

## THE COLONIAL INDIAN: PAST AND FUTURE RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES<sup>1</sup>

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HISTORIANS WHO HAVE SOUGHT TO EXAMINE THE NATIVE SOCIETIES OF THE AMERICAS, whether before or after the European conquest, have often felt a need to go beyond the traditional bounds of the discipline, loose as they are, in their efforts to comprehend the values and the actions of people whose societies did not conform to the European pattern. In the study of Indian societies, anthropology and history joined early and have continued to collaborate; the very term ethnohistory, which some would consider an unnecessary coining of a new name for social history, is clear evidence of this union. Further evidence, if such be necessary, is provided by the degree to which scholars have drawn upon the approaches and conclusions of both disciplines in their work. While this practice is of long standing, earlier work showed a general tendency to utilize the data and the conclusions of other disciplines, rather than drawing upon the theories and the approaches developed by others in order to reexamine one's own materials. This highly pragmatic approach to the potential contributions of other disciplines is increasingly giving way to deeper collaboration and interchange.

In the following pages, I want to offer a highly personal view of some aspects of this process, and discuss some of the new perspectives and insights that have emerged from the dialogue between history and anthropology. My observations are based upon my work in Peru, and most of my discussion will concentrate upon the Andean area. Rather than attempt to discuss the study of native societies throughout Spanish America, in all their enormous diversity, I consider it best to concentrate upon the problems with which I have some experience, in the hope that such specificity may better suggest questions or approaches that may be utilized in studying other native American societies.

In order to understand the changing structure of Indian societies during the colonial period, we must examine the society and culture of both the conquerors and the conquered, for the transformation of native society is the result of the complex interaction between the two. At least from the time of the conquest, Indian societies cannot be examined in isolation, for the forces impinging upon them derive from the character of colonial society as a whole, as well as the structure and the fortunes of the European empire of which Spanish America formed a part. But while it is essential to comprehend the characteristics of colonial rule, it is also important to note that the Indians were not passive agents—"malleable human clay," as the early friars described them—in the transformation of their societies. Within the limits of the conditions imposed by European rule—limits which were themselves continually changing in both character and degree—they sought to modify, adapt, avoid, or

utilize the institutions imposed by their conquerors, as well as preserve and adapt their own traditions. In the process, the Indians participated in the creation of a colonial culture and society.

In view of this complex relationship, research which contributes to our understanding of the transformation of native societies cannot be precisely defined and delimited. A knowledge of Spanish colonial institutions is obviously essential to the person who seeks to comprehend native society under colonial rule. Studies such as that of Guillermo Lohmann Villena on the *corregidor de indios*, or Robert Ricard on the colonial Church are essential, and it can only be hoped that we will eventually have access to detailed studies of the organization and administration of the tribute system, the tithe, or the labor draft, to name only a few important topics on which only short, incomplete studies are now available.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the study of the formal organization of institutions or the theory of colonial administration, the student of Indian society also needs studies of the actual operation of those institutions. A knowledge of how the formal regulations and institutions of colonial rule were interpreted, applied, or transformed in practice is essential to any evaluation of the opportunities and limitations facing members of native society. To note one example, an extremely large proportion of business in Spanish colonial society was transacted through personal ties; in fact, the responsibility to provide for one's kin and clients was a social rule which often came into conflict with the regulations issued constantly by the crown. A clearer understanding of the network of associations that tied together *oidores*, *corregidores*, priests, and provincial Spanish residents would permit us to ascertain with much greater precision the operation and the impact, in addition to the legal outline, of the institutions governing native societies.<sup>3</sup>

Another area in which the study of Indian colonial society and the study of the colonial world as a whole is inextricably mixed is that of economic history. Charles Gibson has presented abundant evidence of the overwhelming importance of colonial economic structures upon the lives of the Indians in New Spain, adding to and complementing the interpretations of other historians of colonial Mexico.<sup>4</sup> In Peru, few would dispute the hypothesis that, particularly outside of the coastal areas, dependence on Indian labor was immense throughout the colonial period. Studies of the mining economy, the *obrajes*, or the growth and function of the haciendas are of major importance in evaluating the factors affecting native society.<sup>5</sup>

I further suspect that the more we know about the colonial economy, the more inadequate will be the traditional hypothesis, already strongly questioned, that the Indians participated in the colonial economy only or primarily through Spanish economic institutions, or conversely, that the portion of native society remaining in the Indian villages entered the colonial economy only when periodically forced to perform labor services for Spanish employers, either as a result of the labor draft or in order to obtain money to pay tribute and other levies. Woodrow W. Borah's study of silk raising in New Spain and Gibson's examination of the relations of the native villages with the viceregal capital in the sixteenth century both add considerably to our knowledge of the active participation of the Indian communities in the colonial economy.<sup>6</sup>

There are other problems whose solution depends upon an examination of the

economic systems of both European and native societies, and their transformation in the colonial context. Particularly in the first half-century after the Spanish conquest, changing patterns of economic activity in the viceroyalty were not only related to the European economic sector, but were affected by and affected the nature of the mechanisms regulating access to labor and goods within Indian society. Indians as well as Spaniards rapidly took advantage of the new opportunities to obtain wealth and status within their own societies presented by the conquest and the social system and demands of the conquerors. The problem is not just one of separating pre-conquest continuities from new attitudes and practices, but rather of tracing the transformation of traditional patterns and their meanings in new contexts. In a recent examination of the mercantile activities of the native elite of the Peruvian province of Huánuco in the sixteenth century, for example, I discovered that Spanish access to native cloth, trade in which extended as far as Potosí and Santiago de Chile, prior to the development of the *obraje* system, depended upon a complex combination of both European and native modes of access to and distribution of goods and labor.<sup>7</sup>

In Peru, at least, the participation of the Indian communities in the viceregal economy appears to have continued throughout the colonial period, although the nature of their participation becomes more European in later centuries. On a regional scale, native commercial activity in some areas, particularly the highlands, was of considerable importance. The city of Huamanga, for example, capital of the highland province of Ayacucho, petitioned the royal authorities in 1743 to suspend a recent decree imposing the payment of a sales tax upon the goods brought by the Indians to the urban markets. The petitioners pointed out that the Indians were the sole suppliers of foodstuffs to the city, and the withdrawal of their goods from the market following the imposition of the new levy would impose severe hardship upon the urban Spanish community.<sup>8</sup>

In view of such evidence, it appears that an adequate evaluation of the limitations and opportunities facing members of native society in any given region will depend heavily upon a knowledge of the changing structure of internal trade and production within the viceroyalty. A study of internal production and trade that takes account of the role of the Indian communities, in addition to providing a firmer base for the study of native society, could also throw much light upon the nature of the colonial economy as a whole.

In his need to comprehend the society and culture of the conquerors, however, the historian of colonial Indian society joins the scholar whose primary interests lie with the European groups, even if at times the focus of the former and the particular questions he asks may be different. For that reason, I want to set aside that important topic, which is dealt with in the Lockhart article in this review, and concentrate upon efforts to gain an adequate understanding of the dynamics of native social structure and culture, and the internal transformation of those structures under colonial rule.

