

ENCODED BEHAVIORS:
Society, the Church, and Cultural History in Early
Colonial Latin America

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- THE DEVIL IN THE NEW WORLD: THE IMPACT OF DIABOLISM IN NEW SPAIN.* By Fernando Cervantes. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1994. Pp. 182. \$22.50 cloth.)
- CRUZADOS, MARTIRES Y BEATOS: EMPLAZAMIENTOS DEL CUERPO COLONIAL.* By Mario Cesareo. (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1995. Pp. 201. \$32.95 cloth.)
- THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE SOUL IN ANCIENT MEXICO.* By Jill Leslie McKeever Furst. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995. Pp. 230. \$28.50 cloth.)
- ST. MARTIN DE PORRES: THE "LITTLE STORIES" AND THE SEMIOTICS OF CULTURE.* By Alex García-Rivera. (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1995. Pp. 142. \$17.00 paper.)
- THE CROSS AND THE SERPENT: RELIGIOUS REPRESSION AND RESURGENCE IN COLONIAL PERU.* By Nicholas Griffiths. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. Pp. 355. \$37.50 cloth.)
- LAW AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF AZTEC CULTURE, 1500–1700.* By Susan Kellogg. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. Pp. 285. \$37.95 cloth.)
- IDOLATRY AND ITS ENEMIES: COLONIAL ANDEAN RELIGION AND EXTIRPATION, 1640–1750.* By Kenneth Mills. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997. Pp. 337. \$55.00 cloth.)
- CEREMONIES OF POSSESSION IN EUROPE'S CONQUEST OF THE NEW WORLD, 1492–1640.* By Patricia Seed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. 199. \$54.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)

At first glance, this collection of works might seem to be the epitome of eclecticism. On considering them further, however, they exhibit several themes in common. All focus on the early and mid-colonial period, prior to 1750. Each deals with some facet of behavioral history, meaning here how a historic people behaved in a specific situation in the past. This approach is the logical extension of the history of mentalité in that institu-

tional and structural considerations are evaluated along with culturally determined behaviors. The manifestations of behavior considered here run the gamut from highly stylized behaviors pursued by representatives of European states on claiming “newly discovered lands” to the more ethereal considerations of the soul. Yet these are coded behaviors: actions that represent a reality that goes beyond the reality of the specific situation or actions that have meaning far beyond the immediate context. What makes all these works fascinating is that readers are allowed to glimpse details of the relationship between thought and action in events as recent as two hundred and fifty years ago and as distant as five centuries. Moreover, these books mark a significant new direction for scholarly inquiry.

Semiotics and Action

The work that takes readers the furthest back in time is Patricia Seed's *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World*. Nearly everyone is familiar with the Hollywood image of the Spanish conquistador in his half-armor and tights striding into the surf or onto the shore to claim a particular body of water or territory for the Spanish monarchs. Seed informs readers that that image is not entirely correct, that various European states took public possession of territory in significantly different ways. She compares the rites and rituals of the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French, the English, and the Dutch. This exercise is attractive in itself, but Seed's interest is not a simple fascination with comparative detail. She demonstrates that the elements of each country's possession rituals point back into the culture of that country and illuminate aspects that a particular culture considered meritorious and necessary. By the end, one can easily see that comparative colonial history is a necessary task if historians are to understand fully the colonial realities. Each colony differed significantly from the others. Even in their origins, the colonies responded to needs perceived by the leaders of the mother country.

Seed begins *Ceremonies of Possession* with a general overview and introduction to the theme. She contrasts the actions of the Spanish and the French as they took ritual possession of new lands. She discusses the geographical element in each country's area of influence. Indicative of the concerns of modern scholars, Seed spends a great deal of time considering the importance of the use of the vernacular among each of the conquering peoples and how their rites of possession responded to and reflected the grammar of their acts. The terms *discovery* and *possession* carry diverse connotations when one converses with an Englishman as opposed to a Spaniard. Rather than getting mired in the complexities of legal codes and legal histories, Seed recognizes that these legal systems are cultural constructs, and she therefore uses them as further examples of how the different states per-

ceived the act of possession. What was legally binding and definitive to one nation was totally incomprehensible, if not downright ridiculous, to another.

In the first chapter, Seed considers the acts of possession of the English. She concludes that the English were the least concerned with using ceremony to legitimize possession. Her introduction cites an English chronicler of the time of Sir Walter Drake and Queen Elizabeth I who disparaged the Portuguese practice of naming physical features without actively exploiting the land by building homes and other structures on it. This comment strikes at the heart of the difference. For the English, legal possession was demonstrated through construction, as they "pitched their dwelling" (p. 16). Some English expeditions also erected crosses, preached sermons, and disturbed the land, but all were united in constructing dwellings. Similarly, when seeking legal justification for possessing certain land, the English might have recourse to a broad range of arguments, but central to their justification was having erected dwellings, put up fences, and planted gardens. Thus occupying the land without a contesting claim from another quarter was sufficient to justify possession in the English mind. No flag needed to be unfurled, no drums beaten, no speeches made.

The second chapter of *Ceremonies of Possession* describes French acts of possession, which are striking indeed when considered following the understated English approach. For the French, the act of possession was literally a dramatic affair. They required processions, costumes, speeches, music, accouterments, and all the other flourishes of the dramatic arts. If the native peoples would participate, all the better. The natives were expected to witness the event and then consent to the conquest that had been dramatically portrayed before them. The erecting of crosses as part of a quasi-liturgical ceremony was highly significant to the French, especially when combined with raising the symbols of France. In these two acts, the French demonstrated to their own satisfaction that they were acting in the name of God and on behalf of their own monarch. This fealty to ceremony went back to the roots of the French monarchy and was thus a defining act for the French. In the conclusion to *Ceremonies of Possession*, Seed specifically addresses this issue. She notes that both French Catholics and French Protestants used similar ceremonial processions and dramatic acts to claim possession. Moreover, both sought to incorporate the "joyful participation" of the natives and recognition of their assent as central features of the ceremonials.

The Spanish approached the question of taking possession of new lands in a far different manner. Their ceremony was steeped in a tradition of conquest, as detailed in Seed's third chapter. When the Spanish took possession of a territory, they did so physically with all the trappings of conquest and military occupation. Their ceremonies reflected their own legal tradition but sought to clarify issues of war, not issues of peace. For Seed

the *Requerimiento* is a document that allows a better understanding of the Spanish response to new territories. In brief, the Requirement was a summary statement of Christian dogma and a condensed history of Spanish authority. It called on the native peoples to recognize the authority of the Spanish state and to embrace Christianity. It also warned that failure to do so could result in warfare against them. Seed hypothesizes that this curious document arose from Spain's long occupation by the Muslims. The Muslim legal tradition popular in Spain during the occupation held that before a holy war could be mounted, it was necessary to announce that intention to the faithless and call on them to submit. These same elements were present in the Requirement. Although many Spaniards questioned the efficacy of the Requirement as well as the justice behind it, it remained the norm for several decades because it spoke strongly to those in power in the Spanish bureaucracy.

Seed's discussion of Spanish acts of possession thus focuses on one specific document, the Requirement, which was utilized haphazardly at best in the major conquests and discoveries of the Spanish. Yet the Spanish had a far richer repertoire of ceremonies than Seed presents. The most touching can be perceived in chronicles and documents as mundane as property deeds. The common acts of possession included pulling up weeds, cutting branches off trees, and ceremonially tilling the soil. These acts hark back strongly to the rural and agricultural base of Spanish civilization and vaguely resemble the English fenced gardens. Yet they were legal possession ceremonies used to demonstrate occupation of specific parcels, although they were often modified to serve for larger events such as conquest and settlement. It is unfortunate that Seed does not discuss the full range of ceremonies.

