

INKA RI AGAIN: Contradictory Views of the Andean Past and Future

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- THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF PERU.* By Pedro Cieza de León. Edited and translated by Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999. Pp. 501. \$64.95 cloth, \$21.95 paper.)
- HISTORY OF THE INCA REALM.* By Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco. Translated by Harry B. Iceland. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. 259. \$49.95 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)
- HABSBURG PERU: IMAGES, IMAGINATION, AND MEMORY.* By Peter T. Bradley and David Cahill. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. Pp. 167.)
- THE WORLD OF TUPAC AMARU.* By Ward Stavig. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. Pp. 348. \$60.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.)
- SMOLDERING ASHES: CUZCO AND THE CREATION OF REPUBLICAN PERU, 1780–1840.* By Charles F. Walker. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999. Pp. 330. \$49.95 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)
- MULTICULTURALIDAD Y POLITICA: DERECHOS INDIGENAS, CIUDADANOS Y HUMANOS.* By Rodrigo Montoya Rojas. (Lima: SUR Casa de Estudios del Socialismo, 1998. Pp. 255.)
- AMERICA LATINA Y ESPAÑA: UN FUTURO COMPARTIDO.* Edited by Antoni M. Guell y Mar Vila. (Barcelona: Planeta, 2000. Pp. 323.)

The Incas have proved to be a persistent theme throughout Andean historiography, as a specific subject matter but also as a mental referent in discussing issues of identity, nationhood, citizenship, or capitalism. In his book under review here, Rodrigo Montoya Rojas criticizes Mario Vargas Llosa for neglecting to recognize the importance of the indigenous cultures in Peru: “He is mistaken when he asserts that everyone in Peru wants the development of capitalism and that nobody remembers the Incas. . . . At a time when poverty and unemployment continue to grow in spite of all reform attempts in capitalist strategies, there are hundreds of thousands of Peruvians who do not believe in the alleged benefits of capitalism. In times of crisis like today, the memory of the Incas and their empire without hunger is strongly present” (pp. 231–32).

Vargas Llosa, in contrast, has proclaimed the death of a collectivist and ethnically framed society, the end of Tahuantinsuyu, and he characterized

the memories linked to the Inkas as “an archaic utopia.”¹ Such opposing interpretations of the Andean past and present also have implications for designing paths for the future. Some observers argue that Peruvians today should establish a modern, capitalist, bourgeois society, forget the past, and concentrate on the future. Others call for rethinking political and ideological representations, recognizing multiple citizenships, and examining the past in order to build the future.

In terms of more general analytical tendencies, Vargas Llosa is out of the loop. It is amazing to see how developmental issues have recently been brought back to the drawing boards of economists. They are once again looking at the historical record to find explanations for today’s widening redistributive gaps and growing dualisms worldwide, as discussed in *América Latina y España: Un futuro compartido*, edited by Antoni Guell y Mar Vila (p. 27). In reassessing such gaps and dualities, academicians and politicians have resorted to an understanding of structural conditions such as the availability of natural resources, ethno-linguistic diversity, culture, and history (p. 103).

The publications to be reviewed in this essay overwhelm Vargas Llosa’s argument with sheer numbers. Academically and politically, the Incas are not dead. They keep reappearing over long stretches of time and are repeatedly revitalized in varying perspectives of particular historical junctures, especially in times of crises, as demonstrated by Alberto Flores Galindo in his *Utopía Andina*.²

Beyond the sheer importance or nonimportance of the Incas in the Andean region, the general impression of who these Incas were is far from coherent. Directly or indirectly, all the books under review have something to say about the Inca past, and they span four centuries and the distance from England to Bolivia. All the books are informed by the authors’ understandings of Andean life today and their awareness of the implications of the debate between Montoya and Vargas Llosa. Nevertheless, reading these books provides no cohesive or uniform image of the Incas nor any clear sense of why the Inca past looms so large in the arguments of historical actors across time or the diverse ways of “appropriating” the Inca past.