#### THE SEARCH FOR ADEQUATE MODELS

One of the major difficulties faced by those who sought to reconstruct the pattern of native societies, particularly their transformation under Spanish colonial rule,

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was the lack of an adequate framework or hypothesis about the nature of those societies against which they could test the evidence contained in chronicles, archival records, and other sources. Faced with fragments of data depicting and complaining of the ways in which native societies differed from the European pattern, the strange practices of their members, and the inability of contemporary observers to fit native forms of land access, political organization, or social attitudes into the European framework without considerable difficulty, many authors seem to have become increasingly bewildered by the multiplication of apparently meaningless data. In the early decades of the twentieth century, many studies appeared in which the author essentially gave up any attempt to integrate the material into a meaningful framework and summarized it or published it whole. In the worst of such examples, the material is now all but useless, for it represents a collection of bits and pieces taken entirely out of context. In other cases, however, the author preserved a sufficiently large portion of the document, often drawn from sources now either lost or unavailable, to make his work a contribution of lasting value, part of the growing body of available sources on native society essential to the development of adequate hypotheses.<sup>9</sup>

Other scholars, attempting to develop hypotheses in terms of which they might be able to integrate the fragments of historical data in their sources, turned to the work of specialists in other disciplines concerned with the study of native American societies, particularly those in archaeology and anthropology. At that time, archaeology, largely concerned with establishing basic long-range chronologies and heavily oriented toward the analysis of monumental architecture, could offer little that was directly useful to the colonial historian. Anthropologists attempting to reconstruct the structure of native society before colonial rule did offer hypotheses which could be utilized. Their hypotheses, however, were based heavily upon the Spanish chronicles and other sources depicting primarily the organization and the ideologies of the ruling elites, Aztec, Inca, or Maya. Such data gave little indication of internal variation among the groups ruled by these elites, and contributed to the projection of a uniform, monolithic model of social organization. In addition, interest seems to have been heavily concentrated upon defining and classifying American societies in terms of European political models. The Inca state was described in terms of the Roman Empire, as an example of oriental despotism, or as a primitive socialism in which the Indian commoners were totally dependent upon an overarching, benevolent state.<sup>10</sup> These efforts to find the proper pigeonhole in which to place native societies, while perhaps of some use in developing generalized classificatory systems, were not of great value in comprehending the internal mechanisms of native American societies.

Partially, I suspect, because of the traditional separation of the disciplines—the historical anthropologists or archaeologists following Montezuma or Atahualpa off stage and the historians accompanying the Spaniards onto the scene—those interested in the study of native societies prior to the arrival of the Europeans tended to terminate their study with the conquest.<sup>11</sup> Concentration upon the political and social organization of large-scale empires and their ruling elites made the conquest a logical

termination point, for if native societies are equated with these ruling elites, they did of course end with the defeat of the great native states by the Spanish invaders.

But such models could throw little light upon the local groups and communities that loom large in colonial documents. For insight into these groups, historians turned to another source: social anthropology. The picture of contemporary Indian society offered by the social anthropologists was closely related to the mode of analysis current in Latin America until relatively recently, in which the internal organization of a single, preferably small and isolated village is analyzed in detail, on the assumption that such a study can provide a microcosm of the society as a whole. Understandably, the picture of Indian society that historians drew from such studies was one of an aggregate of undifferentiated, isolated, peasant villages, a picture which, although correct in many essentials, is in the process of considerable reevaluation.

In general, historians adopted the models of pre-conquest native states and the model of contemporary village society presented by the anthropologists, regarding the latter as the latest stage in the transformation of the former, and sought to account for the differences between the two. Their explanations were largely based upon the familiar theories of unidirectional change or evolution which proceeds at different rates in different sectors or aspects of a society, resulting in the presence of survivals from earlier stages of social organization. In the case of the native American societies, in addition, the traditional historical concentration upon the period of the conquest, in contrast to the less exciting centuries of colonial rule which followed, fostered an explanation of change based primarily upon the impact of conquest. The most frequent result was the familiar model of a native state in which the sophisticated elite is defeated and replaced by the Spanish conquerors, leaving the local peasant stratum to subsist largely unchanged to this day.

Such a picture is made even more convincing by the apparent persistence of pre-conquest institutions—or at least institutions which carry the same name as pre-conquest entities—in contemporary peasant villages. The Andean term “ayllu,” for example, defined in many contemporary studies as a localized village kin-group, appears in both colonial documents and pre-conquest sources. The word is clearly Andean, appears in sixteenth-century dictionaries, and defined some social group or groups in native society. Historical sources seemed to offer little help in gaining an understanding of what the ayllu was, however, and the historians faced with the problem of the colonial ayllu, already working with a model which presented apparently non-European aspects of contemporary communities as survivals, tended to fill out their picture of colonial society by projecting the characteristics of the contemporary ayllu back into the past. While this reasoning can be most clearly observed in the treatment of institutions which seem to have pre-conquest equivalents, the use of contemporary data to complement and fill out the picture of local society presented by the chronicles and supplementary historical sources was fairly generalized.

It was clear from the first that some elements of native society during the period of Spanish rule did not fit the model. The presence of the colonial Indian elite, granted noble status under Spanish law and often enjoying considerable wealth and

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social position, was evidence that the fall of the native states did not leave a society composed only of undifferentiated peasant villagers. And as more information appeared on land tenure, religious practices, and other elements of community life, it became increasingly clear that many aspects of colonial communities could not be explained by reference to contemporary village life. A number of scholars pointed this out, but it has taken a while for the inadequacy of the model to become generally obvious.

### THE GROWTH OF NEW PERSPECTIVES

While few studies on the order of Charles Gibson's monumental survey of the Aztecs have yet appeared, the last two decades have seen the growth of an effort to reexamine many assumptions about colonial Indian society. In the Andean area in particular, the major impulse has come from anthropologists, which has given to the study of native colonial society in that area a somewhat different focus from that chosen by Gibson. Gibson's book is primarily concerned with the imposition of Spanish colonial institutions upon the Indians, although in the course of his careful examination of that process, he reveals much about native social organization and response to European rule.<sup>12</sup> In the Andean area, interest has focused upon the structure of native society itself, utilizing the native reaction to European rule as a means to delineate and define the characteristics of Indian culture and social structure both prior to the European invasion and in the early period of colonial rule.<sup>13</sup> Neither perspective is exclusive, of course; in the colonial period they are interdependent, but the use made of the sources depends in part upon the particular emphasis chosen.

A characteristic of the reexamination of common assumptions about native society by scholars in various disciplines has been the attempt to gain a better understanding of the methods and the body of theory developed in other disciplines, in order to evaluate the conclusions offered by scholars in those fields against the data under analysis, rather than to accept those conclusions as such and attempt to fit them into the data drawn from one's own discipline. These efforts, combined with the increasing willingness of scholars to deal with periods prior to or after the traditional domains of their disciplines, have already contributed to considerable reevaluation of older concepts, and promise to do much more. In some cases such work has been done by interdisciplinary groups which have combined methods and techniques in a specific project, such as those directed by John V. Murra in Huánuco or Thomas C. Patterson in the Lurin-Mala Valleys.<sup>14</sup> In other cases, scholars have continued to work upon individual projects, but with increasing interchange and collaboration.

Among those interested in the history of native societies, whether before or after the Spanish conquest, some new research emphases are emerging which contain considerable potential for deepening and enriching our understanding of those societies. Perhaps the most common trend is one which also seems to be characteristic of social history in other areas: the growing insistence on careful specification. One aspect of such specification is increasing emphasis upon the use of data drawn from a limited, carefully defined culture area. All scholars are becoming increasingly aware that not only was Mesoamerican society very different from that of the Andes, but

that both of these areas in themselves included a great many groups, all of whose characteristics cannot be assumed to be identical. We know that many different language groups existed in both areas at the time of the Spanish conquest, and are aware that these groups regarded themselves as different from one another. It is reasonable to assume, then, that while general cultural and social traditions may be shared over a large area, the specific ways in which they are combined and articulated may vary from one locality to another. One way of avoiding the generalities that have proven of so little value in comprehending the process of social change may be through seeking as much detailed information as possible on a single social group, whether it be a relatively large one like the kingdom of Chucuito or a small society composed of only a few thousand people.