One would think that two peoples with as shared a history and language base as the Spanish and the Portuguese might pursue similar ceremonies of possession. But as Seed points out, this was not the case. For the Portuguese, possession was accomplished through measurement and the scientific description of the new place. Unique among the Europeans, the Portuguese held that merely discovering and defining a place were sufficient to lay claim to it, regardless of whether or not they actively exploited the territory. This concern over scientific measurement and description responded to a feature of Portuguese development in the first decades of the early modern era. Under the leadership of the Infante dom Enrique (Henry the Navigator), Portugal amassed the largest body of scientific knowledge about sailing and world geography in the West, drawing heavily on Arab and Jewish medieval scholarship. This dedication to scientific knowledge and detail gave the Portuguese the technological upper hand in the early phases of European expansion. They then used this expertise as the basis on which they would lay claim to the lands they discovered.

The last of the powers to be considered is the Dutch. Seed explains

that the Dutch were not only successful merchants, it was their commerce that defined for them true possession of overseas territory. Although they followed in the wake of the Portuguese, they did so with a precision that exceeded their competitors. The Dutch ventured forth in search of commerce, rather than lands or peoples. Consequently, the acts that validated Dutch possession of a place were related to the commerce they planned to bring to it. Conducting trade was central to the Dutch vision of possession and was confirmed by raising coats of arms and other rituals of possession. The acts of navigating and compiling a detailed description of it also served to secure clear claim for the Dutch. Their sovereignty was thus confirmed by writing, charters, licenses, descriptions, and drawings. The Dutch also imposed their own place names, normally rejecting others' names for places in contention.

Seed's conclusion points out that the basis for much European contention over territories in the New World had been rooted in the inability of one nation to recognize as legitimate and authoritative the possession of another. All these actions were cultural signs and required interpretation by one familiar with the semiotics of the creating nation. They were even less intelligible than language itself. Seed perceives in this diversity the roots of differences that continue to this day. The age of European expansion was not a single and monolithic event but a period made up of many discrete events. The European states that participated in the expansion did not even conceive of it similarly, so how could their goals and aspirations have been unitary? Seed thus arouses our curiosity about the behavioral issues related to overseas expansion. She seeks to answer the question, "Why did they behave the way they did?" And the answer proves to be different for each nationality. The varying behaviors helped determine what the nature of the overseas empire was for each country. For the Spanish, empire was based on conquest, taxation, and relatively tight political control. The French seemed inclined to seek the friendship of the native peoples, to display dramatically the superiority of French culture. The British built their homes, planted and fenced their gardens, and sought to survive in this manner. The Dutch sought trade and made their claim on the basis of detailed descriptions. Yet Seed focuses on the grand imperial rituals that made up only a small part of the manner in which nations manifested their possession of place. The many smaller mundane rituals are equally telling and probably manifest more about the conception of possession in everyday life.

Two other works deal with issues of semiotics: Alex García-Rivera's *St. Martín de Porres: The "Little Stories" and the Semiotics of Culture*, and Mario Cesareo's *Cruzados, mártires y beatos: Emplazamientos del cuerpo colonial*. As a theologian, García-Rivera takes a different methodological approach than a historian might to the same material. He considers the quotidian stories that formed a part of the hagiography of San Martín and how

they reflect the semiotics of culture as well as the theological truth behind the life of this saint. He consequently examines the coded messages inside the stories of St Martín and their theological import, asking the question, how does God's truth become manifest in the San Martín stories? For historians, this is a fascinating exercise but not without its frustrations. The stories are taken not as evidence of actions in the past but for their theological significance—how they point to divine truth.

García-Rivera divides *St. Martín de Porres* into eight chapters. The first chapter serves as an overall introduction, defining the "big story" and the "little story." For García-Rivera, the big story consists of the set of universal principles that describe the reality of the cosmos. This story is normally narrated by a scholar, whether a scientist or a theologian. Often it describes a particular aspect of reality and is understood only by another specialist in that field. The little story, in contrast, tells of reality but within the scheme of everyday existence, and is recounted by specialists and non-specialists alike. In the biographical details brought together for the canonization of San Martín, García-Rivera perceives a significant collection of seventeenth-century little stories. He finds them significant because San Martín represented not the commonly accepted model of power and authority but rather the opposite, an illegitimate *mulato* who lived in Lima on the margins of the accepted ecclesiastical authority of the time.

The little stories form the core of García-Rivera's study of San Martín. The second chapter explains how one finds the "little stories" within the corpus of material collected for canonization, a process completed in 1962 when San Martín was proclaimed a saint by Pope John XXIII. The concept of the "little story" is embedded in modern notions of popular religion and in the postmodernist theories of Antonio Gramsci. In this kind of reading, San Martín takes on the ability to reflect the subaltern who subverts the hegemony of the ruling system. Thus the stories told about him embodied the popular faith of a subaltern looking beyond the hegemony to a true human reality. In terms of an older methodology that borrows from psychology, San Martín provided something beyond passive resistance, embodying an active resistance that was expressed passively. García-Rivera reaches a working definition of popular religion as "a site, or a series of sites, in which faith is challenged, interpreted, and made one's own" (p. 20). Consequently, he views the collection of testimony within the canonization process as the site where faith could be challenged and made one's own. In this case, the example of San Martín was objectified.

Having determined the nature and role of the "little story," García-Rivera takes the reader through the process of interpreting it. The semiotics of culture is the cornerstone of this activity. Each culture has coded expressions that define and describe it. For the theologian, it is necessary to "unpack" or decipher these codes in which reality is described in each "little story" to understand the cultural meaning. Unfortunately, these codes are

culturally oriented, and what is clear and unequivocal to one culture might well be unintelligible to another. Yet members of a minority group within a dominant culture can interpret the codes of the dominant culture, which they must understand or face severe consequences, and they can also interpret the codes of their own culture. In this sense, minority group members are multilingual in decoding the semiotics of culture.

Each story exists as a tile in a mosaic that makes up the whole of the culture. The spaces between the tiles also express meaning in the relationship between the two concepts represented by the tiles. To interpret this reality, García-Rivera identifies nine steps. The first is to pick an audience or perspective from which to interpret, whether internal or external to the action, and the actor-speaker or the recipient-listener. In *St. Martín de Porres*, he has chosen the perspective of the external hearer. Next, one locates the cultural mosaic, inventories the signs encompassed there, and then identifies the recurring metaphors, the binary opposites, and the codes at work in the mosaic. Then one needs to identify the metaphorical map of the mosaic, identify the binary parallels, and finally consider the sociohistorical dimensions. All these steps together help to interpret the "little story" and carry the reader into the "big story" that it represents.

The unequal clash of cultures forms the core of García-Rivera's fourth chapter, a theological recapitulation of the debates in Spain on the nature of the natives of the New World. The result of the debates was the recognition of indigenous peoples as fully human, capable of embracing the Gospel, and eager to do so. But the confrontation of the Old World with the New was one of inequality, of domination and hegemony. From this confrontation came a new multifaceted, multitiered society made up of the dominant culture and multiple subaltern cultures, many of which were mestizo in nature as mixtures of native and European, African and European, or African and native.

The next three chapters of *St. Martín de Porres* focus on the actual stories collected concerning San Martín. All tend to focus on certain themes and utilize special metaphors. A common one is an animal, frequently a dog, a cat, or a mouse, or all three together. Other metaphors are ladders and illness. They all point toward the theological reality beyond San Martín, to God and his call to us and our relationship with one another. García-Rivera unpacks these stories using the method described above, remaining faithful to his interpretation of the decoding of the signals of the culture.

