

VARIETIES OF ANDEAN REALITY: Recent Perspectives

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- PERUVIAN PREHISTORY: AN OVERVIEW OF PRE-INCA AND INCA SOCIETY.* Edited by RICHARD W. KEATINGE. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Pp. 364. \$49.50 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)
- FROM CONQUEST TO AGRARIAN REFORM: ETHNICITY, ECOLOGY, AND ECONOMY IN THE CHANCAY VALLEY, PERU, 1533 TO 1964.* By LOUIS C. FARON. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Department of Anthropology Ethnology Monographs, no. 8, 1985. Pp. 158. \$12.00 paper.)
- COLONIALISM AND AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION IN BOLIVIA: COCHABAMBA, 1550-1900.* By BROOKE LARSON. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988. Pp. 375. \$65.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.)
- "TEACH THEM GOOD CUSTOMS": COLONIAL INDIAN EDUCATION AND ACCULTURATION IN THE ANDES.* By ROBERT D. WOOD, S.M. (Culver City, Calif.: Labyrinthos, 1986. Pp. 134. \$15.00.)
- LANGUAGE, AUTHORITY, AND INDIGENOUS HISTORY IN THE COMENTARIOS REALES DE LOS INCAS.* By MARGARITA ZAMORA. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Pp. 209. \$44.50.)
- MOON, SUN, AND WITCHES: GENDER IDEOLOGIES AND CLASS IN INCA AND COLONIAL PERU.* By IRENE SILVERBLATT. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987. Pp. 266. \$39.50 cloth, \$14.50 paper.)

In spite of increasingly difficult research conditions in much of the heartland of Andean South America, a number of seminal works on the area have appeared since the early 1980s. Some of these are based on earlier research, when investigation was easier and perhaps safer, but some are based on more recent field experience. Despite the disparate nature of the six monographs reviewed here, there are two common links that bind: one is the geographical structure of the Andean *cordillera*, the other is the shared historical experience of the native peoples and the outsiders who conquered them in the sixteenth century. The expertise of the authors varies as widely as the Andean landscape: the first volume reviewed is primarily a collection prepared by archaeologists, the second is by an anthropologist, the third by a historian interested in social and economic themes, the fourth by a student of educational and religious

history, the fifth by a specialist in literary discourse analysis, and the sixth by an ethnohistorian with primary training in anthropology.

Physical reminders of the Andean past abound, especially along the desert coastal strip of Peru, but also in the highlands. Many times I have walked and wondered at some of the more and less well-known archaeological sites: Pachacamac, Cajamarquilla, La Florida, Cuzco, Quenko, Tambo Machay, Ollantaytambo, Chinchero, Machu Picchu, Pikillaqta, the Colca Valley ruins. What could archaeologists tell historians and the general public of the peoples who trod preliterate soil? Richard Keatinge, in the edited text *Peruvian Prehistory: An Overview of Pre-Inca and Inca Society*, warns us, "Without question, Peru constitutes one of the great archaeological areas of the world. And yet, progress in obtaining a better understanding of the region's prehistory has been almost glacial in its movement" (p. 303). Keatinge has edged understanding forward with this first major attempt to bring together a series of articles by specialists in order to summarize what we know of Peruvian prehistory since Wendell Bennett's 1948 volume.¹ Surveys have been authored by individuals, but not a collective effort such as this. Keatinge has provided a tight editorial framework for the text, following a chronological order, with a separate chapter on the *selva* and a concluding overview. Nonetheless, *Peruvian Prehistory* suffers the fate of most edited works: some articles stand out as fine contributions to the subject, while others are less successful. Chapter contributors include John Rick, Claude Chauchat, Rosa Fung Pineda, Richard Burger, William Conklin and Michael Edward Moseley, William Isbell, Jeffrey Parsons and Charles Hastings, Craig Morris, Patricia Netherly, and finally, Scott Raymond.

