

INTERPRETING PERUVIAN COLONIAL HISTORY

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- GUAMAN POMA: WRITING AND RESISTANCE IN COLONIAL PERU.* By RO-
LENA ADORNO. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986. Pp. 189.
\$22.50.)
- CRISIS AND DECLINE: THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU IN THE SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY.* By KENNETH J. ANDRIEN. (Albuquerque: University of New
Mexico Press, 1985. Pp. 287. \$27.50.)
- MINERS OF THE RED MOUNTAIN: INDIAN LABOR IN POTOSI, 1545-1650.*
By PETER BAKEWELL. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,
1984. Pp. 213. \$19.95.)
- BOURBONS AND BRANDY: IMPERIAL REFORM IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
AREQUIPA.* By KENDALL W. BROWN. (Albuquerque: University of New
Mexico Press, 1986. Pp. 319. \$29.95.)
- THE POTOSI MITA, 1573-1700: COMPULSORY INDIAN LABOR IN THE AN-
DES.* By JEFFREY A. COLE. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
Pp. 206. \$35.00.)
- DEMOGRAPHIC COLLAPSE: INDIAN PERU, 1520-1620.* By NOBLE DAVID
COOK. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. Pp. 310.
\$37.50.)
- THE PEOPLE OF THE COLCA VALLEY: A POPULATION STUDY.* By NOBLE
DAVID COOK. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982. Pp. 100. \$13.50.)
- LANDOWNERS IN COLONIAL PERU.* By KEITH A. DAVIES. (Austin: Univer-
sity of Texas Press, 1984. Pp. 237. \$22.50.)
- PROVINCIAL PATRIARCHS: LAND TENURE AND THE ECONOMICS OF
POWER IN COLONIAL PERU.* By SUSAN E. RAMIREZ. (Albuquerque:
University of New Mexico Press, 1986. Pp. 471. \$37.50.)

Less than a generation ago, historians interested in colonial Peruvian social and economic history entered a vast terra incognita. Apart from pioneering work on ethnohistory, mining, and comparative economic history,¹ little historical literature on Peru could match the more developed literature on colonial Mexico. There were no demographic studies equaling those of the Berkeley School, no general interpretation of the seventeenth-century crisis to match Woodrow Borah's *New Spain's*

Century of Depression (Berkeley, 1951), no hacienda study as comprehensive as François Chevalier's *La Formation des grandes domaines au Mexique: Terre et société aux XVIe–XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 1952), nor any volume on the Incas to equal Charles Gibson's *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, 1964).

In the past few years, however, while Mexicanists have been busy revising these early works,² Andeanists have produced several important books that have substantially narrowed the gap between the two fields. Especially notable are works on ethnohistory, African slavery, coastal agriculture, regional markets, and the Spanish community.³ The nine books under review here reflect recent interest among colonialists in the seventeenth-century crisis, demography, mining labor, regional economies, and native resistance.

Crisis

Kenneth Andrien's *Crisis and Decline: The Viceroyalty of Peru in the Seventeenth Century* examines the seventeenth-century crisis in Peru. Andrien argues that the viceroyalty experienced a profound fiscal and administrative crisis, rather than an economic crisis. He identifies the problem as a corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy that failed to collect taxes and placed its own interests above those of the Crown.

According to Andrien, local elites wanted to invest in agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing and sought to protect their capital by avoiding taxes. They achieved this end by forming personal and political alliances with local treasury officials through marriages and business partnerships. The Crown inadvertently weakened its own position by selling important bureaucratic posts, which entrenched corrupt officials, and by permitting the inefficient system of tax farming to continue. Madrid also approved increased expenditures of local tax revenues on imperial defenses and officials' salaries, measures that decreased the flow of money to the mother country.

The Habsburgs attempted to change imperial finances on several occasions. Under Philip IV, revenues were periodically raised through extraordinary means, such as the union of arms and settlement fees on old property titles (*composiciones de tierras*), but no important bureaucratic and commercial innovations were introduced. The goals of the *Visita General* of 1664 were "to reassert royal control over the viceregal government and to secure the vigorous enforcement of all royal financial policies" (p. 165). This effort failed, however, because bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption were tightly woven into a web of family, business, and political ties.

