THE HISTORICAL RECONQUEST OF "PERUVIAN SPACE"

Leon G. Campbell
University of California, Riverside

FROM ORAL TO WRITTEN EXPRESSION: NATIVE ANDEAN CHRONICLES OF THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD. Edited by ROLENA ADORNO. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1982. Pp. 181. $8.50.)

PERFIL DE LA SOCIEDAD RURAL DEL CUZCO A FINES DE LA COLONIA. By MAGNUS MÖRNER. (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, 1977. Pp. 186.)

THE FALL OF NATURAL MAN: THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND THE ORIGINS OF COMPARATIVE ETHNOLOGY. By ANTHONY PAGDEN. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982. Pp. 256. $39.50.)

HUAROCHIRI: AN ANDEAN SOCIETY UNDER INCA AND SPANISH RULE. By KAREN SPALDING. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984. Pp. 364. $38.50.)

LUCAS MARTINEZ VEGAZO: FUNCIONAMIENTO DE UNA ENCOMIENDA PERUANA INICIAL. By EFRAIN TRELLES ARESTEGUI. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1982. Pp. 280.)

DISCOURSE AND POLITICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE KINGDOMS OF PERU. By DON JORGE JUAN and DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA. Translated and edited by JOHN TEPASKE. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979. Pp. 326. $17.50.)

CURACAS Y ENCOMENDEROS: ACOMODAMIENTO NATIVO EN HUARAZ, SIGLOS XVI–XVII. By RAFAEL VARON GABAI. (Lima: P. L. Villanueva Editor, 1980. Pp. 103.)

During the past several years, a number of highly original contributions have added to the history of the pre-Hispanic and colonial areas that developed between the major urban centers of Lima and Potosí, more particularly the series of "economic spaces" linking the Spanish mining economy to its administrative centers. These works have begun to effect a reconceptualization of the history of colonial Peru. Carlos Sempat Assadourian's vision of what he terms *espacio peruano* ("Peruvian space"), or the dynamic interrelationship between markets and mining and their impacts on rural agrarian and urban commercial life, stands as a particular testament to a major historio-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100016290 Published online by Cambridge University Press

graphical shift away from viewing the history of Peru as an offshoot of European history. This shift away from what Jorge Basadre once termed "the history of Spain in Peru" toward a fuller Andean history combines and interprets both indigenous and colonial experiences.[1]

The shift moves away from political elites revolving around the opulent viceregal court and the European legacy in Peru toward the colonized and oppressed, away from Lima and even Cuzco to other regions and provincial capitals that more nearly reflect the realities of the colonial situation. In this regard, using local record groups frees scholars from depending upon European accounts or documentation derived from Spanish administrators and also reflects the new social and economic methodologies being practiced in major historical research centers worldwide. Rather than connoting hostility or indifference to Peru's Hispanic heritage, the practice of what Wilfredo Kapsoli terms "Nueva Historia" is based on an appreciation of the Andean landscape and its impact on the formation of the Andean peoples.[2]

In a series of articles, Franklin Pease, Heraclio Bonilla, and others have sketched in the perimeter of the new Andean history. This approach reemphasizes the roles played by rural peoples who comprised most of the colonial population but were largely neglected by generations of *criollo* historical scholarship.[3] Andean revisionists must contend with the difficulties of scarce materials for writing the new history, particularly the paucity of Aymará and Quechua sources, which are even more scant than Nahuatl documentation for Mesoamerica. Despite these limitations, the new profile of Peruvian history is being constructed ingeniously from incisive analyses of traditional European eyewitness accounts as well as from more informative record groups such as *visitas*. These general inspections of areas such as Huánuco provide contextual information that can be sifted and analyzed by both historians and anthropologists. Provocative studies such as Nathan Wachtel's rendering of the conquest through the eyes of the vanquished Indians represent more than a move away from a historic vision of European activity in the Andean area; they also demonstrate a commitment to preserving the Andean legacy by questioning the nature of Andean identity and the crises (such as the conquest, Bourbon reformism, and the War of the Pacific) that threatened it.[4] Revisionist historiographers of colonial Latin America depict indigenous peoples as survivors and primary actors, as did the earthlings in H. G. Wells's *War of the Worlds*. Able to withstand the assault of conquest in the sixteenth century, these people withered in the face of social and economic pressures attending Peru's entrance into the world economic system and the losses sustained in the great rebellions of the eighteenth century. Swept away in the revisionist tide are the classic stereotypes of the "noble savage," the "passive *mitayo*," and the dispirited, impotent heirs of Tawantinsuyo, replaced by the vision of an activist, pluralist past reflecting the myriad contributions of divergent regions and social groups not chronicled in more traditional histories.