Readers who study and think about the Incas today become aware that general knowledge about the Inca Empire has expanded considerably. New findings have been reported from several disciplines—ethnohistory, anthropology, archaeology, and history. New methodologies and sources have greatly expanded such knowledge and the kinds of questions that are being asked. Yet despite added information about the Incas, students of the Incas

1. Mario Vargas Llosa, *La utopía arcaica: José María Arguedas y las ficciones del indigenismo* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica de México, 1996), 335. See also his essay “Global Village or Global Pillage,” in *Global Fortune: The Stumble and Rise of World Capitalism*, edited by Ian Vásquez (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 2000).

2. Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca* (Lima: Horizonte, 1988).

are still left with a dichotomous view of who they were, what they thought, how they lived, and how their power relations worked. A dual image of the Incas remains pervasive: the well-intentioned strategists versus the power-greedy ethnic group. This bifurcated image continues to inform general understanding of the Andean past, analysts' political views, and notions of the indigenous populations in the wake of historical development in the Andes.³

Most information (new and old) revolves around Cusco, the seat of the Inca Empire, although much has been learned from looking into the more removed areas of more recent incorporation.⁴ Cusco-centeredness also typifies the works under review here. Cieza de León talked with Cusco *quipucamayocs*, state accountants and official recorders who handled the *quipus*. Rostworowski looks at the political organization orchestrated from Cusco, although she adds interesting ideas based on her research on Chíncha merchants. Stavig and Walker both delve into the Tupac Amaru rebellion in and around Cusco, while Bradley and Cahill reflect on Inca images derived from descriptions of Cusco.

Although scholars' larger image of the Incas has not changed dramatically, new pieces of information have been added to old puzzles. A certain range of speculations has been replaced by historical evidence based on more rigorous and detailed microhistorical analysis.

In the careful translation by Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook, Pedro Cieza de León offers what is still the earliest "vision of the pre-Spanish world" based on "European precepts." More and more bits of Cieza de León's writings (or those attributed to him) have slowly been incorporated into various editions of his work. For example, some parts of the present edition had never been published until 1979. Considering that Cieza de León was talking to quipucamayocs in Cusco about fifteen years after the Spaniards arrived around 1550, such a delay represents an almost interminable silence for such important material.

3. Some intriguing articles were recently compiled in a commemorative volume for María Rostworowski, edited at the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos in Lima. See *Arqueología, antropología e historia en los Andes: Homenaje a María Rostworowski*, edited by Rafael Varón and Javier Flores (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos), 1997.

4. Other regions in Peru have attracted much less attention, and the themes analyzed in other regions diverge greatly from the concerns focusing on Cusco. One such region is Arequipa, where caudillo politics have dominated the regional scene with its anti-centralist strands. Another region is Puno, important as a region linking the mining center of Potosí in colonial times and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the region where *gamonalismo* flourished. Cajamarca and Trujillo stand out for different reasons. It is to be hoped that someday, scholars will be able to assemble our knowledge of Andean regions in a comparative framework. For a recent analysis on Arequipa between 1780 and 1854, see Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (University Park: Penn State University Press), 1999.

In *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru*, the translation of Cieza's "third part" conveys his great respect for the Incas and the pre-Incan cultures as he scolds Spanish misbehavior. Cieza states that he seeks not to please but to tell the truth (p. 245), and his truth is highly critical of the Spanish presence in the first decades of the Inca-Spanish encounter. He portrays the Incas as civilizing agents and the Spaniards as disputing with the Incas and victimizing them. When the warring factions of Almagristas and Pizarristas clashed, Atahualpa was to his amazement sentenced to death. He died wishing that Diego de Almagro had never left the camp in Cajamarca (pp. 252–58). According to Cieza de León, Atahualpa should never have been killed: because much wrong had been done to Indians, Spain owed them restitution. Cieza set an example of such restitution in his own will by making provisions for Amerindians.⁵ In Cieza de León's view, the so-called conquest of the Incas was eminently unfair. The Spaniards suffocated the Incas' civilizing efforts and set a terrible example. Cieza's account implies that much could have been respected and "saved" from the Inca past for the benefit of all, especially for the suffering Indians.

Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco's *History of the Inca Realm* is a long overdue translation of her *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu* (1988), ably translated by Harry Iceland. This work has already become a high school textbook in Peru. Rostworowski focuses once more on her main topic of study, the political history of the Tahuantinsuyu, although she has ventured into many other aspects of life in the Inca realms. She envisions this political history as a uniquely Andean historical process, based on a peculiar mix of kinship, politics, economic organization, social stratification, and religion. These aspects of life were articulated through the concept of reciprocity, a system of symmetrical and asymmetrical mutual obligations.

According to Rostworowski, reciprocity represents the abyss remaining between "the Andean way of thinking and the Spanish perspective" (p. x). She also depicts diverse "economic models" with which social groups coped with a harsh ecological environment and a varying set of social organizations (pp. 202–19). They were misunderstood and disrupted by *encomiendas* and *reducciones* imposed by Spain (p. 224). Rostworowski finds a stark contrast between the ethnically and communally integrated way of life represented by the Inca Empire and Spanish colonial society based on the individual and stratification.

Despite their great separation in time, Rostworowski and Cieza de León share the same perspective. In his view, certain Spaniards harmed specific representatives of the Incas and thus dismantled a major component of civilizing efforts. In Rostworowski's view, Spain and its institutions misunderstood the Incas and disrupted the benefits of their institutions. Although the Spanish chronicler observed directly and talked with surviv-

5. His provisions included cash, tangible items, and prayers for Indian souls.

ing Inca elites in Cusco, Rostworowski has the advantage of an array of sources and historical hindsight.

Peter Bradley's and David Cahill's monographs, brought together in *Habsburg Peru: Images, Imagination, and Memory*, are distinct pieces of work. Bradley traces all kinds of English writings on Peru and how they shaped and guided "the aspirations of many generations of those who unquestionably founded their materialistic proposals for plunder, commerce, and settlement upon such literature" (p. x). Cahill's piece is a reading of how the vanquished native nobility viewed their past, present, and future. What unites the two studies is that they both represent "types of imagining," although the imagining is advanced by diverse social groups. Moreover, Bradley is luckier: he can count on written records for his analysis, while Cahill must rely on *probanzas* and accounts of processions, fiestas, and rebellions. The results are very different kinds of imagining. Surprisingly, however, this may be the biggest advantage of publishing the two pieces of work together: despite their different perspectives, some points of convergence emerge between the "inquisitive Britons" and the "remnant Incas."

In "Peru in English: The Early History of the English Fascination with Peru," Bradley features the interpretative parts of the English sources: Indians are "a thrilling spectacle" and often peaceful and hospitable creatures. The seventeenth century exhibited two visions of the Indian: the exotic Indian and the peaceful Indian. Exotic representations of Indianness is a way of dealing with the unknown and inciting an adventurous curiosity. The representation of a hospitable and peaceful Indian is a way of making the Indian more "equal" and thus an invitation for investment and political alliances (in this case, against the Spanish around mid-seventeenth century). Such images took hold in European minds for more than a century and a half, until the onset of the scientific expeditions at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Although Bradley's study is interesting and one should not stretch the intentions of the author, I found myself asking complementary questions: once it is known that this or that image predominated, that the books portraying such images were widely read and discussed, one would also like to know what were the practical consequences of this accumulated wisdom. How did it affect business life, how did it affect British relations with its own and other "Indians?" How did such images differ from the ones circulating in Spain or Portugal, or even among white elites in the colonies? How did the images compare with lived reality, especially for elites in the colonies? And what did Indians think about how they were being represented?

David Cahill brings us back to "the Andean utopia" in "The Inca and Inca Symbolism in Popular Festive Culture: The Religious Processions of Seventeenth-Century Cuzco." He detects two prevalent interpretations of "utopia" in Andean cosmology. The first is understood as a bundle of existing projects and aspirations activated in crises times. The second is under-

stood as “a permanent and immanent mental structure that is continually on view in traditional Andean iconology, whether in art, craft, or ritual forms” (p. 99). Thus latent expectations and visible cultural expressions are “the seat” of indigenous “utopia” attributed by scholars: a way to understand permanence, change, irruptions, and selective adaptations coming from Indians. Cahill then asks why and how Creoles (all non-Indians) have, at least occasionally and selectively, accepted “indigenous utopia.” In contrast to current visions (romantic nostalgia for a supposed Golden Age or cynical opportunism), Cahill suggests locating Creole options in a more specific context considering the regional setting (p. 103). The best known and most turbulent regional case is Cusco.