The chapters by Rick and by Chauchat, written more for the specialist than for the general reader, challenge assumptions now widely held about Peru's preconquest cultural sequence. The standard textbook accounts of Peruvian prehistory published in the 1960s and 1970s on the pre-agricultural stages must simply be scrapped. But a new model to substitute for the defective one has not yet been elaborated, with Rick apologizing, "In this short space, I probably have complicated the problem of Pleistocene human presence in Peru" (p. 39). *Peruvian Prehistory's* shift from hunters and gatherers to complex temple builders between the second and third chapters will leave the nonspecialist somewhat at a loss; the editor should have provided a more complete transition at this point. Fung Pineda surveys Late Preceramic and Initial Period developments. Burger's finely crafted chapter on the spread and nature of Chavin is especially illuminating. Drawing analogies from Near Eastern, African, and Middle American findings, and on his command of the theoretical literature, Burger suggests that scholars need to rethink the paradigm of Chavin, that the model of a "crisis cult" or a "revitalization movement" might more closely approximate the reality of the spread of the Chavin

style. Conklin and Moseley provide a comprehensive view of the Early Intermediate Period, and Isbell points out what is now known of the fundamentals of Huari expansion and influence. Parsons and Hastings, by concentrating on four ecological zones in detail, give a well-written and solid overview of the Late Intermediate Period. Morris contributes a fine summary of Inca archaeology. Netherly's study of the use of ethnohistorical records to recover the Andean past, by concentrating on coca, is thematically the most limited of the contributions. Raymond provides an excellent introduction to the selva region. Overall, this new Cambridge volume is replete with a series of excellent maps, diagrams, photographs, and an impressive bibliography. It is sure to become a basic reference for the state of the art of Peruvian prehistory.

In *From Conquest to Agrarian Reform; Ethnicity, Ecology, and Economy in the Chancay Valley, Peru, 1533 to 1964*, Louis Faron returns to the valley that first attracted his attention practically three decades ago. This is a sweeping account, one in which an anthropologist attempts to articulate changing patterns of ethnicity, ecology, and economy in a central Peruvian valley from the time of conquest to the present. Faron is at his finest in describing his ethnological fieldwork in the Chancay Valley, in assessing the life of the peon or sharecropper on the hacienda of La Huaca, the "cholo" of the community of Los Naturales, the development of the homestead colony of La Esperanza, the lifestyles, and the individual opportunities for social and economic mobility. He rejects the interpretive value of a Marxist model for analyzing Peruvian change, arguing that such an approach ignores the key element in the present situation: ethnic identity. "The rural ethnic categories are all glossed as *campesino*. This is a deterrent to understanding social relationships that, as I have demonstrated, are based on bio-ethnic, hierarchical conceptualization, have existed since colonial times, and surely have not been obliterated by legislative decree" (p. 141). Faron presents a bio-ethnic categorization around which historical processes can be evaluated, employing the sub-categories of *blanco*, *criollo*, *cholo*, *Negro*, *Zambo*, *indio* or *serrano*, *chino*, and *japonés*. The obstacle to contemporary change is inherent in a society where "skin color and other phenotypical features underlie ethnic stereotyping and curtail upward social mobility in all cases, directing it along rigid lines" (p. 142). Faron argues that remarkably little ethnic exogamy has occurred since 1900; hence, there is substantially less *mestizaje* than contemporaries suggest. In other words, Peruvian society is much more rigid than optimists envision.