The delineation of a limited area for study cannot always be made in terms of geography alone, however, although it may start there. In the Andes, for example, it has been increasingly noted that social groups sought access to many different ecological levels, a search which in some cases led to the establishment of colonies at extensive distances from the homeland. The society of Chucuito, based in the highland plain, or *puna*, on the borders of Lake Titicaca, maintained settlements of people which were an integral part of the society in places as far distant as the southern coastline of Peru and the lowland jungles drained by tributaries of the Amazon.<sup>15</sup> The definition of a social and cultural unit for study must form a part of each study; preliminary isolation of an area may have to be altered on the basis of additional information. This problem is common to social history in general, of course. A close study of what appears to be a localized group frequently reveals far-flung activities that must be taken into account if an adequate understanding of the nature and function of the group is to be obtained.<sup>16</sup>

Another, related aspect of this specification is the growing awareness that common analytical categories are aggregates based upon a combination of many elements that may or may not fit the historical situation under examination. Investigators have begun to test such categories against their data, by building up analytical categories on the basis of the historical data and then checking them against the assumptions and definitions of the culture from which the information was drawn, a process that one scholar has called the "disaggregation and reaggregation of data."<sup>17</sup> An example of the value of this approach is Charles Gibson's analysis of the structure of native administration and its relation to settlement patterns. Prior to Gibson's study, it was common to speak of Indian villages as if they differed only in size, and to assume that the minimal political unit was equivalent to the village itself, another set of assumptions drawn from modern data. Gibson, through a careful examination of the variety of village classifications in sixteenth-century materials, shows that, rather than an aggregate of isolated villages, Mesoamerican Indian society in the sixteenth-century was organized on the basis of *cabeceras*, capital towns whose position generally derived from pre-conquest antecedents, and their subordinate subject settlements, frequently based upon the local kin-group or *calpulli*. Furthermore, these administrative units do not seem to have been primarily territorial; a subject town was not necessarily tied to the cabecera that was geographically closest to it. Through his careful

reexamination of native village structure and politico-administrative units at various periods of time, Gibson has been able to delineate the process of change from pre-conquest administrative units to a structure more closely approximating the modern rural village, not as the result of a single event, the conquest, followed by the imposition of a new structure, but through the constant pressure of Spanish demands and the weakening of native traditions.<sup>18</sup>

Such new approaches have stimulated in many cases an emphasis upon previously little-used sources, as well as new uses of familiar, traditional materials. The Spanish chronicles, traditional historical sources, are being reexamined, and it has been noted that, although they purport to be general, synthetic descriptions, the sources from which the chroniclers drew their information can in many cases be determined. John Murra has cited some examples of recent historical research that permit us to place the sources of information contained in the chronicles through a more detailed knowledge of the activities and the informants of their authors, although much more remains to be done.<sup>19</sup> An even more useful body of sources are those which describe a specific, limited region. The *Relaciones geográficas*, the best known of this genre of materials, are being used by a group of investigators under the direction of Jean-Pierre Berthe as the basis for a detailed examination of the demographic and economic transformation of Mesoamerican society following the Spanish conquest.<sup>20</sup> The techniques used in the examination of the Mesoamerican data have also been used to analyze the *Relaciones* of Peru as part of a general study of the transformation of Andean society in the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

Another example of this kind of source is the *visita* or inspection of an Indian province, prepared throughout the sixteenth century and, to a lesser degree, in later periods as well, for a variety of purposes. The *visita* of Huánuco made in 1562, and the *visita* of Chucuito in 1567, are examples of the wealth of data that were gathered by Spanish officials aware of the need to comprehend the patterns of native society if they hoped to remake it to their specifications.<sup>22</sup> Such sources are now seen as basic to the serious analysis of native societies, yet publication of one of them, the *visita* of Huánuco, began in the 1920s, and attracted so little interest that the publication was not completed until some thirty years later, and was hardly cited by historians until John Murra demonstrated its value in a series of publications.<sup>23</sup> Now that we are developing methods of investigation based upon such specific data, interest in these sources has been growing, and several more such detailed *visitas* on a variety of subjects have been located.<sup>24</sup>

Another form of data that is of major importance, but has remained virtually untouched until recently, is the information generated by the Indians themselves, recording their decisions and their behavior in specific situations. It is increasingly clear that the Spaniards, like other colonial administrators, amassed an immense body of detailed information of this kind as a byproduct of the continuous, day-to-day necessity of adjusting legal generalities to local conditions.<sup>25</sup> Data of this type are often difficult to synthesize, for the structures and the assumptions which generate the actions recorded in such documents, and the context in which a given piece of behavior becomes comprehensible, are taken for granted by the actors and therefore not re-



corded, while that context is precisely what the historian is attempting to reconstruct. Yet these kinds of data, in addition to the value of their specificity, also permit the scholar to test an hypothesis generated on the basis of descriptive information through the application to the data of questions similar to those dear to the anthropologist, such as "what happens if . . .?" or, "what do you do when . . .?" When we add to our descriptive material on native groups and institutions, drawn from dictionaries, chronicles, administrative reports, and similar sources, data on how these institutions or groups operate in given situations, such as in a dispute over lands, or the performance of native ritual, we will have a far better basis upon which to begin to comprehend the mechanisms of native societies and the way in which they actually functioned, rather than limiting ourselves to their external appearance.

The examination in depth of a limited geographical area, which permits a far more exhaustive study of the variety of sources referring to that area, makes it possible to ask some very detailed questions about the function of a social system which, because of the volume of the sources alone, would be virtually impossible to answer in an investigation based upon sources drawn from a much more extensive region. A great deal of light can be thrown on patterns of social structure, for example, by defining the same or equivalent actors in different roles. My understanding of native patterns of authority and the ways in which they were maintained and transformed under colonial rule was significantly increased when I discovered that a man I had identified as a local *cacique* linked to the Spanish local authorities by ritual kin relations appeared in another context as an active participant in native religious ceremonies. If I had not been able to identify the two men as the same, I would have been able to talk about the growing ties of the Indian elite with Spanish society, and about the persistence of native worship despite efforts by the Catholic Church to eliminate it, but I doubt that I would have realized that both phenomena were part of the same structure of authority within the Indian community.<sup>26</sup>

Historians are also beginning to use types of materials, some written, some unwritten, that do not form part of the body of sources traditionally utilized by historians of Latin America. They have often been stimulated by examples offered by the anthropologists of what can be done with such materials. John Rowe's examination of changing styles of dress among the Indian elite of Cuzco, based upon portraits, is more than a study in the history of manners, as he clearly shows. Combined with other material, his study reveals an effort on the part of at least some of the eighteenth-century native elite to reconstruct an Indian culture distinct from that of their Spanish contemporaries, and based upon pre-Spanish traditions.<sup>27</sup>

Archaeological data can also add much to our knowledge of the colonial period as well as of the more distant past, and when combined with documentary sources, can throw light on aspects of native society that remain in shadow when either type of material is used alone. Using the Huánuco visita, John Murra and his associates were able to locate many of the sites discussed in the document, and both increase their information on native society and test hypotheses based upon the document alone. An adequate understanding of the impact of the resettlement of the Andean population carried out under the viceroyalty of Francisco de Toledo will, I suspect,

ultimately require a careful reconstruction of settlement patterns before and after the resettlement, on the basis of archaeological investigation. A field survey of Inca and colonial sites in the lower Rimac Valley, as part of a project under the direction of Thomas C. Patterson, permitted us to locate the sites of pre-Inca, Inca, and colonial settlements and, by comparing the settlement plans of Inca and colonial sites with the specifications for new villages laid down by colonial regulations, get a clearer concept of some of the conditions the Spaniards were seeking to modify. Nor were all settlements moved. In the Lurin and Mala Valleys in the province of Huarochirí, relatively level land is at a minimum, and as far as we were able to discover, many of the colonial—and modern—villages rest upon pre-Spanish foundations.<sup>28</sup>

While contemporary data cannot be projected back into the past, it, too, can be of considerable value in helping interpret colonial sources. In the Andean area, for example, plots of land as well as larger areas and landmarks are named, and few of these names are in Spanish. On the assumption that names tend to persist while the institutions or objects they designate may change in character, I compiled a list of named plots appearing in Indian wills from the villages of the upper Mala Valley, and with the assistance of John Thatcher and Nicolas Hellmuth, succeeded in locating a substantial portion of the plots.<sup>29</sup> On the basis of this information, I was able to learn that the Andean ideal of holding land in a variety of different microclimates was as characteristic of the single household as of larger social units. The distance between an individual's plots of land has diminished between the seventeenth century and the present in Huarochirí, although individuals still maintain access to a variety of ecological levels.