The expression of regional specificity is the foundation of a regional identity. Cusco had such foundations. In 1804, alienated from the interventionist Bourbon regime, the inhabitants of Cusco proposed to become a separate viceroyalty. Cusco illustrated positive long-term relations between Creole and indigenous elites based on blood and ritual kinship ties and on shared attention to genealogy. Cusco also had a “regional personality,” documented through the spread of Cusco-based art, especially the paintings of the Escuela Cusqueña, which were sold throughout the Spanish Empire. Via racial and ethnic alliances and art, Cusco created positive images of the Incas in European and Peruvian literature, which was pervaded by romanticization of the Incas. Catholic festivities, in contrast, were impregnated with Incaic concepts and symbolism, especially the Corpus Christi celebrations in Cusco (Cahill describes two colonial fiestas in 1610 and 1692) and in the representations in objects of art. Alliances, art, and religious festivities represent different means of transmitting cultural messages. In consequence, Cahill argues, “the desire of some Cuzqueño Creoles for the restoration of a modernized version of the Incario responded to a particular constellation of circumstances” (p. 105). His conclusion stresses the validity and perseverance of a colonial Inca culture.

Cahill’s piece is one of the few historiographical attempts to fuse the Incaic and the Creole, thus exploring the boundaries of something culturally and politically new: a regional identity based on both cultural settings. By accepting two sets of cultural values and expressions, Cahill is able to leave behind a Manichean duality between “the Indian” and “the non-Indian.” In a sense, then, his work presents a third alternative. By analyzing the fusion (at least among elites) between Incaic and Spanish pasts, blood, and symbolism, Cahill undermines the dichotomous view embodied in Montoya’s and Vargas Llosa’s arguments. Instead, Cahill detects “the politics of *l’imaginaire*”:

The political meaning and ramifications of ritual involvement and Incaic symbolism, again, may only be guessed at. On one level it may be read as acceptance of the colonial regime, yet on another it may be seen as a seed-bed for subversion, a platform for the emergence of radical political movements, whether of millennial,

nativist or merely secular tendency. It is probably subversive ipso facto, in that it kept alive not only the memory, but also the possibility of some future, alternative and Inca-based order, one that could have been seen as fairer than the existing colonial order. (P. 147).

A similar proposition runs through Ward Stavig's *The World of Tupac Amaru*, although he delves into different aspects of regional realities and constellations, including the private domains of individuals. Stavig leads readers into the turmoils of family violence and sexual disputes through his reading of criminal court cases, especially from two provinces in Cusco, Canas y Canchis and Quispicanchis (p. 28). Stavig is also interested in understanding how the colonial situation worked not only as "a destructuring device" but also as "an unintentional means of solidification" (p. xvi). In other words, he is interested in "colonialism in people's lives" (p. xv).

Drawing on a detailed analysis of various levels of regional interactions, Stavig paints a picture of the varied agendas of participants in the 1780 rebellion, before and after the event, and he highlights the divisions among Cusco's curacas. These divisions explain the curacas' participation on one side or the other. When examining individuals' private lives, their political interaction, and their economic interests (rather than art or religious symbols), the integrated regional identity (signaled by Cahill) disappears and is replaced by a sense of overt and hidden conflict. This generalization also applies in a more institutional setting, like the workings of the judicial system. Although the legal system functioned as "an effective weapon of the weak" (p. 84), it suffered from "enforcement limitations" that signaled impending and contradictory power relations (pp. 103–4). What predominates in Stavig's interpretation are the oppositional forces in Cusco society, although sometimes such oppositional forces cut across ethnic lines and exhibited more of a class flavor.

Charles Walker pushes a similar argument one step further in *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780–1840*. He explains, "I examine the intricate and difficult relations among national ideologies and policies, regional political movements, and the lower classes" (p. 3). In doing so, Walker follows recent requests to bring the state back in without excluding the people.