Faron is least reliable when he strays deepest into the realm of Clio, a not uncommon weakness of anthropologists. His assumption that the preconquest valley population was small and remained relatively stable during the first decades of colonization is unsupported on the basis of recent evidence. Vacant land in the valley was not created by Indian

"reduction" into villages but came about through decimation precipitated by European disease, not even mentioned as a causal factor in the early colonial period. Faron is unaware of significant migration into the lower valley from nearby ethnic groups at higher elevations. His discussion of the complex of *encomienda-repartimiento-reducción-pueblo* is outdated. He states, "the Spanish elite very often married Indian 'princesses,' contriving this status out of nothing except their definition of themselves" (p. 21). I would argue that the *ñusta* as well as the daughters and sisters of *kurakas* did have clear and recognized social standing in the Andean context, and the Spaniards recognized that status. Faron will please some, however, as he accords the Basques their nation (p. 26). He misses the early coastal importance and meaning of the term "*china*" and confuses the colonial terminology of *criollo* with the modern one. Faron claims that by 1785, all of the hacienda La Huaca's slaves could be "classified as *casta criollo*. This change had something to do with job assignment" (p. 49). Rather, these were slaves born in Peru; the term had nothing to do with labor organization. What then of Faron's paradigm? He argues that an "ethnic model is of greater heuristic value than a Marxian one" and that application of European class analysis rather than ethnic analysis is wrong. For example, he characterizes recent anthropological studies of haciendas and the Peruvian agrarian reform as "the distilled products of a cosmopolitan intelligentsia far removed from *pisco puro*" (p. 5). Correct, perhaps, but the bio-ethnic paradigm suffers the same weakness. And *pisco* is in all respects an alien transplant into the Andean world, a product that was foisted by Europeans onto the coastal native peoples and became one of the elements in their dependence and control.

Brooke Larson's *Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1550–1900* is a study in contrasts. Both she and Faron examine long-term change in Andean societies that have been characterized by substantial migration and *mestizaje*. Both the Chancay Valley and the Cochabamba Valley were by the beginning of the modern era closely tied to agricultural production for capitalist export, either to nearby centers or to a wider market. But although the subject is similar, the methods are diametrically opposed, and the spatial context differs, with Chancay on the desert coast of Peru and Cochabamba on Bolivia's edge of the tropical lowlands. Larson's command of the historical documentation is impressive. She has immersed herself in archives in Bolivia, Peru, and Spain and has a solid grasp of the various written sources. She accomplishes much more than the title of the book implies, beginning not in 1550 but with Inca penetration of the Cochabamba Valley in the fourteenth century. She ends not in 1900 but sweeps perceptive generalizations concerning regional change in Cochabamba well into the twentieth century. Cochabamba's history is inextricably linked to the economic cycles of the mines in the nearby highlands, especially to the Potosí silver center during the

colonial era. Larson traces that relationship with skill and compassion. Especially of note is her detailed study of the impact of intra-ethnic rivalries on the valley's development.

Larson's analysis of Cochabamba is must reading for anyone interested in Andean studies and is also useful for students of the broader agrarian and economic history of Latin America. My own critique is limited to a few comments and suggestions. First, the linguistic and therefore cultural shift in the valley from Aymara to Quechua with Inca expansion, perhaps back to Aymara, and now Quechua is an interesting one that deserves further elaboration. The discussion of early elite conflict in the valley could profit by closer examination of the New Laws, and the impact of the Gonzalo Pizarro revolt and its relation (if any) to the Francisco Hernández Girón and Sebastián Castilla movements of the mid-1550s. Larson's stress on the full development of the mature colonial state apparatus highlights the administration of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. Key elements of that colonial state had already been implanted first by Pedro de la Gasca (with reformation and stabilization of the tribute regime), then by Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, the first Marques de Cañete, in the late 1550s with amalgamation of larger Indian repartimientos into Crown hands for granting pensions, and finally by the establishment of the corregimiento system in the late 1560s under Governor Lope García de Castro. Toledo was responsible for fully structuring the Indian towns, the reducciones, and a realm-wide tribute assessment. But these contributions too can be traced to colonial theorists such as Juan de Matienzo, writing in the 1560s. Also, the *censos*, which are mentioned only briefly by Larson, need further review regarding their role in stimulating or limiting the growth of Cochabamba's agrarian economy. Exactly who was investing and why, as well as the returns, need elaboration. Commutation of tribute is a significant factor that few scholars have examined. Larson takes an important step in that direction, finding that Native Americans, by skillfully manipulating the timing of payment in cash or in kind, could buffer themselves from colonial exactions.