Central to the development of the new history have been the contributions made by disciplines other than history, including literature, psychology, and historical demography. But the clearest obligation derives from cultural anthropology and the subsequent development of the field of ethnohistory. This term was coined by Luis Valcárcel to describe the method of utilizing sixteenth-century eyewitness accounts of the Spanish entrance into the New World to extract ethnographic material concerning the *destructuración* of the Inca world after 1532. Virtually every contribution to this new version of the Peruvian past has drawn on insights provided in John Murra's *La organización económica del estado inca*, a revised version of the author's 1955 doctoral dissertation in anthropology. Because the first edition was reviewed earlier in this journal and the current edition adds only an updated bibliography, I will touch briefly on this work.[5] Murra's ability to remove Incaic social and economic structures from the limitations of European political categories and place them within the Andean historical tradition liberated the field in a real sense. His subsequent work, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (1975), demonstrated that native communities could maintain access to their communal rights through a complex network of reciprocal conventions and redistributive mechanisms stemming from control over a series of "vertical archipelagos," or productive zones located on "multi-ecological levels." This work constituted another conceptual breakthrough for understanding the dynamics of Peruvian space prior to 1532 in terms not found within the confines of Eurocentric historiography. In this work, Murra clarified the means used to maintain large-scale production in an often inhospitable alpine environment—that of moving labor forces from one zone to another rather than through traditional market systems. Murra also shifted the focus away from the neoclassical view of the Inca state as regulator and provider toward envisioning it as an entity that sought to accumulate resources for maintaining an effective military and bureaucratic apparatus.

Murra's classic works have contributed to colonial historiography by revising opinions of the Inca Empire as a tightly centralized monolith, but his ethnohistorical contributions pertain only incidentally to the colonial period. His works leave to others the task of spanning the historical chasm of conquest in order to trace the persistence of native culture and the functioning of the native economy after 1532. Ethnohistorical studies by John Rowe, Tom Zuidema, and Frank Salomon, to name but three current scholars, have begun the arduous task of uncovering the complex sets of reciprocal conventions and obligations that bound regions and local cultures together in the Andean world. These studies developed concepts like *reinas mutuas* (the multiplicity of native origins) to depict the interrelationship between geography and kinship and thus assist in "seeing" these peoples during three centuries of colonial submission in fresh ways.

Despite manifold advancement in developing a truly Andean history, the field remains in its infancy and numerous problems await resolution. For example, it is erroneous to presume a dualistic image of Peruvian history as western *or* Andean and to forget that rapid miscegenation produced a population sharing common cultural characteristics and some coincidence of interest. Moreover, the new history, in attempting to redress the longstanding imbalance of attention paid by European societies to indigenous ones, can also overlook the notable cultural differences among these ethnicities, resulting in an unwarranted homogenization of the native colonial experience. Similarly, social or economic works devoted to relevant Spanish institutions such as the *mita* or *encomienda*, if written from an extracolonial perspective attempting to explain the impact of these services on native communities, may fail to enhance understanding of Andean polities by not explaining the functional dynamics of these institutions as instruments of Spanish civilization. Such an approach would provide ethnohistorians with a framework for measuring ethnographic discoveries. Finally, a preponderance of the new history has been devoted to the first half of the sixteenth century. One probable reason is that ethnohistorians tend to analyze sources testing the hypothesis that pre-Hispanic cultures were diverse and retentive; a second reason is that this facet of "the history they never told us" provides much-requested information about national origins and the formation of a national identity. Finally, readers of the new history will also observe that the demand for rigorous empirical and conceptual standards within recent colonial historiography has led to intensive exploitation of local and provincial archives, which in turn divulge record groups forming the bases of economic histories of particular regions. While it is far too early to determine the nature and meaning of this trend, a recent overview of theses in history produced at the venerable Pontífica Universidad Católica in Lima in the last decade suggests that little attention is presently being given to the seventeenth century, while eighteenth-century topics tend to treat the period quite apart from the continuities of the two preceding centuries.[6]