García-Rivera closes *St. Martín de Porres* with "An Anthropology of Creatureliness," in which he describes the big-story reality to which the little stories about San Martín point. García-Rivera views these stories as depicting the Kingdom of Heaven: a sacramental fellowship of asymmetric social beings, not hierarchical, just different. According to this view, every human being is a creature of God, different from others but having the ability to serve others and share the same meal.

Other disciplines would take issue with several aspects of García-Rivera's work. Although one of the nine steps of unpacking the story includes understanding the sociohistorical reality, García-Rivera does so only in the most general way by considering the institutional norms debated in Valladolid. Nowhere does he attempt to comprehend Lima society as it existed in the early seventeenth century, aside from generalizing that it was hierarchical, based on force, and divided ethnically. Second, he unpacks the metaphors (deciphers the codes) in a methodological vacuum, relying solely on his own interpretational skills and efforts to find the saintly message. Unfortunately, this approach leads him to conclude that the images of saintliness are images of saintliness, which he then interprets in the way that he perceives saintliness, which is defined by our own postmodern era. That is, García-Rivera reads seventeenth-century codes with twentieth-century interpretations. For theology, this approach is fine and undoubtedly important. For historians, it is disquieting.

The semiotics that García-Rivera investigates did not exist in a cultural vacuum. That culture was filled with individuals who expressed themselves in the same codes—the artists of the period, whether painters and sculptors or poets and other writers. García-Rivera essentially ignores this other interpretational mode in seeking the meaning of his codes. For example, many of the metaphors used to describe San Martín include dogs. This metaphor is central to García-Rivera's "Anthropology of Creatureliness." Although he mentions the fact only in passing, the dog is a key symbol of the Dominican order (with which San Martín was affiliated). The Dominicans were in fact symbolized iconographically by a dog carrying a firebrand, representing faithfulness. They were (to use a Latin pun) *domini canus*, the dogs of God. Small wonder then that the dog becomes an important metaphor in describing San Martín. Thus although García-Rivera has gone far in interpreting the stories of San Martín, the field is still ready to be harvested by others who bring their own methodological interpretations to the material, and even more ripe for the analyst capable of reading the signs on all different levels of meaning to attempt a holistic interpretation faithful to the historical period.

García-Rivera's bibliography is equally interesting, containing more references on European value systems than on Peruvian history. The historical works listed tend to be very general works, such as Mark Burkholder and Lyman Johnson's textbook, Susan Socolow and Louisa Hobermann's collection of essays on the city, and some curious works like Miguel León Portilla's *Broken Spears*, made up of Nahuatl accounts of the conquest. Absent are any works by Sabine MacCormack or Rubén Vargas Ugarte.

Mario Cesareo's *Cruzados, mártires y beatos: Emplazamientos del cuerpo colonial* approaches the semiotics of culture from a literary perspective. He examines specifically the writings of four authors to discover the tension between the aesthetic of martyrdom and the aesthetic of holiness. For him,

the Iberians were unable to utilize fully crusade discourse as a motive force in the colonial world following the "spiritual conquest." Instead, the discourse that evolved to justify the newly established hegemony became a mixed discourse of martyrdom and holiness. Cesareo perceives this trend in the works of João Lucena (1550–1602), St. Francis Xavier (1506–1562), Gerónimo de Mendieta (1634–1604), and Alonso de Sandoval (d. 1652). The first two represent the aesthetic of martyrdom, the second two the aesthetic of holiness.

Cesareo begins with a detailed introduction to the concepts to be used in the book. He likens the colonial experience to a spectacle: an artificial reality in which characters parade in masks, a world directed by poorly hidden interests. Consequently, the reality must be interpreted because of the constructed metaphorical reality between the sign and its referent. In many ways, this approach parallels what García-Rivera was describing as the little-story description, which Cesareo broadens to include society as a whole. The body thus becomes the metaphor for describing both the individual and the whole. Within that description emerges the two aesthetics of martyrdom and of holiness. The aesthetic of martyrdom takes the missionary adventure and corporealizes it, making it both a spectacle and a vocation. The aesthetic of holiness, in contrast, is anchored in a materiality that reflects on the crisis of the missionary activity when its utopian goals are not accomplished. This aesthetic must then look beyond the actual reality for the sought-after utopia.

Cesareo discovered the aesthetic of martyrdom in studying Jesuit martyr Francis Xavier and his biographer Lucena. This colonial experience is Eastern in orientation but Portuguese in flavor. Cesareo bases his study on Lucena's biography of Francis Xavier (1600), which became one of the most popular hagiographies of the seventeenth century. Curiously, Lucena never left Portugal, seeking to understand the life of the Jesuit martyr through those who knew him and the documents available. Lucena began with the crusade as his guiding metaphor for the Christianization of the Orient but had to reject that in favor of the martyrdom of Francis Xavier. This martyrdom converted him into a relic that would serve as the point of departure for the epiphany, the manifestation of God on earth. Yet Francis Xavier himself took on the role of martyr as his vocation, his calling. He moved beyond crusade discourse into a new reality of overseas exploration, in which he followed as a missionary. It was a commercial empire with ecclesiastical implications. For Francis Xavier, death became the only truly sacred reality.

In the duality of Sandoval and Mendieta, far different realities are at play. At the most basic level, it is an American reality rather than an Oriental one. Spanish Franciscan chronicler Gerónimo de Mendieta recounted the history of the spiritual conquest of Mexico as an expression of the history of the salvation of the world. But he also looked back on a utopia lost.

Mendieta then converted that redemptive history into an allegory to teach his and future generations about the establishment of God's kingdom. It was nevertheless a reselection of specific events of America, specifically Mexico. Mendieta projected a vision that the missionaries through their own bodies and acts manifested the holiness necessary to bring about the transformation of the world.

Sandoval, a Jesuit stationed in Cartagena, focused his attention on the issue of African slavery in the New World. Cesareo perceives Sandoval's work as refuting the claims made against Africans as slaves. He asserted that the Africans were the antithesis of those claims. It was the Europeans who manifested all that they projected onto the Africans. The Catholic Church was not antithetical to commerce but represented commerce itself, with priests and friars being the miners and merchants in the commerce of souls. The cannibals were not the Africans but the Christians, as evidenced in the Eucharist. The Africans viewed baptism as merely a precursor to their own consumption in the maw of the European expansion. The evangelizing effort again became commerce in souls, with Christ as the merchant and the missionaries as his agents.

Cesareo's reading of these four authors is evocative in analyzing the texts closely from a literary-theological point of view. Unfortunately, *Cruzados, mártires y beatos* tends to be disjointed: four essays that only partially come together to form a whole. The dense arguments require extreme patience but generate enlightenment of the issues. Perhaps most unnerving is that Cesareo in his attempt to read the texts closely indicates little if any familiarity with much of the secondary literature. For example, nowhere in the chapter on Mendieta or in the bibliography is any mention made of John Leddy Phelan's important study, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans*, a close reading and interpretation of Mendieta's *Historia eclesiástica indiana*. Moreover, the entire bibliography for the Franciscan missionary endeavor of Mexico is absent, with only the chronicles themselves represented. Similarly, Sandoval in Cartagena is represented only by his own work, the *cartas annuas* of the Jesuits, and a single secondary source. Cesareo needs to test his hypothesis against what others have already written in order to demonstrate its superiority.

Nahua Culture and the Impact of Spanish Hegemony

The works of Jill McKeever Furst and Fernando Cervantes go well together. She considers the nature of the soul in pre-Hispanic Mexico, while he delves into the issue of diabolism after the conquest. They are reflections of one another darkly, through the mirror of the conquest.