In addition to non-written sources, there is a large body of written materials that have been little used by historians in Latin America, and can yield much information on social organization. Recorded folk tales and myths, confessional manuals prepared in both Spanish and native languages for the guidance of rural parish priests, native-language dictionaries and grammars, are some of the materials that contain valuable information on many elements of native society which are neglected more in more traditional sources from kinship patterns to social stratification or the structure of authority, or even patterns of meaning and attitudes. It has occasionally been held that the difficulty of penetrating beyond Spanish colonial institutions to the structure of native societies themselves is primarily due to the inadequacy of the sources, but this inadequacy is at least partially the reflection of a limited definition of historical data and a reluctance to use non-descriptive materials.

A brilliant example of what can be done with such sources is Edward Calnek's dissertation on Highland Chiapas, which complements the limited amount of documentary materials and data from chronicles available by archaeological information and a sophisticated analysis of sixteenth century Tzeltal and Tzotzil dictionaries.<sup>30</sup> Calnek carefully examines native terms referring to land, religious and political positions, and social status, and through combining these with the descriptive data available for the area, reconstructs basic patterns of social organization. His efforts are primarily directed toward the reconstruction of pre-Spanish structures, but his understanding of that period permits him to throw considerable light upon important

aspects of colonial society, such as the mechanisms utilized by the native elite to maintain its authority within native society well into the eighteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

While insistence upon careful specification and a new approach to source materials has clearly revealed earlier models of native societies and of the nature of their transformation under colonial rule to be inadequate, they alone cannot provide a coherent set of hypotheses about the structure and function of native societies against which to test our data. The search for adequate models has continued, but the character of those models and the ways in which they are utilized are significantly different from those of earlier studies and have contributed considerably to our understanding of the structure and the transformation of native societies under colonial rule. No longer are historians confining themselves to work in other disciplines specifically referring to Latin America, nor merely utilizing the conclusions of those studies. As more attention is given to the possible applications of the methods of inquiry, the hypotheses, or the theoretical insights of other disciplines, rather than the information they can contribute, the value of work that does not refer specifically to Latin America becomes more apparent.

While the models utilized in the study of native societies are no longer drawn exclusively from Latin American studies, they are primarily based upon non-European models of social organization. In part, this is a factor of the non-European focus of anthropology, but among historians it is also related, in my case at least, to the growing awareness that the training of most colonial historians, which concentrates upon European traditions and the construction of a modified European society in an American setting, has provided the scholar with only a partial view, and given him few alternatives to his own, European-derived model of social organization against which to test the data on the clearly non-European societies he is seeking to comprehend. I have become increasingly aware that the social relationships, values, and attitudes characteristic of European societies represent one general pattern according to which social life may be ordered, and other complex societies have developed quite different ways of dealing with the same basic problems.

An awareness of other possible solutions to the same problems can permit the formulation of alternative hypotheses that might offer more valid insights into the structure of native societies than can be obtained by reliance upon the European model alone, and in addition, permit the historian to distinguish possible distortions of native categories and institutions introduced by European authors seeking to make sense of native societies in terms of their own experience. Both Africa and India contain examples of complex non-European societies that have also felt the impact of colonial rule. In these areas, colonial rule was introduced considerably later than in the Americas, and consequently more of the pre-colonial social and cultural patterns can be recovered in the field. Several scholars have found that the detailed analysis of patterns of social organization in societies of comparable complexity to pre-conquest societies can suggest useful perspectives from which to question the data on colonial native societies.<sup>32</sup>

Whether based upon European or non-European examples, the more recent models upon which scholars are drawing, as well as the use made of them, differ from

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earlier efforts. Rather than attempting to fit the society or societies under examination into an existing classificatory typology on the basis of descriptive, largely external features, scholars are attempting to construct models which illuminate the internal dynamics and the mechanisms of social articulation of different societies. Such models permit us to gain a better concept of the process of change—and its limitations—in a given social system, and can be tested by positing the actions that, according to the model, are likely to be taken in specific situations and then modifying, refining, or discarding the model on the basis of the concordance it demonstrates with the data in the historical records.

The trends and potentials that I find particularly suggestive for the analysis of American native societies are inspired largely in the new theoretical concepts and methodological orientations that have developed in the last thirty to forty years in both history and anthropology. Scholars working in the history of native cultures in Latin America have only begun to draw upon the orientations and suggestions that have been offered in other areas, and a general discussion of those developments goes far beyond the purpose of this article. Here, I want only to discuss a few of the theoretical and research orientations that have proven particularly useful to me, and that have nourished the work of others who are attempting to comprehend the history of native American societies.

The work of the British school of social anthropologists is one source of stimulating concepts and orientations. Since about the 1930s, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and others devoted their attention to what they defined as social anthropology, the study of social relations, or the network of interactions and institutions through which man regulates his relationships with other men. Through careful, long-term observation of the actions and interactions of persons belonging to the culture under study, the British anthropologists, primarily in Africa and other one-time British possessions, sought to derive the general features of social life in a particular culture, and determine the function of any recurrent activity in maintaining the integration and continuity of the social system. Their emphasis upon seeking the function of even the most apparently unrelated traditions and practices in structuring social life can be of great value in suggesting to the historian, faced with extrapolating the lost pieces of the social patterns of the past from the few remaining fragments, possible questions and interpretations to test against his data.<sup>33</sup>

I have found that the work of representatives of this school often suggests ways of viewing data which permit the perception of pattern beneath bewildering surface confusion. Colonial court records in the Andean area contain many little-used sources concerning land disputes between Indians, records which seem to reflect only a welter of multiple, conflicting claims to the same piece of territory. The apparent contradiction is not merely a matter of counter-claims offered by two or more disputants. In the course of a dispute, first an individual, then a kin-group, then another unit, appears in the record as the defendant or the accuser, and may attempt to assign the land to its proper owner, let alone determine the basis of that allocation, seemed hopeless.<sup>34</sup> The same confusion appeared to reign in available data on social organization, in which an individual or kin-group would trace its descent from first one ancestor, then

another.<sup>35</sup> Reference to patterns of social organization and land tenure in African societies, while far from solving all my problems, has permitted me to formulate testable hypotheses which, in some cases, have been corroborated by further investigation.<sup>36</sup>

The general orientation of social anthropologists, however, is toward the construction of an essentially static picture of social organization, and the occasionally extreme emphasis which they place upon continuity and the persistence of structural forms is often frustrating to the historian—or anthropologist—seeking to comprehend the discontinuities and dislocations embodied in the colonial experience. Related to this problem, I find the work of the *Annales* school, in France, and their successors, particularly stimulating. Although essentially concerned with European societies, the continuing concern of these scholars with social structures, which they, too, regard as the principles by which men and women order their relationships to one another, is enriched and deepened by their emphasis upon the transformation of those structures through time in response to the internal dynamics of the structures themselves, as well as to the impact of outside events.<sup>37</sup> A further stimulus to my own thinking has been the attention devoted by these scholars to the problem of time, as determined by the process of change at various levels of the society, from the day-to-day rhythm of individual events to the long-term fluctuations noted by the students of economic cycles or geographic and climatic transformations.<sup>38</sup>

The field of cultural anthropology in the United States also offers interesting suggestions to historians, although that subject, like social anthropology, tends to conceive of cultures as fixed systems, and not as structures in the process of transformation. Cultural anthropologists are primarily interested in the study of meaning-systems. They have refined and delimited the concept of culture as "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols," a definition which emphasizes their concern with the study of what might be called "world views."<sup>39</sup>

The careful study of symbol-systems and their transformation through time is itself an important subject for historical investigation, and when combined with an examination of the rhythm of transformation of these symbols in relation to the process of social and economic change, suggests exciting possibilities for historical investigation. I have attempted to utilize some of the orientations of this field in the study of the cultural definitions of race and their transformations during the colonial period, and have found them helpful, with the caveat that, again, the historian must guard against the tendency to construct symbol-systems so grand and general that they are of little use in perceiving and delimiting the processes and directions of change.<sup>40</sup>

French structuralism, represented primarily by the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, has provided another source of theoretical orientations which have stimulated some exciting reexaminations of the transformation of native society in the Andean area. Also basically oriented toward the study of signs and symbols, the structuralists approach that study at what some might call a "deeper," others a more philosophical or abstract level, seeking to determine the transformations or permutations of a given theme in different societies, and, through the examination of those translations,

to establish cross-cultural themes or types which permit significant comparisons. Nathan Wachtel has utilized this approach with great insight and imagination in his analysis of the transformation of Andean Indian society in the sixteenth century. A careful examination of the replies to questions of value, such as "do you live better or worse than before the Spaniards arrived?" in the *Relaciones geográficas*, and of the transformations in native myths and representations of the Spanish conquest, provides the basis for his attempt to comprehend the impact of the conquest upon the members of Andean society from the inside, as they perceived it.<sup>41</sup>

It has often been noted that scholars attempting to comprehend the history of groups that do not leave their own record are severely hampered in their efforts to comprehend those groups in their own terms, particularly when the groups under study do not share the culture of those who recorded their actions or described their behavior. Wachtel's work is particularly exciting for its attempt to use the structuralist approach as a means of overcoming that difficulty.