Andrien's study is based on royal treasury accounts that show tax revenues collected and government expenditures. He skillfully deci-

phers these complicated records to reveal a fiscal and administrative crisis, and he also provides a convincing explanation of the Crown's failure to reform the viceregal bureaucracy as well as insights into the social history of treasury officials.

Unlike some other historians, Andrien wisely avoids generalizing about the economy on the basis of treasury records, which do not provide completely reliable data on production. But he does use secondary sources to argue that the viceregal economy grew and diversified during this period. Diversification is shown through the development of new agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing activities. Overall economic growth, however, is more difficult to prove because silver production fell after mid-century, some regional economies declined (such as that of Arequipa), and the Indian population suffered a pervasive and precipitous collapse.

The historical significance of population decline in colonial Latin America inspired Noble David Cook to study the demographic history of Peru. Cook has written two books, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620*, an overview of the first century after contact, and *The People of the Colca Valley*, a case study of a remote valley from 1572 to 1972. In the preface to *Demographic Collapse*, Cook writes, "I hope the book is a modest contribution to our understanding of the impact of European expansion in the sixteenth century on the native population of the Americas" (p. x). The book accomplishes this goal and much more.

Cook divides his study into two parts: a consideration of Peru's preconquest population and an analysis of its postconquest collapse. Each chapter in Part I explores a different methodological approach to estimating Peru's population in 1520. These approaches are the "ecological approach" (estimating population based on the carrying capacity of the environment), the "archaeological approach" (estimating population on the basis of archaeological remains), the "depopulation ratio approach" (estimating population for a large area based on known depopulation ratios for a small area), the "social organization approach" (estimating population based on the complexity of the society), the "disease mortality model approach" (estimating population based on mortality rates during major epidemics), and the "census projection approach" (estimating population based on later censuses). Cook rejects each of these approaches except for the last, and in the process, he critically reviews earlier studies by John Rowe, Henry Dobyns, C. T. Smith, Nathan Wachtel, and others. In the end, Cook estimates the population of Peru in 1520 to have been nine million, with a possible range of four to fourteen million.

Each chapter in Part II analyzes the demographic history of a major geographic area in Peru between 1570 and 1620. Population estimates are based on censuses, although Cook makes various adjust-

ments for known or likely discrepancies. The population of coastal regions declined most severely because of the introduction of European diseases, the disruption of the delicate desert ecology, and natural disasters such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and tidal waves. The population of highland areas declined less precipitously, although losses were still severe. Not surprisingly, population decline was greatest in areas struck by epidemics and in provinces subject to forced migration to the mines. Cook concludes that between 1570 and 1620, the population of the highlands declined from 1,045,000 to 585,000, while the population of the coast fell from 250,000 to 87,000.

Cook's second book, *The People of the Colca Valley*, is a short demographic history of a rural area northwest of Arequipa. Before the Spanish conquest, the region was inhabited by the Collagas, an Aymara-speaking people who had migrated into the upper part of the valley, and the Cabanas, a Quechua-speaking people who inhabited the lower part of the valley. In the early sixteenth century, the region came under the control of powerful Spaniards (*encomenderos*) who exacted labor and tribute from the local natives. The *encomenderos'* authority endured until local government was more thoroughly organized under the *corregimiento* system in 1565. Local native communities were subsequently resettled in European-style villages by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, a policy that facilitated tax collection and political control.

The core of *People of the Colca Valley* is a history of the region's population from 1572 to 1972 based on colonial censuses, tribute counts, vital statistics, and the national censuses of 1876, 1940, and 1972. Not surprisingly, the results show a dramatic decline in population during the colonial period and a gradual recovery after independence from Spain. Today the area remains poor, and the population is probably smaller than it was when the Spaniards arrived.

People of the Colca Valley and *Demographic Collapse* are both solidly researched studies that establish Cook as one of the leading historical demographers of the Andean region. *People of the Colca Valley* will be of interest primarily to other demographers and to those with a research interest in the Colca Valley. *Demographic Collapse*, in contrast, is the best demographic history of sixteenth-century Peru currently available and is recommended to all Andeanists. In this book, Cook has laid a solid foundation for future demographic histories. Andeanists should now investigate such topics as family reconstitution, birth control, fertility, and the social and economic implications and ramifications of population change. Methodological models are available in the numerous demographic histories produced by members of the Cambridge Group and French demographers such as Louis Henry.