Of the books under review, four are regional studies: Rafael Varón Gabai focuses on Huaraz, Efraín Trelles Arestegui on Arequipa, Karen Spalding on Huarochirí, and Magnus Mörner on Cuzco. Anthony Pagden's textual and philosophical analysis of European concepts of native Americans, Rolena Adorno's edited study of several native Andean chroniclers, and John TePaske's critical translation of Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa's classic *Noticias secretas de América* all reflect re-emphasis on textual criticism as a tool for unearthing previously unnoticed remnants of the Andean world. While these works vary in scope and approach, all make useful contributions to the larger effort to replace an imported version of the Peruvian past with a domestic version reflecting the sometimes conflicting forms that comprise the Andean whole. It should also be noted that the shift in emphasis in Andean historiography, as Adorno makes clear, is the work of four centuries and that the process of replacing a European perspective with an American one is by no means complete.

As Franklin Pease has noted, the human landscape encountered by the sixteenth-century conquerors generated numerous accounts of the New World. Although the classic accounts of the meeting of these alien cultures record the disparity between the Spanish and Indian cultural worlds of the period, a major problem faced by ethnohistorians has been to interpret traditional native chronicles in which the legendary and the contemporary were inadvertently combined. The problem was compounded when Europeans who viewed New World culture through the prism of Catholicism and *hispanismo* sought to transcribe the traditions of peoples whose method for transmitting knowledge was oral and whose concept of history was static and circular, as opposed to the linear, progressive view of history held by Europeans. Juan and Ulloa's *Discourse and Political Reflections on the Kingdoms of Peru*, a series of secret observations commissioned by the Bourbon crown in the 1740s, demonstrates once again how far even sympathetic observers were from accurately comprehending the social order of Andean native society. Don Antonio de Ulloa, the primary author of the work, had served earlier as governor of Huancavelica and was attuned to the need for reforming the governments in the Andean area. Although the account of the excesses of Spanish colonialism details the abuses of power around the urban antipodes of America, it reveals little comprehension of life outside these centers. This fuller version of the *Discourse*, based on the original manuscript located in Madrid by the editor, improves upon the 1826 publication, although certain chapters are still excluded. As astute as these young naval lieutenants were in depicting the sins of their countrymen and the problems facing those inhabiting the cities along the Andean slope, Juan and Ulloa badly miscalculated the natives' passivity and failed to alert the crown to the rising tempo of disturbances that were to crest in the massive Tupac Amaru rebellion in Tinta in 1780. Although generally valuable, the *Discourse* demonstrates again how crucial the level of analysis can be in historical inquiry. Despite the authors' precocity, they tended to inform on obvious abuses and local officials rather than to address the relationship between native behavior and systemic disfunctions as a key to improving colonial relationships.

To a large degree, writers such as Juan and Ulloa, for all their enlightened concern, reflected European attitudes toward native peoples that had been formed centuries earlier. Anthony Pagden's *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* describes the intellectual process whereby Spaniards first deployed the Aristotelian concept of natural slavery to rationalize their domination of these "barbarian" peoples. The work also explains how this concept was later eroded and ultimately demolished by the development of modern ethnology, which recognized different norms and thus made the concept of barbarism obsolete. Pagden's erudite work (winner of the 1982 Bolton Prize) describes the famous Salamanca debates in 1550 between priests Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de las Casas, which revolved around the true nature of the Indian. Pagden believes that José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* was crucial to the demise of the concept of "natural man" because it shifted the argument from a moral and psychological sphere to one more nearly anthropological. Despite the book's provocative thesis, the network of evidence required to trace the complex origins of modern anthropology and ethnolinguistics is too weak, requiring the author to depend even more heavily on the slender reed of textual analysis. Despite this shortcoming, Pagden demonstrates the contributions of these sixteenth-century advocates of the American Indian through their recognition of diverse levels of native linguistic, religious, and social development.