Furst's *Natural History of the Soul in Ancient Mexico* is simply fascinating. The book takes as its point of departure earlier works by Alfredo López Austin and Bernardo Ortiz Montellano on Nahua notions of the

body and Nahua medicine but goes beyond them to deal with an issue that early missionaries found intractable—the soul. Furst helps resolve the confusion of the friars by demonstrating that unlike the missionaries' unitary concept of the soul, the Nahua conceived of three types of soul: *yolia*, *tonalli*, and *ihiyotl*. *Yolia* is related to the vital spirit of the heart; *tonalli* is related to the spirit that one gains through birth and its calendrical implications; and *ihiyotl* is related to breath and the spirit of wind. Thus all have features of the Western concept of the soul, but each has unique Nahua aspects.

Furst divides her study into three parts, one for each of the Nahua aspects of the soul. The book ends with a significant set of conclusions described as a postscript. The first part elaborates on the *yolia*, which comes from the Nahua word for heart, *yolli* or *yollotl*. The *yolli* is the concept of heart as vital organ often invoked in metaphorical speech. The *yollotl* is the actual physical organ. Unlike the physical organ, the *yolia* continues to exist after death. In many modern Nahua communities, this term has become associated with the Christian soul's existence after death in heaven or hell, places not part of the ancient Nahua belief system. The *yolia* is also associated with a real bird, and by extension with the souls of infants. Infants who died before having been weaned were thought by the Nahua to go to an afterlife where they fed much like hummingbirds from a life-giving tree. Other conceptions of this afterlife envision the infant souls suckling from a life-giving tree where they await the repopulation of the world after the next cataclysm. Some modern Nahua groups also envision the soul as a bird, but possibly through association with the Holy Spirit, which is frequently portrayed as a dove. The *yolia* is also referred to as breath, due to the early association of the beating heart with respiration. Thus in cold weather when one can see respiration, the Nahua considered it the visible sign of the presence of the *yolia*. Static electricity, St. Elmo's fire, and other electrical discharges were also associated with the *yolia*. In opposition to these images, the *yolia* was also conceived of as a stone. After death in pre-Columbian rituals, when a body was cremated, the priests would add a stone to serve as the heart. It would thus attract the spiritual heart and keep it with the remains, rather than allowing it to wander and disturb the living.

The *tonalli* is one of the more frequently noted aspects of the soul in early Spanish writings. The word *tonalli* is a modern construct because in classical Nahuatl the stem *-tonal-* could not exist in an unpossessed form. It had to be somebody's *tonal*. The *tonalli* was the portion allotted to the person by the gods, apportioned when they ignited the fire of life in the body. The *tonalli* in that context came to be seen as the breath of existence, allotted to the individual. This animating force became associated with the dropping of the unborn infant in utero in anticipation of birth, and thus by extension with the actual day of birth. Because it was part of the vital force, the *tonalli* also became associated with the drill used for making fire. The gods used this drill to ignite the vital force in the chest of man, just as the

priests used it to ignite the sacred fire in the chest of the sacrificial victim during the New Fire ceremony every fifty-two years.

Tonalli also became associated with precious stones and rich dress. The most common form of tonalli was the astrological significance of the day on which a child was born. The signs associated with it became the child's tonalli, often characterized by an animal or spiritual double. Twins were considered as sharing a tonalli. Identical twins were especially regarded as lacking a full component of tonalli. Fraternal twins were viewed with some concern because many of the trickster legends involved fraternal twins: one good, one bad; one handsome, one ugly.

Tonalli was also associated with heat, and thus twins were believed to lack a full complement of heat. The Nahua were concerned about keeping the internal fire of vitality stoked from the time a child was born until he or she reached puberty. Adolescent sexual behavior was regarded with some fear because sexual activity was believed to generate heat. Before the adult tonalli was fully formed, any loss of heat could damage the growth process, leaving the person with insufficient heat to reach maturity. Under certain circumstances, even the adult tonalli could be lost, but it could also be regained. Shock causes a drop in body temperature that can lead to death. Such an occurrence was regarded as a loss of tonalli. Similarly, the body temperature tends to decline with age. The Nahua associated this tendency with the eventual loss of vital body force (tonalli) as part of the aging process.

The last of the three manifestations of the soul was *ihiyotl*, associated with wind and breath. In early accounts, this manifestation of the soul was also called *ehecatl*, also meaning wind, and was personified by one aspect of Quetzalcoatl. Winds were considered both deities and spirits of the dead. In its relationship to breath, *ihiyotl* also became associated with words, given that speaking and breathing are physiologically similar. Some of the most powerful spirits associated with *ihiyotl* were the glowing gases that emanated from swamps. Any fetid smelly gas, including intestinal gas, became associated with *ihiyotl*. The decomposing of dead bodies from within, which also produces foul-smelling gases, was identified with the loss of the *ihiyotl* soul.

Furst has collected all the available evidence on the issue of the soul and deserves great credit for having made the distinction between these three similar but different concepts. Her work is a complex weaving of materials from the immediate pre-Columbian past, the early colonial period, and modern ethnographic accounts of related peoples. Furst has used modern ethnography judiciously, but a word of caution is needed. Cultural similarity over four centuries does not necessarily mean continuity. Although Furst has used modern data in a closely reasoned manner, discrepancies can still enter in and thus undermine the overall strength of her argument. But until such time as scholars conclude that the continuity of

belief is not present, Furst has done a sufficient job to trace the elements through time.

Throughout *The Natural History of the Soul*, Furst is careful to include scientific evidence of many of the manifestations that she presents. She carefully considers the climate, ecology, and general environment in which the Nahua people lived to provide the rich background for their observations of nature and the human body.

This book is linked to the others in its close reading of the documentary evidence and a real concern for language. Furst has used Nahuatl as a tool to help decipher the nuances of cultural traits. The language carries within itself the code for its understanding. She has worked hard to decipher the language in its cultural context, not unlike García-Rivera and Cesareo. Her study also deals with the core belief system of the Nahua. *The Natural History of the Soul* will provide scholars with an excellent account of the groundwork on which Christian missionaries had to build their evangelization. It is thus highly useful to anthropologists and ethnographers as well as to ethnohistorians and historians of the colonial period.

Moving to the period of the evangelization and the conflict of two cultures, Fernando Cervantes has written an intriguing study, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain*. The spiritual conquest as the clash of two cultural systems provided ample opportunity for misunderstanding on both sides of the dialogue. One concept that the Europeans brought with them was the Devil. The practices that they witnessed among the natives of New Spain frequently elicited the response that they had been inspired by the Devil. Cervantes analyzes the roots of this reaction and traces the concept of diabolism throughout the colonial period in New Spain. This work is thus an analysis of the workings of popular culture. While the controlling hegemony participated actively in the legal and institutional conceptualization of the Devil, popular culture outpaced the official ideologies. In many ways, Cervantes's study analyzes the interplay between the hegemony and the continuing evolution of popular culture.

Cervantes divides his study into five chapters bracketed by an introduction and an epilogue. The work begins with an overview of the Devil and his perceived relationship to the Amerindian peoples. Cervantes starts by examining the fanciful visions the Europeans had of the peoples of the New World. By the time Hernán Cortés arrived in Mexico, the Spaniards had already experienced many oddities. Yet also by that time, the triple goals of God, gold, and glory had been well defined. The pursuit of souls for the Christian God provided the basis for Spanish conceptualization of the Devil among the natives. The early Franciscan missionaries arrived full of millenarian zeal. Within a few decades, however, they became disillusioned by the perceived failure of the natives to embrace Christianity with the expected enthusiasm. The Devil became an easy explanation for this perceived failure. Several Franciscan theorists even held that rather than

being simpletons duped by the Evil One, the natives had to be considered as actively worshipping and aiding the Devil. Yet leading Jesuits held that the natives were capable and willing to embrace Christianity but must be allowed to build on the good already present in their culture.