Robert Wood was stimulated by Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., to examine the Spanish education of Native Americans in the Andean world during the colonial period. He spent a year in archives and libraries in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. *Teach Them Good Customs* is the modest result of that investigation. Wood divides his opus into four sections: influences on native education, the actual work of the teachers, primary and secondary schools, and what he calls "non-academic education"—religion, "good customs," agriculture and trades, and the fine arts. The size of the monograph, eighteen chapters in little more than one hundred pages, illustrates part of its weakness: the topic—the education of Native Americans in virtually all of highland South America from the time of conquest to the end of the colonial era—is simply

too broad. It is unlikely that any scholar could successfully survey such a vast terrain more than superficially, but Wood's account contains other more damaging flaws. First, the most recent work cited in the bibliography was published in 1965. Wood's primary knowledge of Native Americans comes from work of the 1940s and 1950s. More recent important work on education is not mentioned at all. There are also glaring interpretive problems. Wood states that Spain gave to the Americas "an enormous contribution in animals, vegetables, fruits, and flowers" (p. 10) without mention of the European scourges that came with the blessings. A statement such as the "first cartilla for reading was made in Chile in 1533 by a Dr. Bernabe de Busto" (p. 11) needs elaboration, given the general consensus that Chile was not penetrated by the Europeans until Diego de Almagro's expedition of 1536–37. Is it really true that "some Indians thought they should be slaves" (p. 12)? Wood also indicates that John Locke significantly influenced educational thought in South America in the seventeenth century (pp. 16–17), even though Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* was first published in 1689, with translations not appearing until years later. The effect of forced labor according to Wood "had its good side It gave the Indians beasts of burden, seed, plants, etc., which they did not have before, and in many instances raised their social level" (p. 102). In short, Wood has attempted to demonstrate that imperial policy in general, and educational policy in particular, were designed by the Spanish to improve the condition of Native Americans in the Andean region. Wood tries to amass evidence to substantiate this claim. While his argument is worth mounting to counterbalance some contemporary overly strong critiques of the exploitative colonial system imposed by the Spaniards, the author's factual and interpretive weaknesses undermine his effort to muster a credible defense of the European attempt to "teach them Good Customs." If I may use the metaphor of viticulture, this work is a dusty bottle of an inferior younger wine that was stored far too many years before being uncorked.

Margarita Zamora's short and stimulating *Language, Authority, and Indigenous History in the Comentarios Reales de los Incas* uses modern literary discourse analysis to disentangle meaning from fiction in the historical writing of Garcilaso de la Vega. This book is exciting, a model for the kind of critical analysis that other important sources on the native peoples encountered by the Europeans should receive. The mestizo offspring of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess, Garcilaso left the Andean world in 1560 at the age of twenty-one, never to return, and became one of the prominent literary figures of the Spanish Renaissance. He established a reputation as an excellent translator by 1592, and his work on Florida's past appeared in 1594. Sharing the view of the humanists, Garcilaso perceived language "as the fundamental mediating element between perception and reality" (p. 13). Zamora traces in detail the effect