By the end of the conquest of Peru, the colonial historiography already in place provided dual perspectives on the origins of Tawantinsuyo and the changes provoked by the arrival of Francisco de Pizarro. In the main, however, native accounts of Andean prehistory, such as the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentario reales de los Incas*, enhanced a monolithic image of the Inca state that helped produce a centralized version of the colonial period itself. Rolena Adorno's collection of essays, *From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period*, continues the tradition begun by Miguel León Portilla for Mexico and Nathan Wachtel for Peru of providing a "vision of the vanquished." Yet Adorno departs from these earlier efforts in including non-mainstream texts written by Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui (1570), the anonymous Huarochirí manuscript popularized by the Jesuit Francisco de Avila (1598?), writings from Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala's *Nueua Corónica y buen gobierno* (ca. 1613), and those of Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (ca. 1613). These choices emphasize the variety and plural traditions of the Peruvian past.

The five chronicles are presented as efforts to "write against history," that is, as attempts by native intellectuals to resist the idea of Incaic history ending with the conquest and to oppose the beginning of a new European order, both political and historical. Most of the modern commentators write from a literary and linguistic viewpoint, utilizing methods inherent in their disciplines. For example, Adorno's essay on the language of history in the writings and drawings of Guamán Poma draws on specialized methods from art history and linguistics to hypothesize that Guamán Poma coded his drawings to correspond to Incaic cultural and geographic referents. Adorno maintains that these referents evoked a subliminal memory of the Old Empire designed to counter the progressive Eurocentric views of the past that Guamán Poma had to adopt in his text.[7]

Frank Salomon's superb essay, "Chronicles of the Impossible," grew out of his comment on the original drafts of the essays in the volume, which were delivered as a panel at the 1980 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. In examining the works of three of the native chroniclers, Salomon observes that all these writings resulted from cultural ambiguities and disparities produced by the sudden appearance of the Spaniards in the Indian world. Using the writings of Guamán Poma as a case in point, Salomon warns that it is erroneous to classify these chronicles as either myth or history because their authors were constrained to oppose both forms. These native accounts differ from writings derived from a single cultural tradition. Salomon characterizes them as "chronicles of the impossible" in that "the writing of the defeated tries to speak through two qualitatively different systems of thought at the same time. . . . Within its own historical setting it strained against the very limits of coherent thought" (p. 33). Salomon generally avoids ongoing debates such as that about the authorship of the Huarochirí manuscript. Instead, he simply analyzes the lexicography of the document, concluding that by 1611 no common mental terminology existed to unite the Spanish and Quechua worlds. At the same time, however, Salomon expands Michel Foucault's concept of authorial function, which asserts that only through expanded knowledge of the chroniclers and the cultural context in which they wrote can modern scholars override the preconceived notions about these chroniclers' life situations that color the meanings subsequently attached to their writings.

In general, the contributors to the Adorno collection devote much energy to determining authorship, as in the debate about whether the Huarochirí manuscript was written by the Jesuit Acosta, his scribe Thomas, or a bicultural third party reacting to Acosta's earlier writings on idolatry in the province. Yet this controversy does not seem to have influenced current scholarship. Karen Spalding depends heavily on the manuscript in *Huarochirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule,* but she refuses to become embroiled in the debate other than to infer that Acosta's behavior resulted directly from his mestizo birth and marginal social position. While some of the contributors to Adorno's volume lean far too heavily on textual analysis and overextend the importance of this relatively small group of native chronicles as examples of resistance and cultural subversion produced by Spanish domination, these texts are undeniably important as a group. These particular chronicles, albeit not as well known as those of Guamán Poma, are rich sources of ethnographic information. It is to be hoped that they portend the recovery of missing eyewitness accounts of the period, such as that by Cristobal de Molina, for example.