The second chapter of *The Devil in the New World* considers the native responses to the Europeans' discovery of the Devil among them. The natives were far from passive in the Nahua-Christian moral dialogue known as the spiritual conquest. They were trying actively to understand what the Europeans were preaching, but in terms of their own cultural codes. The duality of good and evil, with God being totally good, the Devil totally evil was for the Mesoamericans an absurd prospect. Their deities were combinations of good and evil. There was less opposition on the part of the natives to the Christian god than a slow process of incorporation. Christianity itself, coming from Spain, had a large component of magic and local Spanish tradition. The result was an even more hybridized form of religion. Yet many friars continued to teach not acculturation but contrast. What the natives finally accepted was what Cervantes calls "an ascetic otherworldliness and corporate liturgical expression" (p. 64). Against this backdrop, Cervantes finds it perfectly understandable that no widespread rebellions erupted among the natives of central Mexico aimed at rejecting Christianity or Christian identity.

Cervantes deals in the third chapter with what he calls "the demimonde." As Christianity became more widely accepted, even if in variant forms based on local traditions, a reaction to its spread emerged. The oppressed in some locations turned to the Devil and demonic practices as a means of fighting the dominant culture. Although slaves were often accused of demonic pacts and demonic practices by the Spanish Inquisition, few were actually convicted. Yet among the mestizos and mulatos generally, a tendency existed to turn impetuously to the Devil in extreme circumstances. Moreover, evidence of diabolism was most widespread among the marginal occupational groups such as shepherds and cowherds. Yet these individuals were all too often wracked by a sense of guilt that led them to confess their sins and seek reincorporation into the larger society. They sought power, wealth, and sexual favors by utilizing a counterhegemonic power source, only to renounce that eventually and reembrace the hegemony. All these were external acts and external rewards and punishments.

The interior world of the soul and the private conflict with the Devil are the themes of the fourth chapter. It was believed by some missionaries that the Devil, unable to win over large groups, turned to individual souls. Yet the Inquisitors charged with controlling the spread of heresy more often than not pitied the possessed. Possession was even viewed as a part of God's divine plan, allowing the Devil to torment a soul for the purpose of perfection. This chapter is filled with instances of individuals perceived as suffering from diabolical possession and an analysis of their cases. They

were the ones who suffered spiritually rather than those who rebelled against the established order.

The final chapter of *The Devil in the New World* deals with the decline of diabolism in New Spain. As can be gleaned from the previous discussion, the Inquisition and society in general became less likely to give full credence to demonic possession as time passed. In the late sixteenth century, the Inquisitors seemed to be obsessed with diabolism, but within fifty years, they largely ignored cases forwarded to them on this issue. This shift in attitude marked a new view of the Devil, one at odds with the traditional Christian view. The Devil was an individual tormentor—a creature of God, yet the cause of evil. An omnipotent God had to have control over the Devil as well. The theological world was also changing rapidly with the rise of Jansenism, which repudiated much of the baroque and brought in a new devil. This devil sought to delude the intellectual, to ensnare the literate into unbelief.

Cervantes slowly traces the concept of the Devil in New Spain by using the tools of intellectual history as well as the records of the Inquisition. He succeeds in explaining the Devil as envisioned in both the popular imagination and the conceptualizations of the learned. The Devil was a cultural referent that underwent significant changes over three hundred years, and Cervantes has helped to map them. Unless scholars are aware of how the Devil was conceived at a given point in time, they can draw erroneous conclusions from specific incidents. Thus Cervantes's work will serve as an important tool for others investigating the popular culture and religious environment of colonial Mexico.

Susan Kellogg chose a far different task in *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500–1700*. Despite its title, the major contribution of this work is the study of the transformation of the status of women from Aztec times until 1700. To summarize, she concludes that Nahua women enjoyed a significantly more influential role in pre-Columbian society than they did after the conquest. The entire early colonial period manifested a slow erosion of the status of women. Others may wish to quibble with Kellogg about some of her sources or some of the details along the way, but in general the path she has marked out seems to be a true one.

First of all, it would have been preferable to refer to Nahua culture, or even Mexica culture, but Kellogg chose the older and more common term *Aztec*. She clarifies this point at the outset, noting that she is actually referring to the Mexica. The book is divided into two large halves, the first entitled "Sources and Legal Texts," the second "The Social History of Everyday Life." Kellogg's research relies heavily on documents generated by the Spanish legal system, a fitting choice because she is examining the impact of that system on the larger Mexica society. Important documentation includes wills and civil suits over property, some of the most numerous sources available for the early colonial period.

The first chapter discusses the social structure of the Mexica and the Spanish as they pertain to the drama of the courtroom. Kellogg attempts to demonstrate the dramatic nature of the legal proceedings and the documents with which she worked. The litigants, scribes, judges, and other participants are viewed as *dramatis personae*. She finds native society fairly well represented in the documentation in general, including women, the nobility, and the humble classes.

Kellogg continues her view of the historical record as the basis for drama, considering the narratives embedded in the texts. She argues for a cultural interpretation of the texts. According to her research, the arguments brought to bear in the courtroom changed over time. In the early period, arguments based fully in Mexican cultural expectations were prevalent, but by the end of the period under study, arguments based on Spanish traditions had become more common. Unfortunately, these discussions are based on a relatively thin documentary base: a total of seventy-three cases, fifty-five from the sixteenth century and only eighteen cases from the seventeenth.

The second section of *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture* focuses more on the individuals and cases than on the documentary evidence itself. The third chapter forms the core of Kellogg's findings in tracing the changes that Spanish law brought about in women's roles. She finds that women were far more likely to initiate court proceedings early in the colonial period than nearer 1700. By the late seventeenth century, women had nearly ceased to be direct litigants, with suits brought on their behalf by their spouses. Kellogg posits that in pre-conquest times, a gender parallelism pervaded Nahuatl culture. At the same time, complementarity and exclusivity marked gender roles, in which some roles were reserved for women but in a context in which those roles complemented masculine-dominated roles. The imposition of Spanish rule created an increasing bifurcation of society between male and female activities and the creation of women's domain, women's roles. Activities external to the nuclear household became part of the male domain.

In the fourth chapter, Kellogg focuses on wills and property and their implications regarding social roles. The basis is a study of sixty-three wills made by natives, fairly evenly divided between men and women, along with twenty-four wills drawn up by Spaniards. Kellogg compares these with various printed sources and other analyses of wills by S. L. Cline and others. Although Kellogg does not accept a pre-Columbian model for native wills, she concludes that they underwent significant change in the one hundred and fifty years studied. Early wills bequeathed possessions and property to an array of individuals. Late-seventeenth-century wills were far more lineal in their bequests, tending to favor a smaller group of persons, usually immediate relatives. These wills allow historians to look into the social structure in which the individuals lived. The wills demon-

strate growing impoverishment of natives despite the success of a few families in integrating themselves into the new urban environment. Households became smaller and less complex. The exercise of parallel authority between men and women declined, while the power and authority of men increased.

Finally, Kellogg explores the relationship between the implementation of Spanish law and the changing indigenous family structure. Drawing on the evidence of wills and lawsuits, she concludes that a significant change occurred in the everyday life of the Mexica. Parallelism in gender roles was replaced by male dominance. A family system that valued siblings and intergenerational ties was replaced by a more rigid patriarchal system. A clear distinction arose between domestic and public domains and the division of gender roles between them. In the end, the Mexica moderated the imposition of Hispanic culture, modifying their own culture to conform to varying degrees with the culture of the conquerors while maintaining a significant Mexica flavor. This modification of culture was accomplished through coercion by the dominant culture. Mexica litigants found that their cases in the Spanish courts were far more successful if they acceded to Spanish expectations regarding inheritance, gender roles, and family structure.

Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture will surely stimulate further research on these topics. While the overall conclusions seem well grounded, certain shortcomings should be noted. Kellogg probably places too much emphasis on the parallelism of societal function between males and females in the pre-contact era. While a few female hierarchies existed, seen most clearly in the cults administered by women, this was undoubtedly a male-dominated society. There might be vestiges of an even older societal norm in such offices as the *cihuacoatl*, or female snake, the title of the second-most-powerful office in the Aztec Empire.

The documentary basis on which Kellogg erected her conclusions is thin: seventy-three lawsuits and sixty-five wills covering nearly one hundred and fifty years of colonial domination (her study effectively begins in 1550, not 1500). This number is simply too small to draw hard-and-fast conclusions. While the documents evoke powerful images and Kellogg has made excellent use of the material, the sum is not enough to prove a case definitively. A smaller limitation is her use of genealogical charts, which lack any detailed explanation of the various symbols and how they reflect the situations described in the text.

Like all the authors considered here, Kellogg is dealing with semiotics. In *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture*, the code is that of the family and family structure. Relationships meant one thing to the Mexica, and a far different thing to the Spanish. Members of a culture almost intuitively understand the societal divisions of the place where they live and the people they live with. Yet other societies have different norms that are

equally logical and intuitive to them. Kellogg attempts to decode these relationships and determine how the Mexica modified their social structure to bring it more in line with the Spanish.

The Extirpation of Peruvian Idolatry

The two final works to be considered are remarkable in that they ostensibly deal with the same material but in two distinct ways, each offering valuable insights into the extirpation of idolatry in colonial Peru. Pierre Duviols first coined the term *extirpation* to characterize the wave of repression that swept through the Andes in the seventeenth century as clerics and others sought to root out pagan beliefs and practices. The height of the extirpation occurred during the early seventeenth century, when Father Francisco de Avila subjected the village of Huarochiri to his inquisitorial scrutiny. Subsequent waves of anti-pagan fervor swept the Peruvian region but tended to ebb after about 1660.

In *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru*, Nicholas Griffiths attempts to comprehend the themes underlying the extirpation campaigns across more than two centuries. He begins by recounting a tale of a snake that appeared in the flames consuming a building that housed a pre-Columbian oracle. The Christian observers deduced that it was a sure sign of the Devil. The Andean observers granted the scene supernatural value but came to a different conclusion: it was a sign of the revitalization of the indigenous spiritual world.

Griffiths's book can be subdivided into three parts. The first part (the first chapter) considers extirpation to have been repression, looking at instances from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The second part consists of four chapters that survey the seventeenth-century extirpation, with judicious use of sixteenth-century material, in an attempt to study the targets of the repression and its dynamics. Some chapters deal with *hechiceros* and shamans. The fourth chapter studies the power relationships among the local parish priest, the *kuraka*, and the chief native religious figure. The fifth chapter assesses the shift of native religious focus from "the idols" that became the target of Christian repression to the natural features of the land, which were beyond the repressive range of the extirpators. The last section (the last chapter) studies a rather late extirpation campaign in 1725.

The introduction to *The Cross and the Serpent* presents the major outlines of his interest. Griffiths pays particular attention to the distinction between *hechicería* and *brujería*, with additional comments on apostasy, idolatry, and superstition. These concepts, although closely linked in the modern mind, were by no means synonymous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A *brujo* was an apostate who had rejected God through a compact with the Devil and thus exercised magical powers. An *hechicero* merely exercised magic by manipulating special tools and objects. Super-

stition was considered to be an excess of religious fervor, worshipping God through an inappropriate means. Idolatry meant worshipping idols or ascribing the powers of God to inanimate objects. Griffiths holds that in the period under study, the differences between idolatry and superstition became blurred. He also posits that Christianity was reinterpreted in the Andean context, while European Christians absorbed some native traditions. The result was an Andean syncretic Christianity with two spheres: nativized Christianity and a Christianized native religion. In the native community, the public practice of native religious traditions was targeted first (private practices were far more difficult to root out). In the end, native practices did not withstand the onslaught of Christianity in the public sphere. But “within its own reduced sphere, the distinctive logic and conception of reality” of the native religious tradition were renewed (p. 28).

In discussing the extirpation as repression, Griffiths notes that while natives were specifically exempted from the jurisdiction of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, when the extirpation began, it was consciously patterned after the earlier institution. The motive force behind the extirpation was not a response to the native community. No widespread waves of idolatry or superstition broke out among Andean natives in the periods from 1609 to 1622 or from 1649 to 1670. Rather, these periods correspond to developments within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. They resulted from the initiatives of archbishops sitting in Lima. The campaigns declined after 1660 due to a lack of centralized support for the efforts of the extirpators.

One Spanish response in the Andean context was to redefine the categories of idolatry and superstition. In medieval thought, the two were rather different, but by the sixteenth century in the Andes, they became conflated. Moreover, the Devil came to occupy a central role as the root cause and inspiration for both. This view allowed the extirpators to consider Indians guilty of heresy or apostasy. Such an interpretation was not universal, but it provided an ideological underpinning for the extirpation. In a sense, the anti-extirpation camp was strong and widespread because most dioceses did not witness waves of extirpation. Extirpation flourished only in those territories where the prelate was sympathetic to its ideals.

The next three chapters of *The Cross and the Serpent* detail case studies in which the idolaters were identified variously as hechiceros or shamans and where a triangular relationship existed between the local parish priest, the native ruler, and the native religious leader. Central to much of the extirpation was the fusion of the hechicero with the idolater. Recourse to pre-Columbian “little rituals” identified the hechicero. Guilty of the one crime, the native would be guilty of idolatry. Also, using the single term *hechicero* lumped many religious practitioners into one simple category. The Inquisition dealt relatively lightly with hechiceros, in comparison with Judaizers, Protestants, and heretics. But for the extirpation, hechiceros as idolaters became one of its prime targets.

The shaman, or professional in magic arts, was similarly targeted as an idolater. Shamans specialize in healing. When accused of witchcraft, defendants would frequently reply that they were merely engaged in healing practices. But such practices soon became associated with witchcraft and by extension with idolatry—therefore fair game for the extirpation. Yet many healing practices were in no way idolatrous, involving merely the application of herbs and other treatments. The personnel of the extirpation campaign had to demonstrate that the healer had actively sought and used demonic powers.

The fourth chapter of *The Cross and the Serpent* focuses on the interaction among the local authorities when confronted with a new element of power, the extirpator. Idolatry trials merely manifested a three-way power struggle between the native religious elite, the native political elite, and the local parish priest. Trials were manipulated by one or more of the parties to secure an advantageous position over the others. The trials could also be used by one native political faction against another that was seeking to gain control of the local political leadership. The irony is that the vagaries of the colonial judicial process in resolving these tensions may have actually increased recourse to native religious practices as the participants sought supernatural intervention in the judicial process.

When the rites, rituals, and objects of the old belief system were subjected to scrutiny, the natives responded by hiding the objects, by reinforcing their religious allegiance to the natural elements, by adapting old practices to new norms, or by resorting to many other responses. The fundamental conceptual framework of the native religion was still largely intact well into the eighteenth century. Rather than eliminating the role of native religious practitioners, the extirpation campaigns reinforced it in that an individual might afterward exercise a number of specialties rather than have specialists for each.

The last chapter of *The Cross and the Serpent* studies a late effort at extirpation, a wave of repression that occurred between 1723 and 1725 in a limited area. Central to the results was a clarification of the distinction between categories of baptized Indians. Previously, the only distinction drawn was between the baptized and the unbaptized. Griffiths holds that this late example manifested no redefinition of idolatry and superstition (as George Kubler had argued for the late seventeenth century) but rather a reclassification of certain native practices within those categories. Griffiths further argues that Kubler's dating of this transition and change in classification around 1660 was incorrect. According to Griffiths, although the writings of some contemporary authors indicated a changing perspective, it took until well into the eighteenth century for the ideologies of the investigators in the field to change.