#### NEW LOOKS AT OLD PROBLEMS

Many of the new directions and orientations described above can be perceived in the treatment of topics that have long attracted the interest of historians studying colonial Indian society. One of these topics, the historical demography of native populations, while a specialized field in itself, possessing its own techniques and hypotheses, is also essential to an analysis of the transformation of native societies and, when extended beyond the computation of basic statistics, becomes an integral part of the basic concerns of social history. In addition, a major proportion of recent work on native societies during the colonial period has been in the field of demography. For those reasons, I would like to discuss some of the tendencies in that field, particularly in relation to those aspects of historical demography which illuminate problems of social structure and culture.

The techniques and methods used to calculate the size of past populations have received considerable discussion in other studies directly concerned with historical demography.<sup>42</sup> Two major approaches to the problem of estimating past populations have been utilized in the Americas, one primarily by archaeologists and geographers, the other by historians and demographers. Both approaches have been pushing estimates of pre-conquest populations considerably higher than had once been thought. The first approach, which has been utilized particularly where documentary materials are not available, consists of efforts to determine the carrying capacity of a given region in terms of the conditions and yields of the particular agricultural system practiced there.<sup>43</sup> Such estimates, of course, do not prove that the population actually reached the carrying capacity of a given agricultural system, but they do question some of the accepted assumptions on the basis of which previous general estimates have been made.

The work of the historical demographers, on the other hand, has been primarily concerned with the reconstruction of the general demographic curve of native populations. Most attention to date has been concentrated upon the period immediately preceding and following the Spanish conquest, in an effort to calculate the extent

of the decline of native populations following the conquest, a subject that has generated many polemics on the basis of extremely scanty knowledge. The studies by Lesley B. Simpson, Sherburne Cook, and Woodrow W. Borah on Mexico, based upon intensive, detailed examination of quantitative sources such as the sixteenth-century *Suma de visitas*, have set a model for the reconstruction of native populations despite the fact that the estimate by these authors of a pre-conquest population of some 25 million persons in central Mexico is still resisted by many.<sup>44</sup>

The studies by Simpson, Cook, and Borah on Mexico have as yet no equivalent in the Andean area, although work there is beginning, and there are some suggestions that the general trend of research in that area will also argue for a considerably denser pre-Columbian population than is now generally assumed. The general outlines of the curve projected for Mexico, a steep drop followed by a less drastic decline until the mid-seventeenth century, and then slow recovery, have also been projected for Peru, with the major exception that the low point of the demographic curve did not seem to have been reached until the mid-eighteenth century, a century later than in Mesoamerica.<sup>45</sup> In Peru, attention has also been devoted to the latter years of the colonial period and the beginning of the republic, in an effort to obtain a picture of population characteristics at a single period or over a limited span of time.<sup>46</sup>

One of the difficulties facing those who have attempted to reconstruct the demographic curve of native populations in Peru on a viceregal scale has been the character of the sources. There were few counts of the Indian population of the entire viceroyalty carried out during the colonial period, and a number of the sources upon which scholars have relied have turned out to be compilations drawn up on the basis of local and provincial counts taken at widely different points of time.<sup>47</sup> Such considerations have led to increasing interest in local primary materials, in some cases provincial *visitas* or population counts, in others parish records, which permit a continuous picture of demographic characteristics over an extended period of time. Noble David Cook is currently working with provincial *visitas* in his study of native population trends in the first half of the colonial period, and Rolando Mellafe has been engaged in applying the methods of family reconstitution and other forms of detailed analysis to the parish records of the city of Lima in the sixteenth century. Sources permitting such detailed analysis are not limited to urban areas, furthermore, for parish records dating to the colonial period can be found in many rural villages. Billy Jean Isbell has located parish archives dating back to the seventeenth century in a small highland village in the province of Ayacucho in Peru.

More directly relevant to the topic of this essay, however, is the potential of utilizing the techniques of historical demography in the analysis of problems not strictly related to demographic trends. The analysis of local demographic materials, such as the parish records, can help answer a number of questions which remain obscure in other sources. Let me offer one example of a problem particularly amenable to the combination of pure demographic analysis and social history.

It is well known that the volume of internal migration in the viceroyalty of Peru was enormous; not only were Indians constantly on the move because of their forced

labor service and the search for employment, but the Andean ideal of access to a variety of ecological niches, which stimulated a pattern of dispersed landholding, also fostered mobility. In some cases, several villages appear to have shared essentially the same population. In the province of Huarochirí, a dispute between neighboring priests over their parishioners revealed that many of the inhabitants of the sixteenth century *reducción* of San Damián were also registered in a village more than fifteen miles away, and spent much time in still another site, which was recognized as a village in the nineteenth century. Each of these areas was at a different altitude and was devoted to different crops; the Indians apparently migrated from one to another, residing successively in each, during the course of the year.<sup>48</sup>

If he were unaware of this pattern, the demographer seeking to trace the population trends of the area could be seriously misled in his estimates, or at the least, be faced with some puzzling phenomena. On the other hand, I would very much like to know what proportion of the population participated in this seasonal migration, and whether there was a tendency over time for people to settle in one or another place, moving toward a pattern of separate villages that supplemented the deficiencies of their locations through trade, and gradually giving up the Andean model of community self-sufficiency. Such questions, which are basic to the study of the social and economic transformation of Andean society, can be most adequately answered with the aid, or the techniques, of historical demographers.

Two topics that have consistently drawn the interest of scholars investigating native colonial society are native religion and revolt. In Peru, where the colonial Church in the seventeenth century mounted a particularly strong campaign to reveal and eradicate native religious practices, ecclesiastical archives contain a wealth of data on native religion. Charles Gibson notes that, while the Church in New Spain was less willing to acknowledge the persistence of native religious beliefs and practices, records of idolatry exist there as well.<sup>49</sup> From the early years of this century, scholars have published descriptions of colonial native religious attitudes and practices, and sought to evaluate them.<sup>50</sup> Younger scholars, including Nancy Gilmer, Pierre Duviols, Franklin Pease, and Luis Millones, have continued this tradition, dedicating their efforts to the examination of native beliefs and ceremonies.<sup>51</sup>

Progress has been made in delineating some aspects of native belief systems, but this material can also be used in many other ways. An examination of native beliefs and ceremonies in relation to other aspects of culture and social structure could illuminate not only the persistence and transformation of native religion, but also the mechanisms of political and social structure and their transformation under colonial rule. Witchcraft accusations included in the idolatry materials also suggest the possibility of utilizing these sources to gain insights into the lines of tension within the native communities. Anthropological studies of the social function of ceremony and of witchcraft suggest fascinating questions that might be applied to such data, and historical research on witchcraft in other areas indicates that it is not entirely vain to hope that historical records may yield, if not as detailed and complete an analysis as can be achieved by a sensitive anthropologist working with live informants, at least sufficient material to throw considerable light on the mechanisms and the strains of the social structures.<sup>52</sup>