Perhaps because of the limitations of working from native chroniclers, the new historians have drawn inspiration from the voluminous documentation generated by the Spanish government of Peru, which is accessible in the national archives and in printed collections. Rafael Varón Gabai's *Curacas y encomenderos: acomodamiento nativo en Huaraz, siglos xvi–xvii,* which originated as a master's thesis at the University of Texas at Austin, demonstrates some of the limitations inherent in the monographic approach to regional history. Varón sought to develop a view of the Callejón de Huaylas, an elongated alpine valley located northeast of Lima and lying along El Camino Real, the important trade route connecting Lima to Potosí. To this end, Varón selected an area that, unlike Huarochirí and even Arequipa, was perennially occupied by the Spanish, an area where transcultural exchanges flourished. To describe these changes, he selected two visitas, or general inspections of Huaraz in 1558. Such a method usually makes sense because the modern bureaucratic control emerging from the conquest produced documents for colonial Spanish America that record the names, ages, sex, and duties of the native population. Contrary to the English situation where significant numbers of persons lived outside the purview of government and church, the commoner class was captured by the Peruvian visitations ordered by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo for collecting native tribute. Their parish and district groupings provide differential data sets that lend themselves to quantitative analysis and measurement of relative rates of change. Varón contends that great changes took place in the Callejón, notably when the Spanish created the town of Huaraz at the valley's southern end by removing the Indian capital to the north. Because this shift was accompanied by a settlement policy forcing native agriculturalists to move to these lower areas, it also overturned a native system respectful of geography and tradition, thus sustaining the author's views. Unfortunately, however, Varón's narrow documentary base does not allow him to explore the dynamics of the syncretism occurring in Huaraz after 1530. The result is a rather static view of the town and its native social structures as functioning with little internal variation for eighty-five years.

Of broader significance is Efraín Trelles Arestegui's *Lucas Martínez Vegazo: funcionamiento de una encomienda peruana inicial*, which examines the outflow of money and produce from the financial center of a notable encomendero of the Arequipa region. Trelles's work avoids the community model approach adopted by Varón. Instead, it utilizes not only census lists, *revistas*, and parish records, but several *juicios* (legal inquiries into the behavior of local officials), lawsuits, and numerous notarial documents to describe the forced incorporation of natives into a Hispanic commercial complex. These sources, although not entirely free from the cultural constraints of their authors, are diverse enough to expose the contours of disputes between Spaniards and Indians over landownership, heredity, and other traditional rights. They also reveal that the transition from native sovereignty to Spanish colonialism differed in regions removed from Cuzco. Martínez, one of the "men of Cajamarca" described earlier by James Lockhart, by 1570 had accumulated mills, mining operations, shipping interests, and several ranches —a vast enterprise reaching commercially to Lima and Potosí and depending on the labor of sixteen hundred tributary Indians. The strength of Trelles's work is his schematic of this commerce showing how Martínez first arranged a series of reciprocal trades and later shifted to monetary exchange to build his empire. Accompanying this shift was the commercialization of labor tribute, with over half of all tributary goods being exported as commodities that once accounted for nearly 70 percent of Martínez's income.

Although relatively limited in scope, Trelles's patient investigation of the social and economic repercussions of the tribute system in one region near Arequipa avoids the limitations of specificity that tether studies of particular visitations. *Lucas Martínez Vegazo* also demonstrates how well-managed encomiendas paved the way for the introduction of a mature European economic system after 1600, one in which mining growth and a monetary economy also helped to sponsor a feudal productive system in Peruvian space. Varón's work, together with that of Nicholas Cushner on Jesuit landholding systems and Robert Keith on the evolution of the coastal hacienda, will advance knowledge of the emergence of agrarian capitalism. These gains will be enhanced when Trelles completes his current research project dealing with encomienda formation in the Huánuco region as viewed from a native perspective. He is using statistical analysis of the Chupaychua visita of 1562 and other important documents that allow computerized analysis of one ethnic group over several generations.