Griffiths concludes that the efforts at extirpation failed because the undertaking was simply not achievable. Destruction of objects and ban-

ning of rituals could not wipe out the spiritual forces that were perceived as supporting them. For Griffiths, the success of the native resistance and the synthesis that resulted are notable in that the new forms of religious expression were firmly based on the logical structure of Andean thought.

In *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation*, Kenneth Mills deals with roughly the same time period and theme as Griffiths. He too uses the periodization initially suggested by George Kubler as a point of departure. Kubler considered 1660 a watershed for two reasons. He posited that ecclesiastical officials in Peru began to take a more tolerant view of native practices at the same time that the natives ceased to rely on the efficacy of the old religion. Pierre Duviols viewed 1667 as a watershed, marking the end of the more zealous extirpation and a softening of Spanish attitudes. Mills, like Griffiths, argues that neither is entirely correct. What Kubler and Duviols viewed as a softening or tolerance was merely a shift in perceptions as to what constituted deviant behavior that needed correcting.

Idolatry and Its Enemies consists of nine chapters. The first deals with the basic chronology of the extirpation from the era immediately after the conquest era, typified by the Dominican Fray Vicente Valverde, to the extirpation of Archbishop Pedro de Villagómez in 1641. This chapter constitutes the historical background for Mills's work. He finds the seventeenth century important because it gave rise to the theoretical underpinnings for the eventual extirpation campaigns as well as clerical authorities with experience in dealing with native religious assimilation and lack thereof. The episcopacy of Lobo Guerrero and the first extirpations of Father Francisco de Avila provide key insights into the growing concern over native idolatry. Subsequent prelates were skeptical of the danger of both the supposed idolatry and the motives of those who participated in the extirpation.

In the following three chapters, Mills focuses on three of the central targets of the extirpation: *huacas*, *chancas* and *canopas*, and the ritual specialists themselves. The term *huaca* refers to a feature that received public veneration, whether a crag, a spring, some other natural phenomenon, or an object or deity. Ecclesiastical officials associated veneration of these objects with idolatry. After reading the cases, Mills concludes that while the memory of the Incaic state religion had faded, popular religious beliefs and practices continued. The *huacas* changed and were adapted to the times, as they had been adapted in pre-Columbian times. Moreover, the broad diversity of the *huacas* and their intimate association with pastoral and agricultural activity explains for Mills much of their persistence into late colonial times.

In contrast to the *huacas*, which were objects of public veneration, the *chancas* and *canopas* were items of private veneration. *Chancas* were lineage gods, while *canopas* were personal gods of fecundity. The distinction between the *chancas* and the more public *huacas* lies in the nature of the respect and veneration offered. The *chancas* were small and portable

and associated with one family or lineage. They were more modest in their powers than the huacas. The canopas were small objects (considered fetishes) that were revered by individuals and endowed with a range of powers, the most common being fertility. They were even more personal and portable than the chancas.

Mills discusses the roles of these objects in the cases raised in the extirpation. He notes that the investigations frequently focused on a single individual, often a member of the native elite, and on one object or set of objects. Mills indicates that this focus on the elite resulted from the Spanish practice of evangelizing through the elite in hopes that the common people would follow the religious practice of their leaders. The Spaniards therefore had higher expectations of the elite than of the common folk. In their focus on particular "idols," the Spanish overlooked the reality that the Andeans maintained a complex belief system that included personal deities and public deities as well as nominal worship of the Christian God.

In the fourth chapter of *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, Mills studies the religious specialists within the native community. He argues that rather than representing disparate and unconnected remnants of a dying religion, these native religious officials manifested parts of an integrated colonial Andean religious system. The specialization in pre-colonial times was much more widespread than in colonial society after *congregación*. It was similarly as old as the huacas and other objects served. Entire regions of natives could even be perceived as religious specialists. Yet the skills, knowledge, and rituals exercised by these specialists were usually perceived by the wary *visitador* as evidence of sorcery.

The fifth chapter traces the extirpation in the time of Archbishop Villagómez (1641–1671) and immediately thereafter. This keen bureaucratic climber eventually reached the eminence of archbishop. From that position, he sought to reinvigorate the extirpation, which was far from uniformly supported by the lay and clerical leaders of Peru. The *visitadores de idolatría* whom he appointed waged an intermittent war against idolatry for the next twenty years. Most of these agents were creole members of the secular clergy who viewed their participation in the enterprise as a shrewd career move in seeking higher rank in the church hierarchy. Uncertain funding sources for the *visitadores* and their need to rely on local support for their efforts laid the operation open to complaints of abuse. This tendency further tarnished the image of the extirpators among some of the colonial elite. Yet the loudest opposition came from churchmen. They questioned not the existence of idolatry among the natives but whether the use of *visitadores* charged for that purpose was the best way to deal with the problem. The Jesuits had provided early supporters and theoreticians for the extirpation but later began to draw back from supporting the effort. But just at the time that many historians have indicated that the extirpation was declining—in the 1660s—it was actually on the rise. By the subsequent

decade, however, it was in full decline, although by no means abolished. Mills finds that significant transformations had occurred among the Andeans and the clerics. The Andeans were far better prepared for the occasional visitation, much more canny and conscious of the implications of the investigation. The Spaniards had become more restrained, organized, and subject to greater checks than in the earlier phases.

The early phases of the extirpation were marked by intense confrontations between the old religion and Christianity, publicized visits by clerical officials, and sermons on the sin of idolatry. The later phases took on a "kinder, gentler" face. The sixth chapter of *Idolatry and Its Enemies* examines the seeds of this opposing view, following it into the eighteenth century. Mills traces the development of missionary techniques in the Andean region, noting that Christianity was an oral religion. Sermons were preached, often in Spanish, while the Gospel was read aloud in Latin. Catechisms and doctrine classes were the backbone of evangelization. They were even prominent features of the extirpation *visita*. Yet the extirpation campaign demonstrated the obvious shortcomings of previous indoctrination. One of the major drawbacks of the extirpation was that it closed minds to understanding the complexity of the opponent. The visitadores tended to view everything in binary relief, in black-and-white terms, and seldom attempted to understand the nuances of the culture that they were battling. Rejecting Andean values and insights, the Spaniards took comfort in the familiar and understandable tenets of their own faith.

The seventh chapter of *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, "Deception and Delusion," deals with the demonological interpretation that the Spanish churchmen applied to ongoing idolatry. According to the Spanish, several factors gave the Devil sway over the Andeans. They were neophytes to the faith and thus could be easily diverted from the true path. Being ignorant and credulous, they were easily duped by the wiles of the Evil One. Also, they had lived without the Gospel for countless generations, giving the Devil free reign. Yet for the Andeans themselves, the diabolic explanation held more difficulties than answers. The Devil was so heterogeneous in its multiple manifestations, powers, and explanations that it was nearly impossible to grasp as a concept. Nonetheless, the Andean religion became demonized, providing both parties to the moral dialogue with a convenient shorthand. The Andean deities became transformed.

With this transformation, a new Andean religion emerged, a colonial Andean religion. In the eighth chapter, Mills discusses the views of many scholars regarding the degree of syncretism among Andean peoples. Opinions vary greatly. Rather than present a model so general as to be meaningless, Mills attempts to reconstruct Andean religion as it existed in the mid-colonial period. He posits that beyond the furor of the extirpation trials, the process of religious change was more harmonious. Most Andeans no longer followed a pure form of the traditional religion, but nei-

ther did they fully embrace Christianity. Mills envisions a major role for the native religious specialists, who often served larger areas and might have been key agents of religious transformation. Inclusion of Christian references in the native specialists' repertoire indicated the expanding source of sacred power. The shifts of popular piety within Christianity became more inclusive as well. A hybrid of Christian piety and indigenous herbal techniques was difficult to brand as idolatrous. As the Devil was invoked less as an explanation, native healing techniques became more accepted by the Spanish population. Mills also finds advances of Christian identity in other realms of native Andeans' lives, paralleling the use of Christian piety in the healers' repertoire. Yet they also incorporated some of themselves and their religious culture into Christianity.