Mining Labor

Historians have argued that the collapse of the Indian population caused labor shortages in the mines and resulted in the creation of the forced labor draft, the infamous *mita*. The *mita* presumably supplied most mine labor throughout the colonial period, and its abusive character led to widespread condemnation of Spain as represented in the "Black Legend." Two recent studies shed considerable light on this controversial topic so central to the history and image of Peru's past. Peter Bakewell's *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor at Potosí, 1545–1650* is a social and economic history that focuses on recruitment, working and living conditions, and different kinds of labor. In contrast, Jeffrey Cole's *The Potosí Mita, 1573–1700: Compulsory Labor in the Andes* is an administrative history that analyzes the different interest groups involved in the mining industry, the labor policies of the Crown, and the problems of policy enforcement at the local level.

Bakewell provides a sweeping analysis that reaches several revisionistic conclusions. Most significant are his arguments that by 1600 wage labor was just as important as forced labor and that working and living conditions were not as bad as previously described. He also shows that Viceroy Toledo, traditionally seen as the inventor of the *mita*, actually fashioned it from the experiences of various highland regions into a larger system of supplying labor.

Before the introduction of the *mita*, labor was provided by *yanaconas* and Indians held in *encomienda*. *Yanaconas* were non-tribute-paying Indians who were considered "servants" of individual Spaniards. At first they were forced to work at Potosí but later "could not be persuaded to leave" because they earned good wages. *Encomienda* Indians, who owed a labor obligation to their lord, were used at Potosí beginning in the 1540s. Many of them preferred the mines to their villages because they could earn more income to pay tribute obligations. During these years, wages were attractive because Indians leased sites from Spaniards and kept a percentage of the ore for themselves. This system worked well until the rich surface deposits were exhausted. But afterward, more labor was required to dig deeper into the mountain-side, as well as to produce larger quantities of ore for refining by amalgamation, which had been introduced by Toledo in the 1570s.

Under the *mita*, native lords (*kuracas*) were required to deliver roughly one-seventh of the adult male Indian population from several provinces in the southern highlands. *Mitayos* worked on a rotating basis for various periods of time. They were poorly paid, rarely compensated for travel expenses, subjected to corporal punishment, and occasionally bought and sold like slaves while in the mines. They were nevertheless free to sell their labor during one-third to one-half of their stay. As the

Indian population decreased in size, the mita could not fulfill the demands of the mining industry. Increasingly, mitayos were relegated to the most difficult and dangerous jobs, such as pickmen, while wage laborers (*indios mingas*) were hired for skilled jobs, such as refiners. By 1600 wage laborers accounted for one-half of the work force at Potosí.

The large number of wage laborers suggests to Bakewell that mining was relatively attractive to Indians, especially in comparison with subsistence agriculture. He found little evidence of debt peonage among wage laborers and adds that mortality was “certainly not on what might be called a ‘Black Legend’ scale” (p. 152). Bakewell concludes that labor conditions at Potosí closely resembled those in the Mexican silver industry, where wage labor predominated and no serious labor shortages existed. This conclusion suggests that the collapse of the Indian population did not cause serious labor shortages in the mines and therefore cannot be blamed for falling silver production and the seventeenth-century depression. Moreover, mass migration to the mines—forced and unforced—hastened the Hispanicization of the native population and the transformation of colonial society.

Bakewell intelligently discusses a complex and controversial topic. His study provides insights into the organization of the draft, the division of labor, and the mining economy. The significance of wage labor should make colonialists ponder the nature and timing of economic change in colonial Peru as well as the centrality of the mita as evidence of Spanish brutality. *Miners of the Red Mountain* also provides useful information on working and living conditions at Potosí. A definitive social history, however, would require more discussion of the quality of life (housing, diet, recreation, and related topics), the interaction of different racial and ethnic groups (Quechuas, Aymaras, Africans, mixed races, and Spaniards), and the role of kuracas in labor recruitment and control. These topics are admittedly difficult and elusive to research, but their intrinsic importance makes them worth pursuing.