Broader in scope than the works of Trelles and Varón is Spalding's *Huarochirí*, the culmination of fifteen years' study of native social and economic organization in colonial Peru, a book eagerly anticipated by Andeanists familiar with her earlier work. In her introduction, Spalding seeks to avoid the scholarly division of labor that artificially concluded the history of native Andean peoples with the conquest. To this end, she drew heavily on anthropological research and on local historical archives for *visitas de idolatría* (ecclesiastical visits conveying much information about native lifestyles). Spalding initially chose Huarochirí because it was first an Inca and later a Spanish province. Due to extensive Spanish settlement, preconquest social relationships there were substantially altered. The province was somewhat like the colonial Oaxaca studied by William Taylor in that the Spanish hacienda never made major inroads into the native economy that might have fundamentally altered its character. Huarochirí was also distinctive because it was far enough from Cuzco to not become a reflection of Hispanic power and privilege dispensed from the capital.

In her three initial chapters, Spalding seeks to reconstruct the basic social and economic relationships governing Peruvian space and to describe how the bureaucratic superstructure implanted by the Spaniards extracted demands and services. Thereafter she rejects a linear approach in telling this story as it played out into the eighteenth century. Instead, she interweaves case studies of native elites as they moved between accommodation and resistance to the Spanish government, fleshing out the stories of Indian lives and continually focusing on the effects of commerce on colonial societies over time. In describing what she terms a "plunder economy," Spalding demonstrates how Spanish obligations soon overwhelmed the productive capacities of the primitive, tribal Inca economy of Huarochirí, plunging Andean society into a period of sustained crisis by reorienting social relationships and productive patterns toward a market system. The net result of these demands was to destroy rural production and to impoverish native peoples.

In Mesoamerica the Spanish succeeded in introducing a native society already integrated and interrelated through an extensive trading system into a western European social structure, wherein Spanish and allied elites became actively involved in commerce and applied modernizing techniques to export production. Spalding asserts that in Peru, however, quite different results occurred. In Peru's alpine environment, reciprocal trade had long governed economic activity, and conquest there produced a neofeudal government more nearly resembling European absolutist models. Under this government, the Andean rural community first buckled and then broke, frustrating the development of capitalism. The latter chapters of *Huarochirí* describe the ways in which the web of Andean productive capacity shrank and "a structure which had once been resilient and strong became rachitic and shaky, providing those within it only the solace of shared poverty" (p. 300). With this economic decline came social disintegration, as native peoples melded into a peasantry unable to compete in the world economy into which Pizarro's landfall had thrust Peru.

Without a doubt, Spalding's work is the broadest effort to characterize the nature and meaning of change in Peru during the successive Inca and Spanish imperialisms. Her scope allows for a review of Spanish institutions—the encomienda, *repartimiento, corregimiento,* labor markets and market interactions, family structure, and native rebellion. Only Spalding's work and that of Magnus Mörner on Cuzco study the hacienda beyond the coastal area and attempt to describe the evolution of rural communities over the entire period of Spanish domination in order to assess the meaning of colonialism in its entirety. To do so, Spalding tries to synthesize ethnographic, archaeological, historical, and archival evidence into something approaching a general theory. Such an approach carries inherent risks because data are fragmentary, which sometimes leads the author to create a prototype where none naturally emerges, such as that of Juan Runa, an "average" Indian tributary. Spalding regularly asks the reader to accompany her during this intellectual journey, and where no convincing evidence exists, she is willing to play her hunches, often persuasively. Yet it is sometimes difficult to determine which findings refer to Huarochirí and which to other provinces of differing social character, or when these changes took place. This confusion can be annoying, particularly because notes are located at the end of the book.

Departing from Carlos Sempat Assadourian, who refuses on empirical and theoretical grounds to interpret colonial economic formation in either feudal or capitalist categories, Spalding characterizes Spanish government in Peru as feudal from the outset, arguing from this perspective with assurance. Her final chapter describes at length the 1750 rebellion in Huarochirí as an example of native reaction to two centuries of oppression, yet the rebellion is not considered in the larger context of mass violence that is part of the new historiography. *Huarochirí* is nevertheless a stunning example of revisionist history that transcends the narrow compulsiveness of much of the new writing by identifying patterns of activity over time as they emerge from local documents. As such, *Huarochirí* stands as a model of doctoral work refined and improved through experience and reflection.