Millenarian movements often provide sharp reminders that otherworldly beliefs may have strong political overtones. An examination of these movements, which often take the form of revolts, thus leaving behind a wealth of documentation in colonial court records, can provide considerable insight into the structure of authority and power in native society, as well as the cultural response to colonial rule.<sup>53</sup> The millenarian movement of 1565 in Peru has been examined by several scholars.<sup>54</sup> Another case, the Chiapas revolt of 1712, reveals the close interrelationship of religious movements and political organization. Herbert Klein, basing his analysis upon the trial records of the native rebels, noted that the revolt, sparked by the investigations into native religious practices conducted by the local bishop, was led by the traditional elite, which retained firm control over the "prophets" of the movement.<sup>55</sup> Edward Calnek, on the basis of his reconstruction of native social structures, was able to go further. The traditional elite, their open political control limited by the Spanish authorities, had maintained their position of authority in native society through their monopoly of religious power. The elite controlled the ritual calendar on the basis of which an individual was assigned his *nahuals*, or patron deities. The *nahuals* determined an individual's power to inflict or resist harm, and this control made it possible for the elite to monopolize the most powerful *nahuals*, and maintain its social control through the threat of witchcraft. The attack of the Church upon native religious practices and beliefs was thus a direct attack upon the basis of power of the traditional native elite.<sup>56</sup>

In the Andean area, Nathan Wachtel has also sought to isolate those elements of native society, in this case belief systems, that contributed to the development of an Indian resistance movement. As part of his analysis of the structuralist model of Inca society constructed by R. T. Zuidema, Wachtel examined the native millenarian movement that swept the Andes in 1565, in the light of some of the implications of Zuidema's model.<sup>57</sup> The ways in which Inca society perceived the world, the structures of meaning embodied in that culture, were not erased by the conquest, and Wachtel suggests that these traditional categories were utilized in 1565 in an entirely new context and with a new meaning: that of a revolt against the Spaniards in the fashion of the familiar cargo cults of contemporary Melanesia.

The cycle of Indian revolts that began in the mid-seventeenth century in Peru, culminating in the great revolt sparked by Tupac Amaru II, could also be analyzed profitably in terms of cultural factors contributing to the development of planned, directed rebellions.<sup>58</sup> Evidence to date on these movements reveals no millenarian elements; they seem to have been openly political, with little or no religious overtones. They followed considerable protest on the part of the native elite against abuses by colonial authorities, and based on that evidence and on some of the pronouncements of Tupac Amaru II calling for an end to bad government, the Indian revolts have been traditionally presented as movements against colonial government and, by extension, precursors of the later independence movement against the Spanish crown.<sup>59</sup> Such a presentation is facilitated by the fact that, in colonial documents, the term "Spanish" is essentially equivalent to "white," and colonial society is described as composed of Spaniards, Mestizos, Negroes, and Indians, plus additional mixed groups of smaller size. The distinction between those born in Spain and the Span-

ish-Americans who are members of white, or European society—the *criollos*—is generally limited to materials directly concerned with the tensions between the Spanish bureaucracy and the American-born colonial elite.

These various meanings of the term “Spanish,” according to the context in which the word appears, make it difficult to specify, without further research, just what the Indian rebels meant by their opposition to the “Spaniards,” but there is considerable evidence suggesting that they made little distinction between the Spanish colonial authorities and the *criollos* who were later to lead the movement for independence against Spain. Objectively, there was little reason for them to do so, for both groups shared essentially the same attitudes toward the Indians; for the Spanish-born *corregidor* or priest, or the colonial-born *hacendado* or miner alike, the Indian was basically a source of labor and profit. When the Indian rebels of the province of Huarochiri in 1750 called upon the villagers to turn against the Spaniards and join them in the name of their “blood” and their “nation,” the term Spaniard, in the context of their actions during the revolt, appears to refer to all members of European or white society, whatever their actual birthplace.<sup>60</sup>

Other theories on the nature of the Indian revolts also support the concept that the Indians essentially saw themselves as oppressed by all members of European or white society. John Rowe, in a study of the Indian elite and its relationship to the eighteenth-century revolts, concluded that the revolts were the expression and the product of a concept of Inca nationalism which developed within the native elite.<sup>61</sup> There is considerable evidence that more privileged groups in Indian society, not only the elite but Indian artisans and other residents of the urban centers as well, were developing in the eighteenth century a concept of themselves as distinct from and in opposition to members of European society. A careful study of the urban Indians, their fields of association and reference, their marriage ties, social and occupational affiliations, attitudes and values, would permit us to determine the concept of their own culture that they were creating for themselves and, hopefully, its relation to their participation in Indian revolts.

A knowledge of the grievances and the aims of the rebel leaders does not necessarily tell us why the masses of the Indian population joined them, however. Undoubtedly, grinding exploitation contributed heavily to their willingness to rise against the Spanish authorities, and further knowledge of the variations in the degree and kind of exploitation would be of much value in analyzing the native revolts.<sup>62</sup> It has been suggested that the degree of exploitation in New Spain in the eighteenth century was considerably lighter than in Peru; if so, that would help explain why there were so many more revolts in the latter viceroyalty. A further suggestion has been made by Nathan Wachtel, who has pointed out that millennial themes are also far more prominent in Andean than in Mesoamerican folklore, much of which can be traced back into the colonial period.<sup>63</sup> The content of millennial themes may be primarily otherworldly, but as the literature on cargo cults has shown, the promised redemption may also be viewed as “here and now.” The written messages calling for revolt in openly political terms were prepared by the leaders of the revolt, and clearly addressed to a literate audience. John Rowe has suggested that there might have been

substantial differences in the nature of the message and the aims expressed in verbal calls for revolt addressed to the Indian rural peasantry.<sup>64</sup> The grievances of the Andean peasantry may have been articulated in terms of millennial traditions, and those traditions may even have formed a part of the appeal to the rural peasantry made by the leadership. In any case, the importance of carefully delineating the variety of social groups participating in the eighteenth-century revolts is increasingly clear. In these movements, the Indian elite joined the Indian peasantry; the acculturated urban artisan joined the members of rural communities. In order to gain a clearer idea of the origin and the disintegration of these rebellions, we must get a better concept of the conditions, attitudes, and aims that led the members of the varied groups to see each other as brothers or allies aligned against a common enemy.

Finally, let me bring the wheel full circle, and return to the larger society. The history of colonial society is not only the history of the transplanting of European society to the new world and the decomposition and transformation of native culture and social structures. It is also the history of the development of new cultural traditions and social groups out of the interaction of the two societies. Let me illustrate this by looking at the Indian in the context of two familiar topics: the development of colonial urban society, and the colonial system of social stratification.

Colonial urban society is commonly regarded as a European society, despite the recognized importance of Indian migration to the cities and the growth of a substantial native urban population. Indian residents of the cities, it is suggested, were "acculturated," adopting Spanish habits and attitudes. This conclusion is supported by a great deal of evidence. Despite legal provisions to the contrary, Indian and Spanish populations in the urban areas were increasingly intermingled in the course of the colonial period.<sup>65</sup>

Despite this evidence, I find myself somewhat skeptical about the assumption that the Indian migrants to Lima exchanged their culture for that of the Europeans. The participation and in many cases the active leadership of urban Indians in Lima in native rebellions suggests that many among this group, despite their external similarity to their European urban neighbors, regarded themselves as Indian, a category different from and increasingly in opposition to the Europeans. There is no evidence yet that the urban Indians in Mexico City plotted to rebel; if they did not, we might look further for differences in the conditions and the urban culture of migrants to the major urban centers in the two viceroyalties.