of the major philological revelations of the Renaissance (for example, the forged Donation of Constantine) on Garcilaso. The Andean chronicler believed that Inca society and history were misunderstood by Europeans because of the problem of translation. "For Garcilaso too the source of historical truth is ultimately a command of the original language" (p. 55). The Inca stressed the role of Felipillo, and the tragic impact of his ineptness as a translator at Cajamarca. Garcilaso, rather than presenting historical truth, interpreted essential qualities of Inca civilization. Zamora explains, "Philological commentary in the *Comentarios reales* is both a corrective historiographical strategy and a hermeneutics which yields a new—and improved—image of Tahuantinsuyu" (p. 84). Garcilaso's purpose in his work on the Incas was, in a "vast enterprise of exegesis and interpretation," to provide a new understanding of the nature of the American Indian. Zamora enters the debates of the Las Casas and Sepúlveda schools over the nature of the Native American. Garcilaso argued that in Peru a barbarian age had existed before the Incas, who brought civilization. The creation of Tahuantinsuyu, the land of the four quarters, was providential, and Manco Capac's role was almost messianic in bringing culture and creating the conditions necessary for the later successful spread of Christianity. The Incas thus substituted order for chaos, provided law, and created the cradle for monotheism. Zamora also looks at the relation of the *Comentarios* to utopian literature, particularly Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. The link is vital. Tahuantinsuyu is depicted as an ideal society based on community property, although in the end all was in the hands of the Inca. In a fine conclusion, Zamora states: "The *Comentarios reales* ultimately argues for a view of human history in which both reason, represented by Inca civilization, and revelation, represented by Christian Spain, are seen as essential elements in the march of all peoples toward eternal civilization" (p. 165).

Margarita Zamora's book is a pleasure to read. It challenges interaction and a search for nuance and meaning beyond the surface. I offer only minor suggestions that relate to more immersion into the literature of modern anthropology and ethnohistory. First, relevant recent studies of Andean religion, particularly by Franklin Pease and Juan Ossio,² do not appear in the bibliography. Zamora's knowledge of the *quipu* (the knotted-string mnemonic device) and the use of painting for Inca record keeping is truncated; and neither John Murra nor Ake Wedin are cited.³ Further, one question of detail. Zamora concludes, "The tragic encounter of the Inca and Pizarro at Cajamarca, during the course of which Atahualpa disdainfully threw to the ground a Bible given to him by the expedition's priest, becomes a symbol of the inability of either side to render itself intelligible to the other" (p. 133). I agree that this event, as described, symbolizes the differing worldviews of the European Christian and the Inca. But what was it that the Inca dropped to the earth? Garcilaso writes that Vicente de

Valverde faced the Inca, holding in one hand a "small cross, and in the other a book that was the Suma of Silvestre, others say that it was the Breviary; and others say it was the Bible: let each take whichever pleases him most."⁴ Here Zamora chooses the object of the Bible, a symbol that has most meaning in the modern reader's mind. This brief passage and interpretation demonstrates both the strengths and the weaknesses in the craft of ethnohistory, which are not so different from what Zamora here attempts in literary discourse analysis. We are several steps removed from the reality of the early sixteenth-century Andean world. Garcilaso himself was removed, born after the destruction of Tahuantinsuyu, an exiled mestizo competing in a European world. The exceptional value of Zamora's work lies in its elucidation of the intellectual framework that influenced the mentalité of el Inca Garcilaso.

Irene Silverblatt's pathblazing study is limited in theme but broad in its approach and ethnohistorical insight. In *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*, she proposes to examine "the complexities of interplay between political hierarchy and gender, as first the Incas and then the Spanish consolidated their rule" (p. xix). This work represents the first major statement of the complex political and economic role of women in the Andean area, from pre-Inca times to the era of the mature colonial state. Silverblatt surveys the difficulty of extracting inference about women from colonial documents that are notoriously male-centered. She squeezes information from careful examination of the *cronistas*, especially in the native tradition, as well as documentary evidence centering on the seventeenth-century Church's search for idolatrous practices. Silverblatt's arguments are founded on the impact of traditional Andean rules of parallel descent and Andean cosmology. She explains, "Gender symbols, structured by a logic of mutuality, gave form to the ways in which Andean peoples construed their universe" (p. 29). This system allowed for reasonable equality within *ayllus* and the small ethnic communities. In some areas, especially in the north of Peru, women exercised political authority as chieftains. But the Incas undermined old relationships when they "orchestrated gender ideologies with new meanings as they dominated the Andean countryside" (p. 40). Women became objects of exchange as conquests integrated new groups into Tahuantinsuyu. Some became *acllas*, entering the religious institutions for the cult of the moon; others were distributed as wives or concubines of local officials in other parts of the empire; still others became concubines of the Inca. The festival or *Coya raymi*, during the September equinox, in which the moon and queen were honored, inaccurately depicted gender equality in that the rights of the queen, "like those of other women, were increasingly constrained as the building of the Andean empire was indebted to and paid homage to the accomplishments of men" (p. 66). The tendency was moving toward greater distinctions. Silverblatt observes, "Gender