Walker's research is unusual in disregarding the traditional watershed year of 1825 as the dividing line between the colonial and republican periods. He shows instead "the transition of Inca revivalism from a revolutionary platform during the Tupac Amaru uprising to one that bolstered a conservative caudillo in the early republic" (p. 8). The caudillo was Agustín Gamarra. According to Walker, despite several attempts overall to engage in national politics, "no single group connected peasant society with national political circles, and, in general, the links between these spheres remained weak" in the first half of the nineteenth century (p. 212).

Contrary to Cahill but consonant with Stavig, Walker portrays a

Cusco in which the division between Indians and non-Indians shaped social relations, for good or for bad, "more than anything else" around the time of the Tupac Amaru rebellion (p. 10). Walker, Stavig, and Cahill share the view that around that time, varying understandings circulated freely, as did ways to use such understandings of the Inca Empire for diverse economic and political purposes. Walker asserts, "The Bourbon state even used the Incas to justify its own project" (p. 20). For Walker, the analytical result is recognizing several forms of "nationalism" (or as he prefers, "protonationalism"), which contained various degrees of "Incanness." Walker expands on two forms of protonationalism: an Andean-based nationalism and a Creole nationalism. He proposes that the "Peruvian nation needs to be pluralized" (p. 18) and that interpretation of the meaning of the Tupac Amaru rebellion needs to be reconceptualized. In Walker's view, the rebellion was neither a mass antecedent to the wars of independence, nor a revivalist project based on Inca ideology, nor the final stage of colonial traditions of negotiating political rights, as has been argued by several scholars in past decades (p. 16).

Walker argues that in encompassing all these elements, the "Andean utopia" was not too exotic but too radical. It was perceived during these years as "an ideological foundation for an Indian or peasant movement" (p. 120). Its radicalism was deeply entrenched in Peruvians' memories and explains the brutal extirpation measures undertaken by the colonial state in the aftermath of the Tupac Amaru rebellion as well as persistent Creole fears about Indian participation during and after the wars of independence.

The colonial state ordered both the physical destruction of the leaders of the rebellion and the erasure of all kinds of symbolism pertaining to Incan memories. Yet the colonial state could not penetrate many interstices. Walker observes, "Defeating the rebels on the battlefield proved to be easier than implementing the changes conceived by the Bourbon state," that is, the remaking of relations between the peasantry and the state (p. 55). Moreover, "the ambiguity of official policy inadvertently tended to support traditional practices and leave a great deal of room for political maneuvering" (p. 63).

In the aftermath of independence, Cusco experienced an ideological climate in which political thought and politicians elegized the greatness of the region in Incan and colonial times. Walker recounts, "Writers and speakers presented the Incas as a symbol of Cuzco's former grandeur, not referring in any substantial way to the Incas themselves or to their descendants. At times, references to the Incas transcended mere Cuzco chauvinism to substantiate historically the merits of authoritarian rule" (p. 147). Thus the Incas became a source of regionalist sentiments and also a part of the "greedy ethnic group."

In 1825 liberator Simón Bolívar proclaimed: "Peruvians! Very soon we will visit the cradle of the Peruvian Empire and the Temple of the Sun.

Cuzco will have on the first day of its freedom more pleasure and more glory than under the golden rule of the Incas." Walker continues, "Not only did the city give the 'Liberator' a crown with sumptuous jewels but, according to *El Sol del Cuzco*, the mythical founder of the Inca Empire, Manco Capac, also sent his greetings from the tomb. . . . In 1826 and 1827, Cuzco celebrated El Día de San Simón in honor of Bolívar" (pp. 165–66). As Miguel Izard pointed out, rejection by the metropolis did not impede the sacralization of Western invasion.⁶

In a certain sense, Walker takes a stance close to Vargas Llosa: "Although all Cuzco politicians cloaked themselves in the tradition of the Incas—in which the Tahuantinsuyo figured as anything ranging from an enlightened despotism to a revolutionary democracy—the conservatives did so with greater sophistication and success. In general, however, neither group converted the Incas into an enduring symbol of the republic" (p. 171).

On the years after independence, Walker narrates "how Indians managed to defend their political autonomy and economic resources in the face of a hostile Creole nation-state" (p. 186). This broad interpretation is based on his admirable analysis of the various and contradictory images and explanations of the living conditions of Indians in the era following independence (pp. 194–201).

