenced and given form to forces of mercantile penetration in the Andes."

The editors and contributors pose and answer many key questions, suggesting in the process many important problems. What strategies were developed by indigenous peoples to respond to state and market demands and influences? How imposing were state demands like tribute, the reparto, and the mita? Were conditions of forced labor so difficult that to enter the indigenous world of Peru, as compared to Mexico, was to pass through a vale of tears (as David Brading and Harry Cross suggested years ago)?[19] Was the indigenous economy monetized relatively quickly, and how did the mines, mita, and free workers affect this monetization? What was the impact of regional, cultural, and ecological variations? How did the fluctuating or cyclical nature of economic change affect strategies and the economy? Did peasants seek or avoid market participation, and why? The editors of *La participación indígena* suggest that just because the colonial and republican states used coercion to force market participation, "it would be erroneous to suppose that the indigenous peoples saw commerce as a foreign or oppressive thing." How were women and family affected by the mita and market production? What were the roles of *forasteros* and *yanaconas* in the indigenous communities and the economy? How did peasants use the market to preserve their way of life? How did population fluctuations caused by disease or migration affect Indian communities and their participation in the intermingled indigenous and colonial economies? What impact did crises of subsistence, like those provoked by droughts, hail storms, or other natural disasters, have on rural peoples and the economy? Does the concept of destructuralization aid in considering changes in Andean economy and society, or is the process better thought of as transformation of "lo andino"? These are but a few of the questions that are dealt with or emerge from *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos*.

The editors draw special attention to two individuals and the intellectual traditions closely associated with them—John Murra and Car-

19. Brading and Cross, "Colonial Silver Mining: Mexico and Peru."

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los Sempat Assadourian. In *La participación indígena,* as in *The Economies of Mexico and Peru,* much attention is given to natural or geographic influences. The manner in which ethnic groups and the state dealt with these natural factors is nowhere clearer than in Murra's works on verticality and ecological archipelagos. Driven by questions provoked by Murra's line of investigation, knowledge of Andean ethnic and economic relations has been deepened considerably. Even exceptions have been influenced by the model, as Murra acknowledges in his contribution, "¿Existieron el tributo y los mercados antes de la invasión europea?"

In the field of regional economic history, the editors of *La participación indígena* point out that Assadourian "has given singular stimulus to the field," combining both conceptual and empirical contributions. This approach applies especially to the relationship between the extended mining sector and the internal economy. Primary sources such as the accounts of Luis Capoche, Bartolomé Arzans de Orsúa y Vela, Father Joseph de Acosta, and Pedro de Cieza de León drew attention to the impact of mining on the internal economy, and scholars like Gwendolin Cobb and Alberto Crespo Rodas have studied aspects of this relationship. But only recently has the subject attracted much attention,[20] and much of the current interest stems from the research and questions formulated by Assadourian.

The mining sector is highly significant to scholars not just because of its importance to the economy but because many of the most complete economic and demographic records are found in the documentation related to mining and mining centers, as noted in Jacobsen and Puhle's *Economies of Mexico and Peru.* Reflecting the official view, eighteenth-century Peruvian Viceroy Manuel de Amat y Juniet noted that "although this kingdom is delightful and fertile with all the fruits that nature brings, it would enjoy very little esteem if it lacked Gold and Silver."[21]

As editors Harris, Larson, and Tandeter note, however, "the destiny of silver mining rested precariously on the shoulders of the Andean peasant economies." One might also add that the destiny of Indian communities rested to a certain degree, and somewhat precariously, on the mining sector. One of the least understood aspects of the relationship between Indians and the mining sector is the impact of mining-related activities on the internal structure and lives of individuals within the Indian communities. Documents of official protest or complaints registered in the course of gathering information exist in quantity. But the day-to-day, year-to-year, effects of the mining economy on the Indian commu-

20. Gwendolin Cobb, "Supply and Transportation for the Potosí Mines," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 29, no. 1 (1949):25–45; and Alberto Crespo Rodas, "La mita de Potosí," *Revista Histórica* 22 (1955–56):169–82 (published in Lima).