The history of the mita, like the African slave trade, involved the complex interaction of officials and entrepreneurs who did not always agree on the proper allocation of human resources. Jeffrey Cole’s *The Potosí Mita* identifies the main power brokers as the Crown, the viceroys, and the silver refiners (*azogueros*). Cole argues that the Crown administered the mita with the intention of increasing its control over the silver industry at the expense of the *azogueros*. Silver refiners meanwhile used their extensive local influence to defend their interests at all costs. The Crown relied on viceroys to implement its policies and recommend modifications in the mita. According to Cole, this pattern of administration contradicts an important thesis of the late John

Phelan, who argued that the Crown purposefully provided colonial officials with contradictory instructions to give them the latitude to adapt policy to local conditions.

Toledo's revitalization of silver mining in the 1570s involved an agreement with miners: if they would build refining mills for the amalgamation of silver ore, the Crown would provide them with mercury and labor at reasonable costs. Mercury could be hauled from Huancavelica, and the mita would provide cheap labor. The Crown stood to benefit from the royal fifth on silver production (*quinto*), its monopoly on mercury production, and other taxes.

Toledo's reforms worked in part because large stockpiles of smelted ore could still be profitably refined through amalgamation. Once these supplies were exhausted, however, a number of problems arose. Miners required more labor to dig deeper shafts into the mountainside, flooding became a major problem, and mercury became expensive and difficult to acquire. Azogueros borrowed heavily from silver merchants and appealed to the Crown for relief. The Crown initially complied by increasing the number of mitayos and reducing the price of mercury. But royal officials were also concerned over abuses of the mita, especially the refiners' practice of forcing kuracas to make payments in silver in place of delivering mitayos. This abuse became so widespread that by 1680 the mita "had been transformed into a money tax on the kuracas themselves" (p. 44).

Viceroy attempted to gain greater control over the mita but found it difficult to control events in the provinces and to dominate the powerful azogueros' guild. At one point, royal *visitador* Bishop Francisco de la Cruz was murdered by guild members. In 1670 the viceroy, the Conde de Lemos, asked the Crown to abolish the mita. But it took the Council of the Indies three years to respond, and by then, Lemos was dead. In any case, the council was reluctant to abolish the mita for fear that it might lead to a decline in Crown revenues.

Thus in 1680, Lemos's successor, the Duque de la Palata, revitalized the mita. Taking into account the dramatic decline in the native population, he reduced the size of the mita and expanded the area covered by the draft. He also subjected yanaconas and nonresident Indians (*forasteros*) to the draft for the first time. His reform pleased few. Azogueros were unhappy over reduced labor allotments, forasteros and yanaconas fled in large numbers to escape the mita, and kuracas found it increasingly difficult to meet their quotas.

Palata's successor, the Conde de la Monclova, was consequently compelled to make a number of additional changes. He further reduced the size of the mita, exempted forasteros from the draft, increased the rest period from one week to two, raised wages, and ordered that mi-

tayos be paid for travel time. In 1697 the Council of the Indies further increased wages and took additional measures to protect kuracas and mitayos.

Cole's book demonstrates that an important niche remains for carefully researched institutional history. *The Potosí Mita* provides a clear picture of the administration of the mita and the interaction of the various interest groups involved in the mining industry. Bureaucratic inertia kept the mita alive as much as anything, despite clear evidence of its abusive character and the successful use of wage labor. After all, no one wanted to take the blame for "killing the goose that laid the silver egg."

Regional Economies

Although mining was the most profitable enterprise in colonial Peru, commercial agriculture also proved lucrative in regions near urban centers where demand was strong for such products as wheat, beef, pork, wine, and sugar. Wealthy Spaniards (usually former encomenderos) invested heavily in agriculture and ranching and thus set in motion dramatic changes in regional economies and societies.

Keith Davies's *Landowners in Colonial Peru* focuses on the development of the wine industry in the Arequipa region of southwestern Peru and its impact on the evolution of the regional elite. Davies argues that early estate owners were profit-oriented and never fit the image of semifeudal lords suggested by older studies of colonial Latin America. The regional economy and society was initially dominated by encomendero-merchants, who benefited from selling goods to combatants during the civil wars and from Arequipa's strategic location along the trade route between Lima and Charcas. Revenues from encomiendas declined in the 1560s, however, in response to the demographic collapse of the Indian population.