Focusing on the contemporary period, the eleven essays that make up *América Latina y España: Un futuro compartido* analyze current economic and entrepreneurial relationships between Spain and Latin America. Edited by Antoni Guell y Mar Vila, this volume goes beyond short-term evaluations of Latin America as a site of profitable or unprofitable investments in stressing the importance of the historical and social reality of Latin America. Political instability, social protests, corruption, violence, and many other characteristics endemic in Latin American countries resulted from the historical construction of these societies and have a strong bearing on its economic development and the region's role in the international economy. Many of the contributors also claim that Spain's "success" in Latin America is linked to the cultural understanding built into their common history. From this understanding arises a proposal in the introduction by Luis de Sebastián for democracy and justice and a call to Spanish entrepreneurs (and multinational interests) to think of Latin America in the long term (rather than emulate the short-term assessments of the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank) in terms of equity, efficiency, and solidarity—all geared toward change. In a certain sense, this call is an extension of the debate begun in Cádiz in 1810 emphasizing the need for parity between economic

6. Miguel Izard, *América Latina, siglo XIX: Violencia, subdesarrollo y dependencia* (Madrid: Síntesis, 1990). See also his more recent publication, *El rechazo a la civilización: Sobre quienes no se tragaron que las Indias fueran esa maravilla* (Barcelona: Península, 2000), 154.

and political partners as well as justice underlying this partnership between countries and within countries, between Indians and non-Indians.

Conclusion

All the works reviewed here reveal unresolved aspects of the long-standing relationships among Indians, the Inca past, and the use of the Incas as a symbol and a guide. No matter what the scholarly historical assessment, the Incas represent a living past, much to the chagrin of Vargas Llosa and perhaps not quite as perfect as Montoya would like to believe. After all, “Andean principles”—which include reciprocity, cooperation, rotation of power, elaborate festivities, and complementarity between the sexes, between the individual and the collective, and between space and time—are not unique to the Andes but are found in many other “anthropological societies.” This realization makes the Andean-Inca alternative both narrower and wider: narrower because it diminishes the historical specificity and uniqueness of the Inca past and its multiple interpretations; wider because it sets out to rescue many other noncapitalist alternatives in order to rethink the future of humanity.

Expressed differently, we need to rethink a growing duality within countries and between countries. Spanish economist Luis de Sebastián explains this point in *América Latina y España*:

La dualidad consiste en que son en realidad dos sociedades distintas, que viven bajo el caparazón común de la jurisdicción de un Estado, que tienen vínculos culturales tenues y en cualquier caso asimétricos, que están relacionados funcionalmente en algunos sectores económicos (agricultura estacional, servicio doméstico, sector informal), y que son utilizados vergonzosamente para validar el funcionamiento del juego democrático en las elecciones. En muchas áreas económicas, sin embargo, son como compartimientos estancos: la parte rica puede funcionar perfectamente sin la pobre—o sin gran parte de ella—mientras la pobre siempre necesita a la otra para sobrevivir. Dualidad significa esencialmente desigualdad, asimetría, explotación y desprecio. Malos ingredientes para una estrategia de desarrollo en cualquier país. . . . Los milagros económicos que han existido realmente se han debido a la voluntad colectiva de producirlos. (P. 27)

Thus the big questions remain as to where this collective initiative might come from and how to decipher the benefits for all to be derived from it. The answers are not to be found in Vargas Llosa, Montoya, or readings of the history of the Incas.⁷

7. Perhaps a more realistic way to deal with opposing visions, realities, and meanings of the past is to look into what others have called syncretism or hybrid colonial order or proto-nationalism. See Kenneth J. Andrien, *Andean Worlds: Indigenous History, Culture, and Consciousness under Spanish Rule, 1532–1825* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001); and Terence N. D’Altroy and Christine Ann Hastorf, “Empire and Domestic Economy,” forthcoming.