21. J. R. Fisher, *Silver Mines and Silver Miners in Colonial Peru, 1776–1824,* Monograph Series, no. 7 (Liverpool: Centre for Latin American Studies, University of Liverpool, 1977), 2.

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nity are not as well understood. Much of this information was probably never recorded or was not preserved long, due to its changing nature. Documents such as yearly mita lists and individual or community economic records are sparse, and much remains to be uncovered. My own work on Cuzco revealed that most of the scarce documentation existing on this subject was buried in testimony dealing with other topics.

As shown in contributions like Thierry Saignes's "Ayllus, mercados y coacción colonial: el reto de las migraciones internas en Charcas, siglo XVII" and Ann Zulawski's "Forasteros y yanaconas: la mano de obra de un centro minero en el siglo XVII," historians sometimes know more about those who left their communities than about those who remained. Saignes examined factors like curaca actions, coercion, disease, and crop failure that affected Indian migrations and discusses how patterns changed over the course of the seventeenth century. In his conclusion, Saignes comments that the "thousands of migratory trajectories . . . do not exhaust their significance in mere terms of passive resistance. Instead, they manifest the vitality of the Andean genius embedded within (and in the interstices of) the new colonial society: it is in this way that the migratory challenge of the Southern Andes during the seventeenth century attains meaning."

Zulawski addresses the question of migrant ties to their old communities. Many forasteros paid their community of origin to buy exemption from the mita, while others continued to pay tribute, causing Zulawski to wonder about the "increased burden" of *originarios* who remained in their communities.

In their strategies for avoiding the mita, some Indians left the community just at the time they were called on to serve but maintained rights in the community. When Indians permanently abandoned their communities, caciques noted that they "change the surname, declare themselves mestizos and yanacona, dress in a Spanish style and work as artisans or in the convents, with the intention of not fulfilling their obligations." Zulawski also raises questions about the amounts paid to get out of the mita and how Indians earned enough to meet mita and other obligations.

Jorge Hidalgo pursues a similar line of thought for Arica, Tarapacá, and Atacama, asking whether the peasant economy was in good enough condition to fulfill obligations in the eighteenth century without collapsing. His conclusion is that subsistence production could not meet state demands. Indians either had to avoid the obligations (and according to Hidalgo, local peoples were fairly skilled at it, being mobile and able to disperse) or they had to work on haciendas, in transportation of goods, or in the mines.[22]

22. For a discussion of Indian transport in an earlier era, see the work of Luis Miguel

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Herbert Klein suggests in "El crecimiento de la población forastera en el siglo XIX" yet another set of relations between forastero and community in the nineteenth century. He views Indian communities as having encouraged forasteros to settle in the communities as part of a survival strategy in their struggle with haciendas. Klein also questions the relative scarcity of land.

Erick Langer's contribution to *La participación indígena,* "La comercialización de la cebada en los ayllus y las haciendas de Tarabuco (Chuquisaca) a comienzos del siglo XX," discusses the barley boom in the Tarabuco region in the early twentieth century. It also analyzes the importance of forasteros to communal survival strategies as well as production. He examines the "on the ground" functioning of liberal economic ideas during a cycle of economic expansion.

Tarabuco became an important regional center of livestock production and shipment, and barley was needed to maintain the animals. Indian communities took advantage of the boom, growing barley for the market and renting lands to forasteros who also grew barley. Langer argues that the Indian communities paid a high price for their prosperity in that "while the ayllus survived, the internal structure polarized." Terms like *arrendero,* the same as used by hacendados, were applied by Indians to Indians who rented community lands. Through such renting or expansion of production, communal land reserves were diminished, causing further problems.