Encomenderos and others subsequently received modest land grants from the Crown and began producing beef, wheat, maize, and other foodstuffs to sell in Arequipa. Soon, however, these commodities were supplanted by wine, a product in great demand and difficult and expensive to import from Europe. Wine-producing estates were small, averaging fifteen to twenty acres in size, but capable of grossing twenty-four thousand pesos a year. Development of larger estates was limited by the arid terrain, shortages of irrigation canals and water, and the difficulty of acquiring larger land grants from the Crown.

The local wine industry remained profitable until the late sixteenth century, when a number of factors contributed to its decline. New producers in Ica, Pisco, and Nazca captured a major share of the lucrative Lima market; the earthquake of 1600 damaged crops; the

Crown imposed new taxes and fees; and labor shortages developed. As the industry faltered, some wine growers sold out to religious orders, and wine merchants sought new markets in the southern highlands.

The economic history of the region shaped the development of the local elite. At the pinnacle of conquest society stood the *encomenderos*, who possessed great political and economic power. By the 1540s, however, their ranks had been thinned by civil wars and migration to Lima. The remaining *encomenderos* developed agricultural estates and intermarried with families of recently arrived officials or other elites. During the seventeenth century, elite families declined in wealth, estates were divided among heirs, and some social mobility occurred.

The evolution of the regional economy also affected the indigenous population. After the initial shock of conquest, according to Davies, the "exploitation of Indian labor, land, and livestock appears to have been kept to a minimum" (p. 119). Some Indians worked on wine estates for wages, while others cultivated Old World crops to market in Arequipa and elsewhere. Nevertheless, Indian communities also lost increasing amounts of land and became marginalized within the regional economy and society.

Landowners in Colonial Peru is a solid regional study based on extensive archival research that explains the general patterns of economic change and the evolution of elite society. Like most recent scholars, Davies describes landed elites as entrepreneurs seeking new investment opportunities, as opposed to feudal lords seeking aggrandizement and security. Davies recognizes that the development of large-scale agriculture frequently occurred at the expense of Indian communities. But he does not provide a completely satisfying discussion of economic linkages between the Indian and Spanish communities. For example, we need to know more about the role of *kuracas* as intermediaries between the two communities and the provision of Indian goods and labor during the first generation after the conquest.

The study of colonial Arequipa is carried forward in time by Kendall Brown's *Bourbons and Brandy: Imperial Reform and Eighteenth-Century Arequipa*. Brown argues that the regional economy recovered in the early eighteenth century after wine growers began to distill most of their harvest into brandy (*aguardiente*), which they sold to the large Indian population in the southern highlands. The centralizing policies of the Spanish Bourbons, however, yielded mixed results on the regional economy and ultimately led to political conflict between *creoles* and *peninsulares*.

Brown begins with a description of Peru's decline during the seventeenth century, including summaries of administrative inefficiency, abuses by local officials, and economic depression. After 1700 economic recovery in the Arequipa region was based on population growth, in-

creased mineral output, and especially the production of brandy. Merchants in particular profited handsomely by exchanging brandy for the silver they needed to import expensive European goods. The regional economy prospered until the 1770s, when overproduction caused brandy prices to fall, the Crown imposed higher taxes (especially a 12.5 percent sales tax on *aguardiente*), and the wheat economy slumped.

Brown describes Arequipa as a "highly stratified society of castes," with Spaniards at the top and Indians and blacks at the bottom. Creoles dominated the upper stratum of local society and received most of their income from agriculture and commerce. As the century advanced, "commercial expansion, fiscal reorganization, and centralization of royal power enabled peninsulares to wrest control of Arequipa from the creoles" (p. 126). The Catholic Church, which owned many haciendas in Peru, was not a major landowner in the Arequipa region. Nevertheless, its wealth grew during the eighteenth century from large donations and a tripling of the ecclesiastical title.