and class spiraled: gender gave form to class relations in the imperialized Andes, while the Incas molded gender distinctions into approximate images of the class relations they imposed" (p. 108). What then of the fate of women under the Spanish colonial system? Silverblatt argues that the conquest superimposed an alien system: the Inca at least operated in a framework of Andean tradition, but the Spanish "colonial institutions tended to break down the kin relations that underlay pre-Columbian socioeconomic organization" (p. 110). The process took centuries, and "the structures Spain brought to the Andes imposed a special burden on women" (p. 111). In short, native women got the worst of the lot. But what of native noblewomen who entered the new market economy? They too suffered, according to Silverblatt, for even among the Cuzco elite, "women were subjugated members of a patriarchal colonial society" (p. 122). Peasant women suffered the greatest abuses, despite protective legislation. They lost land and were forced to pay tribute; they were brutalized and in some instances even driven to prostitution, "for in the unrestrained milieu of colonial society, Western norms and institutions governing gender relations could develop to grotesque extremes" (p. 143). But women's spirit was not broken. In fact, women took the role of leader in defending native culture. While the men fled to be swallowed up in exploitation of *yanaconaje* on the Spanish hacienda, the women escaped to the high elevation puna. There, beyond the control of the prying eyes of outsiders, the ancient rites were nurtured. Witches, or *hechizeras*, helped create "an underground culture of resistance in the puna" (p. 209).

Irene Silverblatt has crafted a beautifully written book filled with ideas and intellectual challenges. *Moon, Sun, and Witches* is an interpretive work of the first order. No reviewer will agree with everything Silverblatt says, however. Nagging questions of both approach and sources deserve mention. Silverblatt notes the importance of Guaman Poma's vision of conquest society, but she cautions that historians must be extremely careful in using the *Corónica* as a source. Yet much of Silverblatt's description of native women in colonial society (especially in chapters six and seven) is based on Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. This native author of a thousand-page letter to the king has become an increasingly obligatory source for Andean specialists. It is impossible not to be impressed by his graphic descriptions of exploitation and his wonderful drawings. Ethno-historians, however, can use Guaman Poma to buttress many arguments. He vividly attacked abuses of the secular clergy and many of the religious orders, especially the Dominicans. Yet most of what he said about the Franciscans could also be used to verify the good treatment of the Indians, as advocated in much colonial legislation. I am unsure why Silverblatt uses the flawed 1956 edition of Guaman Poma rather than the now-standard critical edition of Adorno and Murra.⁵ I am also uncomfortable with Silverblatt's unnecessary reliance on Virgilio Roel's 1970 survey of

Peruvian colonial society and economy, which is not a particularly good source. His work is an ideologically palatable text that was prepared for San Marcos University students, one that includes long quotations from documents and monographs.⁶ For example, Silverblatt uses Roel's description of the treatment of Indian women by "a priest, Fray Buenaventura de Salinas" (really Friar Buenaventura Salinas y Córdova), rather than going to the original source.⁷ What can we discern about native women during the colonial era on the basis of careful analysis of the entire work of this very important Franciscan chronicler?