Magnus Mörner's *Perfil de la sociedad rural del Cuzco a fines de la colonia* demonstrates that not all the best work on the colony is centered in the sixteenth century. His study of rural Cuzco between 1689 and 1786 uses two detailed reports: the first was drawn up for Bishop Manuel Mollinedo y Angulo in 1689 and describes population, landed properties, and church income for each district of the diocese; another

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0023879100016290 Published online by Cambridge University Press

similar set was produced by the Intendant of Cuzco, Benito de la Mata Linares, in 1786. Mörner's use of these documents transcends the failure of some regional historians to apply quantitative techniques to these data and thereby describe Cuzqueño society during the years in which Bourbon reformism crested and the massive Tupac Amaru rebellion of 1780 erupted. Despite the uneven quality and scope of the documentation, Mörner expertly applies and interprets correlates, such as the density of haciendas with the existence of decent roads, from which inferences can be drawn. Not surprisingly, Mörner finds here, along the trunk line connecting Lima and Potosí via Cuzco, the highest levels of production for export. Exceptions occurred in the poor, mountainous district of Cotabambas, where residents exported foodstuffs along llama tracks to satisfy strong demand generated in the mining districts of Arequipa.

Of special interest is Mörner's attention to social change and conflict in the eighteenth century. In assessing the meaning of the Tupac Amaru rebellion in Cuzco, Mörner contends that levels of human and material destruction may have been lower than those accepted by historians on the basis of sometimes hysterical Spanish accounts. On the basis of these data, he is similarly reluctant to establish a direct causal link between levels of exploitation and rebellion. For example, the legal *reparto* was lower per capita in Canas than anywhere else in the region and the numbers of Indian *forasteros* was lowest, while the importance of the *mita minera* in this area was insignificant. This combination suggests only that the origins of social movements are complex and that "objective" evidence describing the growth of internal markets coincidentally with expanded Spanish efforts to regulate extracting surplus labor from the peasant class in the form of *repartimiento* may not suffice to explain the phenomenon of rebellion. The fact that these events broke out in both Peru and Upper Peru (today Bolivia) and involved Quechua and Aymará peoples from numerous regions and social strata suggests strongly the existence of valuable "subjective" factors requiring further investigation. One such factor would be native perceptions of these changes (for example, collecting tribute on feast days or otherwise deviating from norms and customs), an area where ethnographic assistance can be valuable. Mörner's analysis is most persuasive in the demographic and productive spheres but less so when testing more complex phenomena such as native rebellion that can also be approached by explanations from art, iconography, religion, and cosmology, in addition to economic causation.

In conclusion, the seven books reviewed here together chart the rhythms of cultural and particularly economic change in Peru during its Incaic and Spanish epochs, thus contributing to the profound reorientation toward a truly Andean history. By altering the thrust of historical investigation from a European and urban perspective to a rural and indigenous viewpoint, historians of Peru have long demonstrated a capacity to write "history from the bottom up" that redefines and clarifies the meaning of Spanish colonialism. The works reviewed make it clear both that the conquest produced differential socioeconomic results throughout Peru and that these results developed within a framework of increased acculturation, a process reversed and unified by the eighteenth century, as misery and isolation in rural areas mounted with Peru's immersion in the world economic system.

The new history also offers a refreshing shift from the more traditional studies of coastal Peru to those on interior regions; however, little in them supports the idea that a series of regional monographs can lead to a general theory of social development in the highlands. In fact, the works produced to date express the unique and the various in the Peruvian historical experience. Apart from Spalding's *Huarochirí*, few of the new colonial studies seem to recognize the need for sophisticated urban analysis or political inquiry, as if these mechanisms simply ceased functioning at the local levels with the advent of the viceroyalty. Earlier studies of the Peruvian *cabildo* (town council) suggest that this assumption is false. Similarly, the willingness of ethnohistorians to bridge the chasm of the conquest has not been matched by social historians of the eighteenth century, who prefer to study discrete institutions rather than trace themes and problems over longer spans of time, as historians of finance and foreign trade have done for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To be sure, the problems of adequate documents to sustain such inquiries and the radically different character of Peru on either side of independence makes the venture more difficult, although hardly impossible.