On the subject of the Bourbon reforms, Brown concludes that the intendency system successfully centralized Crown authority but that economic reforms brought mixed results. Revenues rose through higher taxes, the tobacco monopoly, the opening of provincial customs houses, and more efficient tax collection. But higher taxes placed an increased financial burden on all sectors of society and caused widespread discontent. In 1780 Arequipans expressed their anger by attacking the offices of the royal treasury and provincial customs houses. Discontent was especially pervasive among creoles, who deeply resented the growing power and wealth of peninsulares. Rioters burned tax records and sacked the strongbox before being suppressed by the local militia.

Bourbons and Brandy successfully analyzes the general transformation of the wine industry in Arequipa during the eighteenth century and provides insights into changes in elite society. Brown's discussion of the Bourbon reforms in the region is also useful, especially his analysis of the disruptiveness of Bourbon tax policies. In other ways, however, the book is disappointing. Brown devotes too much space to general descriptions of colonial society and institutions that do not break new ground. Moreover, he has little to say about the impact of economic and administrative change on the lower classes of Arequipa and about the connection between the Bourbon reforms and the movements for independence.

The history of Arequipa can be compared with that of the northern coast, a region known for its sugarcane plantations. Susan Ramírez's *Provincial Patriarchs* focuses on the relationship between land-ownership, political power, and provincial elites in Lambayeque. As elsewhere in Peru, *encomenderos* dominated Lambayeque during the

first generation after the conquest. They enjoyed great wealth, social prominence, and a monopoly of political power on the local level. As their income from *encomiendas* declined, however, *encomenderos* received land grants from the Crown and began to develop livestock estates. They subsequently occupied Indian lands and irrigation networks, acquired capital from village treasuries and ecclesiastical sources, and obtained labor through the *mita* and by hiring Indians.

By the mid-sixteenth century, sizable numbers of royal officials, priests, merchants, and professionals had also acquired large estates. *Hacendados* benefited from the *composición de la tierra* of 1589 as well as from actions of the *corregidor de indios*, who favored their interests over those of the Indians. From 1650 to 1719, hacienda agriculture expanded on the strength of increased demand for sugar in coastal Peru and elsewhere. *Hacendados* invested heavily in constructing mills and importing African slaves. Several fortunes made in sugar were later solidified through strategic marriages between planter families and important officials and wealthy merchants.

The sugar industry declined during the early eighteenth century because of heavy flooding and the loss of important markets in coastal Peru, northern South America, and the Río de la Plata. Many *hacendados* sold out to persons from the “middle sector” of regional society, including merchants, professionals, and public administrators. The new landowning elite recovered by robbing Indians of additional land and water resources and by investing in stock-raising instead of sugarcane. By the end of the colonial period, a mixed agricultural and ranching economy had evolved.

Provincial Patriarchs is one of the most comprehensive studies of land tenure and landed elites in the literature on Peru. It represents a prodigious amount of research in several local, regional, and national archives. The depth of Ramírez’s effort is illustrated by Appendix 3, a hundred-page chronology of landownership in Lambayeque. This work clearly demonstrates the linkages among landownership, elites, and political power.

Resistance

None of the regional studies under review focuses on the Indian population. Yet natives constituted the majority of the population and produced most of the wealth of the Andes. Their history has been recorded since the sixteenth century, but rarely by writers of indigenous heritage. The best-known account is Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), which is the subject of Rolena Adorno’s fine literary study, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*.

Adorno argues that Guaman Poma recreated Andean history to convince the King to remove corrupt Spanish officials and allow natives to govern themselves. To make his case, Guaman Poma relied on the full range of literary expression available to Europeans of his day, including chronicles, juridical treatises, political tracts, sermons, heroic epics, biography, allegory, and satire. He skillfully used these methods to undermine European interpretations of history, religion, and justice that rationalized and glorified the conquest and colonization of the Andes.

Above all, Spaniards justified the conquest of America on the grounds of native irrationality and paganism. Guaman Poma countered that natives had been converted to Christianity in antiquity, only to be forcibly reconverted to paganism by the Incas. He also claimed that natives, recognizing the futility of resistance, had surrendered peacefully to the *conquistadores*. Guaman Poma was obviously less concerned with historical accuracy than with undermining the justification for conquest in terms that Europeans could understand. He also invented heroic native figures, including his ancestors, while condemning Spaniards for their sinful pride and hypocritical behavior. He satirized priests for mixing sermons with business concerns and moralized against drunkenness, adultery, sodomy, and other vices that proliferated under Spanish rule.