The concept of acculturation itself may well be too gross for an adequate understanding of the development of the complicated social organization and culture of the cities. Rather than thinking in terms of the elimination of Indian traditions in favor of European ones, we might examine carefully the changing patterns of social organization and culture among Indian migrants to the cities, as well as other groups, and then see if in fact we can describe that process as one of becoming like the European or Spanish-American residents of the cities, or if we must recognize the development of various urban traditions with real differences between them.<sup>66</sup>

Colonial patterns of social stratification and, in particular, the relationship between race and class in colonial society is another topic in which Indian and Spaniard

must be examined in terms of one another. Colonial regulations recognized a variety of racial categories based upon membership in groups defined as Indian, Negro, European, or combinations of these. Scholars have sought to reconstruct the changing proportions of these racial or quasi-racial groups in colonial society, but there is considerable question about just what the resultant statistics signify.<sup>67</sup> The growth of the mestizo sector, for example, is clearly not just an index of the degree of interbreeding between Spaniard and Indian; yet while these categories are intimately related to economic and social criteria, they are not defined entirely in terms of such criteria. What was an Indian? The Spanish authorities defined an Indian as the descendant of Indian parents, registered as such at birth in the parish records. But an Indian was also a person who could be recognized by certain characteristics of dress and behavior, who spoke a different language, lived in a native community, and above all, paid tribute and, in Peru, was liable to the labor draft. Economically and socially, the group defined as Indian was at the bottom of colonial society, in that its members received the least social and economic remuneration for their labors. But what of the Indian elite, the members of families defined as noble, free of most of the levies imposed upon other members of native society and often enjoying considerable wealth? What of the urban Indian artisans described earlier, who shared almost none of the characteristics defined by the society as Indian, but were still legally registered as such?

It had been suggested that colonial society moved from a "caste" model, in which the social and economic opportunities of individuals were determined by the racial group to which they were assigned at birth, toward a class model in which racial designations became little more than definitions of socio-economic groups. This hypothesis has been facilitated by the tendency to base analyses of colonial social stratification heavily upon legal dispositions, which contain much material specifying the privileges and restrictions of racial groups. Yet after struggling to analyze my data in terms of either model, or even a combination of the two, I have begun to suspect that it might be more useful to conceive of colonial society in terms of multiple hierarchies based upon various criteria of social rank which are interrelated, but far from identical. Once the various criteria are separated, it will be possible to get a clearer idea of what they signified to individuals in colonial society, how the criteria which placed a person in one hierarchy might be used—or not—to modify or bend his position in another. I suspect that such data would not only help us refine our concepts of social stratification in colonial society, but also provide insight into the transformation of the concept of race and its relation to structural changes in the society as a whole.

In conclusion, we are becoming increasingly aware that the data available for the study of colonial society are extremely rich, and can yield far more than was once thought possible. In the study of native societies, the reexamination of many traditional sources in a new light and the careful study of documentary evidence previously little utilized has permitted a far deeper understanding of the culture and social structure of those societies. The realization of the importance of specificity and careful attention to the wealth of detail contained in the sources has led to the questioning of many accepted assumptions and opened the way for new hypotheses.

Just as important, however, has been the growing interest in the general body of theory on social structure and culture developed since the 1930s by anthropologists and historians working in many different areas. The continued interplay between careful attention and sensitivity to the wealth of detail in our sources and increasingly refined hypotheses and models enriched by that detail promises to augment considerably not only our information about the past, but also, and more importantly, our understanding of it.

## NOTES

1. Much of the thought behind this article has been developed in the course of extensive conversations with Professor John V. Murra and Professor Thomas C. Patterson, and through participation in a seminar on historical anthropology at the University of Chicago, directed by Professors Bernard S. Cohn and Ronald Inden, my participation in which was made possible by a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. I have drawn extensively upon the ideas of all these people, and of my co-members in the seminar as well. I am of course entirely responsible for the interpretations I have given to those ideas, and for any errors I have made.
2. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El corregidor de indios en el Perú bajo los Austrios* (Madrid, 1957); Robert Ricard, *La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique* (Paris, 1933). On the labor draft, see Luis J. Basto Girón, "Las mitas de Huamanga y Huancavelica," *Perú Indígena*, 13: 2–28 (Lima, 1954); Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Las minas de Huancavelica en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Sevilla, 1949). For a general survey of the levies placed upon the Indians in Peru, see John H. Rowe, "The Incas Under Spanish Colonial Institutions," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXVII, 2: 155–199 (May, 1957).
3. James Lockhart, in the preceding article, discusses these studies. On the Andes, see particularly John Leddy Phelan, *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century* (Madison, 1967); also Pedro Rodríguez Crespo, "Sobre parentescos de los oidores con los grupos superiores de la sociedad limeña (a comienzos del siglo XVII)," *Mercurio Peruano*, 447–450: 3–15 (Lima, 1965).
4. Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, 1964); see also the studies of Lesley B. Simpson, *Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain: the Civil Congregation* (Berkeley, 1934); José Miranda, "La función económica del encomendero en los orígenes del régimen colonial de Nueva España (1525–1531)," *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, 2: 421–462 (1941–46); Woodrow W. Borah, *New Spain's Century of Depression*, Ibero-Americana: 35 (Berkeley, 1951).
5. Alvaro Jara is currently engaged in a major survey of mining production in Peru during the colonial period; see also Lohmann Villena, *Huancavelica*. On the obrajes, see Fernando Silva Santisteban, *Los obrajes en el virreinato del Perú* (Lima, 1964).
6. Woodrow W. Borah, *Silk Raising in New Spain in the Sixteenth Century*, Ibero-Americana: 20 (Berkeley, 1943); Gibson, *Aztecs*.
7. "The Kuraka as Merchant in Colonial Peru" (unpublished ms.).
8. Archivo Nacional del Perú, Sección Histórica, "Superior Gobierno," Legajo IX, Cuaderno 175, Fols. 6–8v.
9. Much of this work is contained in the early volumes of the *Revista Histórica*, which provides an illustration of the variety of interests of Peruvian scholars during the early years of this

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century. Many of the studies published in the *Revista* are of lasting value, and some of the documents published there early in the century can now be found in no other place.

10. For examples of such models, see Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism, a Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven, 1957); Louis Baudin, *L'Empire Socialiste des Inka* (Paris 1928).
11. There are some important exceptions to this generalization, which applies to the period prior to the 1940s. See, for example, the work of Ella Dunbar Temple, listed in the bibliography.
12. Gibson, *Aztecs*. For other similar, although less complete studies, see Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1952); John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison, 1959).
13. A basis was laid for the study of Andean society by the *Handbook of South American Indians*; see the following: John H. Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," 2: 183–330 (Washington, D.C., 1946); George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," 2: 231–410; Paul Kirchoff, "The Social and Political Organization of the Andean Peoples," 5: 293–311. (Washington, D.C., 1949). Much of recent work among both anthropologists and historians owes both inspiration and encouragement to John V. Murra, whose first study, "The Economic Organization of the Inca State" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Chicago) was completed in 1956. For his other studies, see the bibliography.
14. For some of the results of the Huánuco project published to date, see the commentary essay in Inigo Ortíz de Zúñiga, *Visita de la provincia de León de Huánuco en 1562*, I (Huánuco 1967), and the collection of articles in the *Cuadernos de Investigación: Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán*, no. 1 (Huánuco, 1966), *passim*.
15. John V. Murra, "An Aymara Kingdom in 1567," *Ethnohistory*, 15: 121–125 (spring, 1968).
16. See, for example, the discussion of the works of David Brading and others in the preceding article by James Lockhart.
17. Bernard S. Cohn, "Society and Social Change Under the Raj," *South Asian Review*, 28–29 (Oct., 1970); see also Adeline Daumard, "Données économiques et histoire sociale," *Revue Economique*, no. 1. (Jan., 1965), esp. 65–66.
18. Gibson, *Aztecs*, 33–57.
19. John V. Murra, "Current Research and Prospects in Andean Ethnohistory," *Latin American Research Review*, 5: 4–6 (Spring, 1970).
20. The great majority of the *relaciones geográficas* of the Andean area are contained in Melchor Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1881–1893). For a survey of the Mesoamerican *relaciones*, many more of which have been located, Howard Cline, "The *Relaciones Geográficas* of the Spanish Indies, 1577–1586," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 44: 340–374 (1964).
21. Nathan Wachtel, "La visión des vaincus," these du 35<sup>e</sup> cycle, University of Paris, 1968 (press).
22. Ortíz de Zúñiga, *Visita de Huánuco*; "Visita por . . . del repartimiento de los Yachas Juan Sánchez Falcon [1562]," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú*, XIX–XXIV (1961–1966); Garcí Diez de San Miguel, *Vista hecha a la provincia de Chucuito . . . en el 1567* (Lima, 1964).
23. The first portion of the *vista* of Huánuco, recently republished in 1967, was published in the *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* between 1920 and 1925; the second portion of the

visita was not published until 1955. Examples of John Mura's publications utilizing the visita include "An Archaeological 'Restudy' of an Andean Ethnohistorical Account," *American Antiquity*, 28: 1-4 (July, 1962); "Social Structural and Economic Themes in Andean Ethnohistory," *Anthropological Quarterly*, 34: 48-55 (April, 1961); "New Data on Retainer and Servile Populations in Tawantinsuyu," *Actas y memorias del XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, II (Sevilla, 1966), 35-45.