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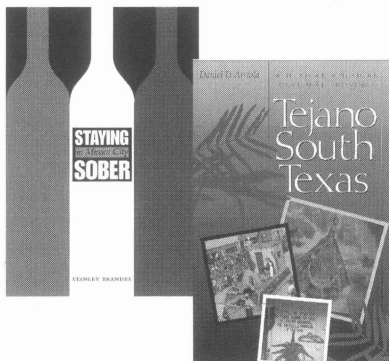
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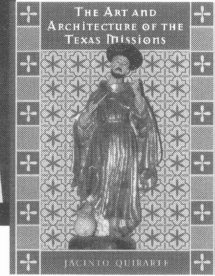
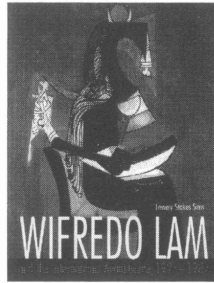
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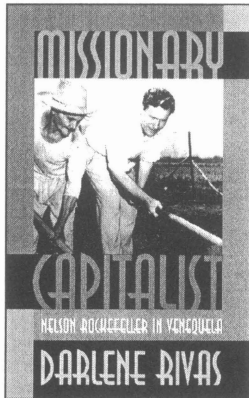
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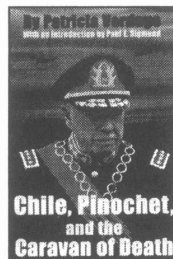
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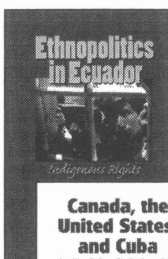
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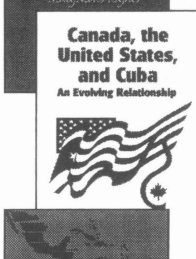
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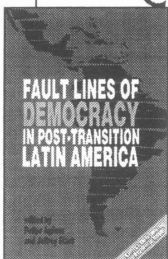
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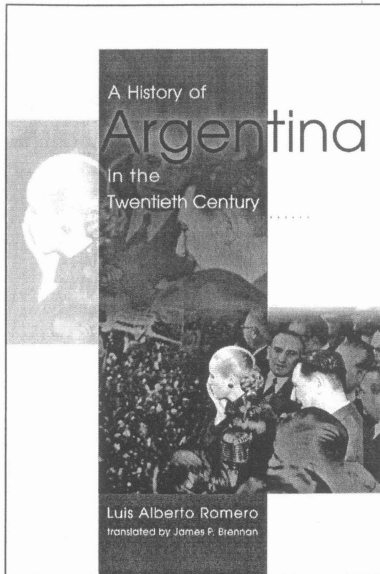
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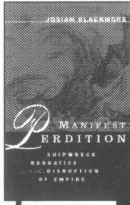
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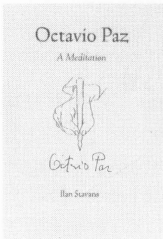
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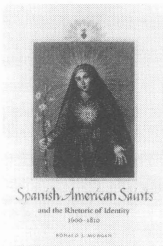
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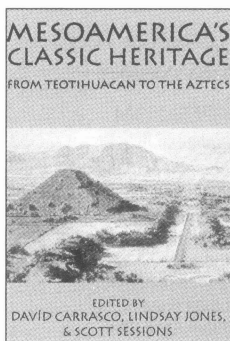
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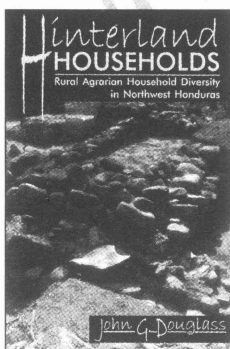
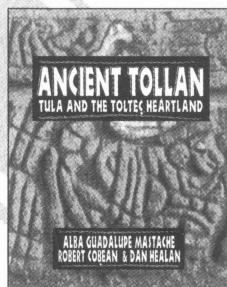
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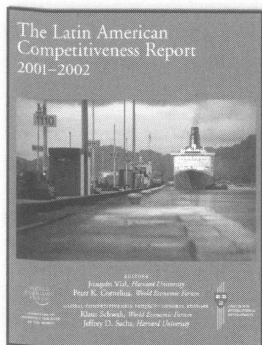
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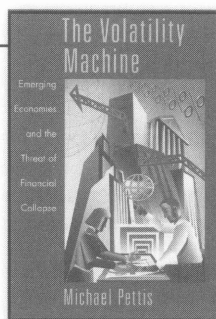
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