Particularly effective is his use of pictures to communicate how the conquest had turned the Andean world upside-down. As Adorno observes, "In the overall course of Guaman Poma's pictorial narration, the imperial Inca has been replaced by the humble petitioner and the brutalized victim with whom the Christian symbols of suffering are associated" (p. 119). Guaman Poma, the self-appointed native confidant, communicated to the King the "real response of Americans to the utopian reality of America dreamed by others" (p. 143). Adorno's impressive analysis of a major literary and political statement is recommended to anyone interested in colonialism from the perspective of the colonized.

Conclusion

What, then, are some of the general contours of social and economic change in colonial Peru? The regional histories reviewed here suggest that encomenderos were the first hacendados but that provincial elite society received an early infusion of royal officials and other well-connected aristocrats. Some social mobility occurred after periods of economic depression, and the chief beneficiaries were "middle groups" such as merchants, professionals, and priests. Commercial agriculture expanded because of increased demand for a variety of Old

World products, a trend that reflected the growing Spanish and Hispanicized populations as well as urbanization. Forced labor predominated on agricultural estates, although wage labor occurred as early as the sixteenth century.

Silver mining was the motor that drove the viceregal economy, and Viceroy Francisco de Toledo revolutionized the industry through the introduction of amalgamation and the mita. The mita endured throughout the colonial period, but wage labor had become equally important at Potosí by 1600. Many Indians apparently viewed wage labor as preferable to subsistence agriculture and the oppression of *corregidores de indios* and others in the villages. The rise of wage labor in the mines and on the estates was caused, in part, by the demographic collapse of the native population and the inability of officials to supply forced labor. Thus population decline apparently did not cause a retrenchment or a falling back on feudalistic forms of production but a movement toward more capitalistic forms of production.

Peru experienced an administrative and fiscal crisis during the seventeenth century, but it remains undetermined if Peru also suffered an economic crisis. Treasury records probably do not hold the answer, nor is there any obvious way of calculating production and income for all major economic activities. Innovative research will be required to solve this problem.

More regional studies would be useful as well, especially for populous areas that have undergone economic change. We also need comprehensive mining studies, especially for Potosí and Huancavelica, and a modern biography of Francisco de Toledo, the most important official of his time. Most studies of native resistance have focused on the great rebellion of Túpac Amaru II of 1780, a logical choice, but other important rebellions and rebels deserve extended analysis, as do non-violent forms of resistance. These brief suggestions represent only some of the more obvious topics that remain to be covered in the area of Peruvian colonial history.

NOTES

1. John V. Murra, "The Economic Organization of the Inca State," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1956, now available as *La organización económica del estado Inca* (Mexico City: 1978). See also John H. Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," *Handbook of South American Indians*, edited by Julian Steward (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1946), 2:183–330; George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," *Handbook of South American Indians* 2:331–411; Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Las minas de Huancavelica en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Seville: 1949); Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Huancavelica Mercury Mine: A Contribution to the History of the Bourbon Renaissance in the Spanish Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1941); and Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, "Lima y Buenos Aires: repercusiones económicas y políticas de la creación del Virreinato del Plata," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 3 (1946):669–874.

2. For a review of much of the recent literature on rural history, see Eric Van Young, "Mexican Rural History since Chevalier: The Historiography of the Colonial Hacienda," *LARR* 18, no. 3 (1983):5–61.
3. For example, see John V. Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: 1975); Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima: 1975); Franklin Pease G. Y., *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú* (Lima: 1978); Karen Spalding, *Huarochiri: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: 1984); Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: 1982); Nathan Wachtel, *La visión des vaincus: les indiens du Pérou devant la conquête espagnole* (Paris: 1971); James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560* (Madison: 1968); Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford: 1974); Manuel Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista: el valle de Jequetepeque del siglo XVI al XX* (Lima: 1976); Robert G. Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change: The Emergence of the Hacienda System on the Peruvian Coast* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1976); Nicholas P. Cushner, *Lords of the Land: Sugar, Wine, and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600–1767* (Albany, N.Y.: 1980); and Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial: mercado interno, regiones y espacio económico* (Lima: 1982).