Mills ends *Idolatry and Its Enemies* with an overview of the efforts at extirpation. Prelates such as Villagómez constructed their efforts to extirpate idolatry in a manner intended to soothe their critics by including sufficient recognition of the importance of instruction and indoctrination. Yet the extirpation was still a brutal affair that remained burned into the native conscious, like memories of pestilence and other natural disasters. During the trials, the clerics' idealism came face-to-face with reality. Natives who had in theory been Christians for over a century still clung to non-Christian habits. Evolving Andean Christianity seems to have owed little directly to the efforts of the extirpators, but perhaps much indirectly. Andean Christianity evolved slowly and unevenly from place to place and from individual to individual.

Mills and Griffiths cover much the same material but in distinctive ways. Each recounts the fascinating stories that emerge from the pages of extirpation records. Each tells of the prelates who supervised the operations, the theologians who provided the metaphysical constructs to guide the efforts, the priests who wrote the sermons that exhorted the natives to true piety. But Griffiths deals more closely with two important themes. He traces the theological differences among idolatry, superstition, and heresy and analyzes cogently the importance of diabolism and how it figured into the extirpation. He also considers in some depth the multifaceted power struggle occurring in the villages during the extirpation. These are significant contributions. Mills writes in a fluid narrative style, providing excellent background material and synthesizing the writings of earlier analysts. His well-crafted account of the extirpation is an excellent work of synthesis. Taken together, the two works deal fully with the midcolonial attempts to root out idolatry in central Peru.

Conclusion

All eight of these works deal with coded behaviors. Seed surveys nations' acts of possession that demonstrated to various countries that the

land they claimed was truly theirs. Cesareo looks into the codes related to crusades and martyrdom to determine how authors described the reality of the spiritual conquest in Asia and the New World. Kellogg and Furst deal with the codes and metaphors of Nahua life, one in analyzing notions that the Spaniards identified with the soul, the other in tracing the decline of the status of women among the Nahua. Cervantes, Griffiths, and Mills deal with the discourse between the natives and Spaniards inherent in the evangelization of the New World. The Devil and concepts like idolatry and heresy became powerful metaphors within that discourse. García-Rivera analyzes the codes used to describe the saintliness of San Martín and the reality of God that they portend. Each of these authors realizes that at the end of the twentieth century, it is difficult for readers to decipher these codes in terms of the historical and cultural context from which they emerged. García-Rivera accepts the codes for what they can tell modern readers, standing at a distance from their original creation. Cesareo works far harder at analyzing the impact of the metaphors on the time. Seed too peers deeply into the impact of the codes on the participants. The other authors all describe situations in which two cultural groups stood face-to-face, each speaking in their own coded discourse, unable to comprehend why the other did not see the obvious.

As all these works demonstrate, it is arduous to try to interpret the discourse of the past. Through analyzing the behavior of those participating in the discourse and the reaction of others confronted with the discourse, one can begin to glimpse the impact. But it is absolutely essential to understand the metaphors in the terms of the time in which they were first used to start to grasp the reality they initially reflected. Among the works reviewed here, Seed, Furst, Cervantes, and Griffiths have gone the furthest in this task. Cesareo and Mills have accomplished important syntheses and much that commends their works, but they have not delved as deeply into the coded world represented by the actions they studied.

The history of mentalité has produced many fine studies of the group behavior of peoples of the past. It was a logical outgrowth of the prosopographies that preceded it. The study of semiotics similarly grew out of the history of mentalité. While this kind of history studies the collective actions of groups in the past, so semiotics studies the discourse of those groups in an attempt to break the codes in which they spoke and acted. Taken as a whole, this collection of works has opened many new vistas on the past for scholars to consider.

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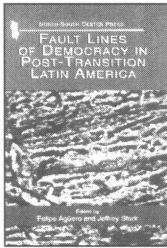
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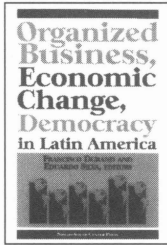
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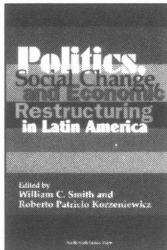
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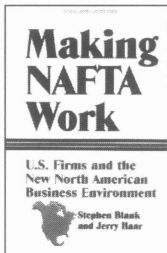


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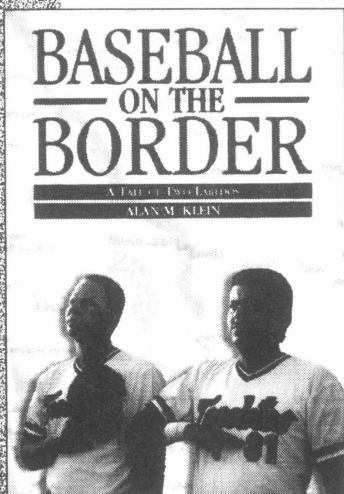
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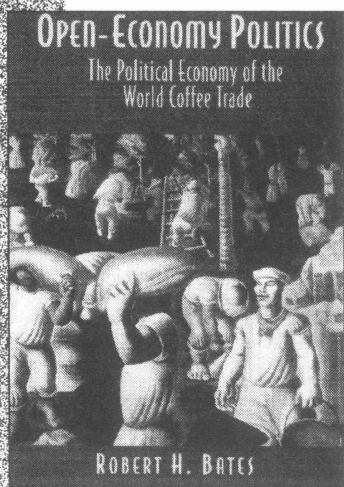
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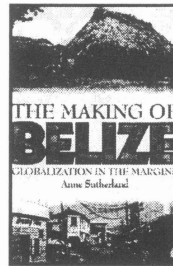
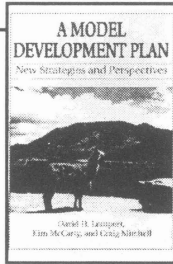
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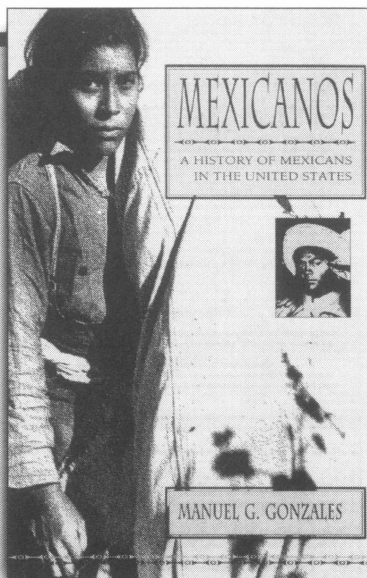
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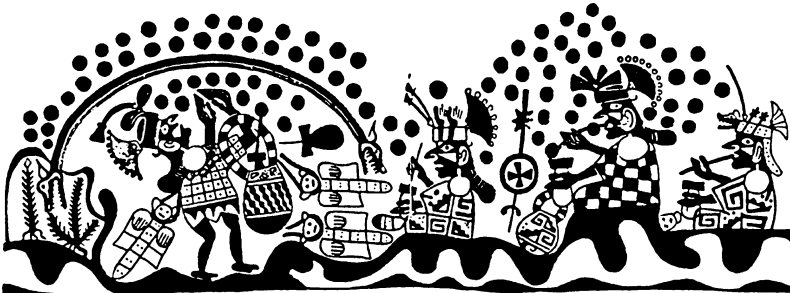
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