Barley grows well on higher, drier lands but is not suited to or lucrative enough for the good irrigated lands in the valleys. The haciendas controlled the best lands and traditionally used their holdings in higher areas to maintain the labor force necessary for producing crops on the good lands. Haciendas still required labor, however, and therefore could not remove the workers from these lands. Thus hacendados devised ways to extract barley from their hacienda workers in order to benefit from the boom. Hacienda Indians resisted this practice somewhat by keeping much of their wealth in animals instead of devoting themselves more to barley production for the market. To avoid labor tensions and to assure that work got done in this situation, hacendados even used *mink'a* or festive labor, an indigenous form of reciprocity, although this approach meant that "the hacendado redistributed—in a real, but also symbolic sense—part of the earnings obtained with the work of 'his peones.' " Thus Langer demonstrates how factors as diverse as the nature of barley production, traditional land holdings, and internal community and hacienda relations affected this cycle of growth. Two important suppositions of liberal reformers proved to be false: "one, the idea that the indigenous

Glave. A good work to begin with is *Trajinantes: caminos indígenas en la sociedad colonial, siglos XVI–XVII* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1989).

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communities were outside the money economy; the other—equally important—the supposition that haciendas and their workers participated fully in the national economy." In reality, conditions were almost the opposite during the barley boom. Indian communities sought ways to profit from the boom and produced for the market. Haciendas reinforced older, more traditional labor relations and sought to extract what they could.

Olivia Harris's intriguing contribution to *La participación indígena,* "Phaxsima y qullqi: los poderes y significados del dinero en el Norte de Potosí," discusses the historical and present-day uses and understanding of money, showing how culture and daily concerns affect these perceptions and realities. The Laymi of Bolivia have three different conceptions of money—buried, "Inca," and present-day money—which have different cultural meanings and uses. In discussing money, Harris takes up "romantic" and "liberal" notions of money: romantics view money as undermining older social relations while liberals view it as part of a more ordered and civilized society. She argues that both notions exist but that these polar views "by no means exhaust the signifying functions of money in Andean culture." In explaining the "liberal" concept among the Laymi, she states that men are said to be more "civilized" than women because they have more experience in handling money. Rural women do not use money as much as men for many reasons. Their lives are more constrained by domestic concerns and care of animals. Women are also responsible for the household budget, and because of inflation, they have become cautious about keeping cash. Harris also suggests that another reason women do not keep money is that men may spend it on alcohol.

Revising her own thinking, Harris argues that the Laymi do not necessarily resent the profit of traders. Reasonable profit derived from transport and travel is not considered bad. Circulation and production are not separated but are part of a single process. Cultural notions of generosity or hospitality are more important in determining whether a trader is good or bad. A trader who invites one to eat is likely to be seen as good, while those who do not engage in such activities are not looked upon favorably.

Harris asks if some fundamental difference exists between exchange and monetary transactions. For the Laymi, the answer is "no." Corn is traded for money only with people from the ayllu or kin in isolated regions, but the reason is more for convenience than because of some fundamental aspect of the transaction. For Harris, the context—social relationships and distance to market—determines the nature of the transaction: "Money, as such, is neutral. The flow of money in the ethnic economy is limited more for practical than cultural and ideological reasons."

Money (or an item that functions as money) acquired in a special way has special uses. Gift money is not to be spent on luxuries but used to

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acquire important items, such as livestock, that aid in production or increase wealth. For example, when a brother converted a weaving his sister had made him into a pair of boots, she was angered. She did not talk to him for a long time and never wove anything for him again.

Money has many special uses. The now largely symbolic tribute payments to the government that help the Laymi regulate and reproduce their relationship, or moral economy, with the state are made in money. Harris asserts that defaced coins are used in burying the dead because the character of the coins is transformed, just as the dead are no longer living. Harris also suggests that the Laymi economy today may be less monetized than it was in the past, when the currency was more stable and inflation was not such a concern. Economic cycles such as crises and inflation alter the uses of money just as they change the economy and economic relations.