What the revisionists have accomplished to date amounts to nothing less than a revolution in method and concept. Their judicious use of ethnohistorical sources and new theoretical orientation offers alternatives to the Eurocentric impressions recorded by earlier historians. New appreciation of the Andean legacy and of the distinctive and assertive efforts made by Andeans to control the landscape and counter the demands of the Spaniards are important increments in writing the history of the modern nation. Still ahead in the writing of a truly Andean history lies a major reappraisal of the chronology, geography, and meaning of Peruvian colonialism. This reappraisal will demand not only knowing the social and economic forces buttressing Spanish authority but also appreciating Andean religion and cosmology, perceiving the natural and human landscape, and understanding art, iconography, and other largely cultural aspects of the native heritage.[8]

Above all, a broad, synthetic vision of the whole is necessary so that historians may understand the depth of the crises that overtook the people as well as the Spanish state in Peru. A beginning has been made in understanding the mechanisms of exchange and in land and labor systems, but the present studies may also suggest a trend toward an excessively internal and narrow view of the past rather than broad synthetic overviews attempting to address harder questions about the relationships between state and ethnic polities. Similarly, it is time to expand the spatial scope of inquiry into "Peru" to include the history of Collasuyu, the area of Upper Peru that later formed the Audiencia of Charcas, and into northern Chile, the Río de la Plata, and Ecuador, areas beyond the artificial confines of the Viceroyalty of Peru. But a start has been made and work is progressing. These works demonstrate that Peruvians were worthy of the challenges posed by the Andean landscape and Spanish rule and that the search for this Andean legacy constitutes a major contribution to their historiography.

NOTES

1. Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial: mercado interno, regiones y espacio económico* (Lima, 1982). Sempat's work formed part of a working session entitled "New Directions in Andean History: An Analysis and Dialogue." This session was organized by the Committee on Andean Studies of the Conference on Latin American History of the American Historical Association, which met in San Francisco on 28 December 1983. My comments in part reflect those of Professors Lawrence A. Clayton and Steve J. Stern, who narrated the session.
2. See *Ensayos de Nueva Historia*, edited by Wilfredo Kapsoli (Lima, 1983).
3. See, for example, Franklin Pease G. Y., "Historia andina: hacia una historia del Perú," *Revista Histórica* (Lima) 32 (1979–80):197–212, which contains an extensive bibliography on the subject; also Heraclio Bonilla, "The New Profile of Peruvian History," *LARR* 16, no. 3 (1981):210–24.
4. See Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530–1570*, translated by Ben and Sian Reynolds (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1977).
5. Murra reviewed the field of ethnohistory in "Current Research and Prospects in Andean Ethnohistory," *LARR* 5, no. 1 (1970):3–36. Since then a number of other reflections on the state of current research have appeared: for example, Luis Millones, "Ethnohistorians and Andean Ethnohistory: A Different Task, A Heterodox Discipline," *LARR* 17, no. 1 (1982):200–216; and Frank Salomon, "Andean Ethnology in the 1970s: A Retrospective," *LARR* 17, no. 2 (1982):75–128.
6. Carlos Contreras, "Nuevas tendencias en la historiografía peruana: las tesis de la Pontífica Universidad Católica del Perú, 1975–1982," *Histórica* (Cuzco) 7, no. 1 (1983):111–22.
7. A specific example of this phenomenon at work might be the influence of the version of Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* edited in the eighteenth century by Andrés Gonzales de Barcia, which included Sir Walter Raleigh's alleged prophecy of Inca resurrection. This edition, which apparently influenced the Inca Tupac Amaru in 1780, was prohibited by Visitor General José Antonio de Areche in 1781, along with other memorials to Inca culture.
8. For example, see Nathan Wachtel's comments on the relationship of Andean cyclical time to the study of rebellion and millenial movements in eighteenth-century Peru in *Sociedad e ideología: ensayos de historia y antropología andina* (Lima, 1973), 50–51.