In general, we need to know more about where the Church stood on the roles of the Spanish and native women in society. Fairly extensive information on this issue can be found in the published records of the Lima Church Councils. For example, the Church did recognize the validity of Andean patterns of parallel descent and allowed the practice to continue into the colonial era. One other important issue is Silverblatt's attempt to compare and contrast the treatment of Spanish and native women. Current knowledge about women in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain is far from perfect. In fact, our assumptions about European women are at a level similar to our knowledge of colonial institutions some two decades ago. The traditional view was based on prescriptive law, a view that might be far removed from the realities of the true operation of the system. Recent historical scholarship, such as that of James Lockhart, Elinor Burkett, and Ann Wightman, help begin to flesh out the functional details of the role of women in colonial society.⁸

Historians may find at times that wide chronological and temporal generalizations made by Silverblatt are disconcerting. In fact, this tendency is both a strength and a weakness of her study. For example, she at times quickly shifts spatially from the northern sierra to Lake Titicaca and chronologically from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, a practice that can lead to difficulty. Particularly painful is her discussion of the tribute system, where all forms of economic exactions on the Native Americans are combined, from the pre-Toledo era tribute system, to the forced sale of goods of the eighteenth century, and on to various payments to the Church. Silverblatt's framework is ostensibly diachronic, but at times lapses occur into synchronic generalizations that prick historical sensibilities and provide added fuel to the typical lament of the historian critiquing the work of an anthropologist. Silverblatt's view of the role of gender is global and often very convincing, but it may be flawed in specific cases. Nevertheless, her study of the relationship between gender, class, and class formation is an important one. Silverblatt has eloquently issued the challenge, our understanding of the variety of the Andean past has been illuminated, and any new work will have to take her analysis into account.

Long before the Spaniards arrived in Cuzco, the seat of Tahuantín-

suyu, Andean stonemasons carefully crafted a wall along the narrow street of Jatun Rumiyoj. One of the blocks was neatly carved with twelve angles, so that other stones could be placed tightly and solidly together. It seemed a jigsaw puzzle to outsiders, but when all was assembled there was an underlying order, a pattern and strength. We have here six monographs that contribute to building our knowledge of the Andean world. That reality is a diverse one because the cultures that composed it were diverse and more often independent than integrated into an outside imperial state. The present building blocks vary in size and complexity, but together they propel us forward toward a more complete knowledge of the reality of the Andean experience.

NOTES

1. *A Reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology*, edited by W. C. Bennett, *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, no. 4 (Menasha, Wis.: Society for American Archaeology, 1948).
2. For examples, see Franklin Pease, *El dios creador andino* (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1973); and Juan M. Ossio, "Guaman Poma, Nueva Corónica y carta al rey: un intento de aproximación a las categorías del mundo andino," in *Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino*, edited by Juan M. Ossio (Lima: Biblioteca de Antropología, 1973), 155–213. Especially relevant is Nathan Wachtel's chapter, "Pensamiento salvaje y aculturación: el espacio y el tiempo en Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala y el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," in *Sociedad e ideología: ensayos de historia y antropología andinas* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Andinos, 1973).
3. See John V. Murra, *La organización económica del estado Inca* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1977); or Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Andinos, 1975); and Ake Wedin, *El sistema decimal en el imperio incaico* (Madrid: Insula, 1965).
4. From Garcilaso's *Conquest of Peru*, first book of the second part of the *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, chap. 22.
5. *El primer nuera corónica y buen gobierno*, 3 vols., edited by John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980).
6. Virgilio Roel, *Historial social y económica de la colonia* (Lima: Editorial Gráfica Labor, 1970).
7. Buenaventura Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo Piru* (Lima: San Marcos, 1957); another work that might have proved useful is the equally available study of Diego de Córdova Salinas, *Crónica franciscana de las provincias del Perú* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957).
8. James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1530–1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968); Elinor Burkett, "Indian Women and White Society: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Peru," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, edited by Asunción Lavrin (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 101–28. Worthy of review is Luis Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadores: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).