The last work under review here is Magnus Mörner's *The Andean Past*. Its stated purpose is "to provide an up-to-date survey of the historical evolution of the three countries [Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia] which once formed the Inca Empire." This task is an ambitious one for a volume that begins with the cooling earth and concludes some three hundred pages later with events that occurred shortly before its publication in 1985.

Mörner is at his best in dealing with issues of ethnicity, especially regarding the Indian peoples. Indeed, *The Andean Past* focuses "on the various ethnic groups of the Andean region—that is, human collectives defined in cultural rather than racial terms." Mörner makes clear his "pro-Indian" perspective early in the work. In discussing the conquest and the Indians' early encounters with Europeans, he writes that the "shock of surprise was soon overcome. Even though, to this day, whites are sometimes known as *wiracochas* [gods] in the Quechua tongue, it was soon realized that they were not Gods, just evil men." While discussing the influential Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, however, Mörner cautions his audience that "Toledo's actions cannot be judged in terms of 'good' or 'bad.' Everything depends on the length of the historical perspective chosen and on the essentially 'pro-Western' or 'pro-Indian' viewpoint of the particular observer."

Mörner's interest in ethnicity and in native peoples in particular keeps the focus on their concerns throughout the book. To draw the reader into the day-to-day life of the lower class and to show how these groups perceived events and changes, Mörner relies on infrequently used sources. For instance, national politics are put into the perspective of the day-to-day struggle for food by a Cuzco Indian. Gregorio Condori Mamani explains that "when five big loafs [sic] of wheat bread cost one real and three a half real, Odría seized the Presidency from Bustamante."[23] Thus

23. *Gregorio Condori Mamani: autobiografía,* edited by Ricardo Valderrama Fernández and Carmen Escalante Gutiérrez (Cuzco: 1977).

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the lives of individuals like Condori Mamani, which are often vague or underrepresented in survey works, occupy a larger role in Mörner's account. Their conditions are driven home in powerful comments: "unlike the slaves, their [Indians'] lives were not safeguarded by price." Mörner also uses quotations effectively to demonstrate what the Indians were up against as other classes of society "evaluated" their potential and sought to control them. To underscore the disdain in which Indians were held by some of the "*gente decente*," he cites Peruvian intellectual Alejandro Deústua: "the Indian is not now, nor can he ever be, anything but a machine." Elsewhere, a parish priest in Puno is cited as warning young Indians, "God has ordained that you should dedicate yourselves to pasturing your flocks and not to learning to read, which only grieves your fathers and mothers. This is why you suffer such misfortunes and why, year after year, your harvests are so poor."

Mörner argues that in the wake of the conquest, "with the linkage to the Atlantic world, the dynamics of commercial capitalism replaced a regionally circumscribed economy based on the principles of redistribution and reciprocity." This "circulationist" view of the evolving capitalist economic system fits well with his focus on living conditions of native peoples. For example, Mörner notes that in the last half of the nineteenth century, when Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru were more fully integrated into expanding capitalist economic systems, "'progress' also meant that . . . the conditions of the Indian masses in the three countries . . . would become even worse than before."

As for the volume's physical appearance, it is hoped that the occasional typographical and other errors will be corrected in a second edition. Also, the first chapters and issues of labor relations would benefit by further elaboration. Nevertheless, *The Andean Past* is a solid comparative introductory survey for general readers and beginning students of Andean history, especially those interested in native peoples.

The four works reviewed contain no great transforming theoretical revelations that completely reorient our understanding of the colonial past. These rural peoples and their worlds—their culture, economy, politics, and ethnicity—were much too complex and contradictory to be adequately understood by any single theory. Some individual works develop significant interpretations or reinterpretations, while others broaden knowledge in more subtle ways. But the cumulative impact of these works represents a profound shift in historical investigation and understanding. National and colonial experiences are being understood from the ground up. At long last, the masses of rural peoples have been brought out of the wings and placed center stage.

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