4. See, for example, Rolando Mellafe, "La significación histórica de los puentes en el virreinato peruano del siglo XVI," *Historia y Cultura*, 1: 65-113 (Lima, 1965); Waldemar Espinosa Soriano, "El primer informe etnológico sobre Cajamarca, año de 1540," *Revista Peruana de Cultura*, XI-XX: 5-41 (Lima, 1967); and the most recent number of *Historia y Cultura*, no. 4 (Lima, 1970), especially the "Documentos sobre Chucuito," 5-48.
25. A particularly valuable example of such data is that generated by community conflicts over land and water rights, or by disputes over authority between native chiefs or *kurakas*. In the course of allegation and counter-allegation, a great deal of supplementary material is introduced which provides the reader with very specific examples of what happens in particular circumstances; and further insights can be gained by following the course of the disputes themselves, noting when additional support is called in by disputants, and where that support is sought. Such information is in many ways quite similar to the data utilized by anthropologists to determine the social mechanisms through which conflict is mediated in the societies they study.
5. "Indian Rural Society in Colonial Peru: the example of Huarochirí," 164 (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Berkeley, 1967); "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 50: 659-661 (Nov., 1970).
27. "Colonial Portraits of Inca Nobles," in: *The Civilizations of Ancient America: Proceedings of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists*, Sol Tax, ed. 1: 258-268 (Chicago, 1951). Also see, by the same author, "Movimiento Nacional Inca del siglo XVIII," *Revista Universitaria del Cuzco*, 107: 3-33 (2do semestre, 1954, Cuzco, 1955).
- . Field work done in the summer of 1968, as participant in a project directed by Thomas C. Patterson, "Archaeology of the Western Slopes of the Andes in Central Peru," under the sponsorship of the National Science Foundation.
29. Work done as part of the above project. The testaments were drawn from the Archivo Nacional del Perú, Sección Histórica, "Testamentos de Indios;" Sección Histórica, "Derecho Indígena," Cuaderno 149.
- . Edward E. Calnek, "Highland Chiapas Before the Spanish Conquest" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Chicago, 1962).
- . See the additional discussion of Calnek's observations on colonial social structure in the discussion of Indian revolts, below.
22. John V. Murra, in a previous article in this journal, has suggested some perspectives that he regards as useful for the analysis of Andean data. See Murra, "Current Research," *LARR*, 5: 16-17.

For Radcliffe-Brown's presentation of his concept of social anthropology, see *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (N.Y., 1965), especially Ch. 9, "On the Concept of Function in Social Science," and Ch. 10, "On Social Structure." For classic examples of work in this tradition, see Raymond Firth, *We the Tikopia* (London, 1931); E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (Oxford, 1940); Meyer Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* (Oxford, 1945), and *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi* (Oxford, 1949).

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34. Such confusion is often characteristic of land disputes. See, for example, Archivo Nacional del Perú, Sección Histórica, "Tierras de Comunidad," Legajo 8, Cuaderno 63; Legajo 11, Cuaderno 94.
35. See, for example, material on ayllu ancestors in *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí, narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila (1598?)*, 63, 77, 145, 181, 183, 169, 141. Trans., José María Arguedas (Lima, 1966).
36. My analysis is contained in a manuscript (in preparation) about the social organization of the peoples of Huarochirí during the colonial period.
37. See the classic and always stimulating study by Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society* (Chicago, 1960); also Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, *Les Paysans de Languedoc*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966).
38. For analyses of long-term fluctuations as a part of the historical process, see LeRoy Ladurie, *Les Paysans*; Ernest Labrousse, *Le crise de l'économie française a la fin de l'ancien régime et au début de la Révolution* (Paris, 1944); LeRoy Ladurie, *Histoire du climat depuis l'an 1000* (Paris, 1967); Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen a l'époque de Philippe II*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966). For a stimulating discussion of the variety of rhythms of time in historical analysis, see Fernand Braudel, "Histoire et sciences sociales: la longue durée," *Annales E.S.C.*, 13: 725–753 (Oct.–Dec., 1958).
39. Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," In: *Religion*, Michael Banton, ed., 3 (London, 1966).
40. "Social Organization and Revolt" (unpublished *ms.* to be published in Spanish translation by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima).
41. "La vision des vaincus," especially Part I, pp. 1–45; Part II, pp. 30–35; also "La vision des vaincus: la conquête espagnole dans le folklore indigène," *Annales, E.S.C.*, 22: 554–585 (May–June, 1967).
42. Woodrow W. Borah, "The Historical Demography of Latin America: Sources, Techniques, Controversies, Yields." Paper presented at the International Meeting of the Society of Economic History, Bloomington, Ind. Sept., 1968. (Mimeo.)
43. See, for example, William M. Denevan, "A Cultural-Ecological view of the Former Aboriginal Settlement in the Amazon Basin," *The Professional Geographer*, 28: 346–351 (1966); Denevan, *The Aboriginal Cultural Geography of the Llanos de Mojos of Bolivia*, Ibero-Americana: 48 (Berkeley, 1966); Sherburne F. Cook, *Soil Erosion and Population in Central Mexico*, Ibero-Americana: 34 (Berkeley, 1949); Cook, *The Historical Demography and Ecology of the Teotlalpan*, Ibero-Americana: 33 (Berkeley, 1949); Carl Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, 1966), discussion pp. 51–69.
44. Sherburne F. Cook and Lesley B. Simpson, *The Population of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, Ibero-Americana: 31 (Berkeley, 1948); S. F. Cook and Woodrow W. Borah, *The Indian Population of Central Mexico, 1531–1610*, Ibero-Americana: 44 (Berkeley, 1960); W. W. Borah and S. F. Cook, *The Population of Central Mexico in 1548: an Analysis of the Suma de visitas de pueblos*, Ibero-Americana: 43 (Berkeley, 1960); Borah and Cook, *The Aboriginal Population of Central Mexico on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest*, Ibero-Americana: 45 (Berkeley, 1963).
45. See George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," *Handbook of South American Indians*, 2: 339 (Washington, D.C.); C. T. Smith, "Despoblación de los Andes centrales en el siglo XVI," *Revista del Museo Nacional*, (Lima, 1967–68); Noble David Cook, "The Indian Population of Peru, 1570–1620." (Paper presented at the American Historical Association Meetings, Dec., 1970; mimeo).



46. George Kubler, *The Indian Caste of Peru, 1795–1940* (Washington, D.C., 1952). Professor John J. TePaske has also pointed out to me the existence of a study of the demography of the viceroyalty at the end of the colonial period: Gunter Vollmar, "Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur im Vizekönigreich Peru zu Ende der Kolonialzeit (1741–1821)." (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Cologne.)
47. While data purporting to record the Indian population of the viceroyalty in 1572, 1683, and 1792 are clearly based upon general counts of the Indian population taken in those years, other general summaries of the native population, such as those drawn up in 1586, 1628, and 1750, cannot be accepted with the same degree of confidence. In the case of the count purporting to record the Indian population of the viceroyalty in 1750, commonly utilized by students of colonial demography such as Kubler in "The Quechua in the Colonial World," there is evidence which reveals the 1750 statistics as a compilation of population counts which range over a period of some eighty years. See "Informe del Contador de Retasas en que se da noticia de todas las provincias del reino del Perú y razón del estado actual de las revistas de ellas hasta el año de 1768," in Antonio Porlier, "Libro de cédulas, autos acordados, y otros instrumentos pertenecientes a los yndios," II (1770). (Mss. in the Yale University Library; microfilm in the Bancroft Library, Univ. of California, Berkeley.)
48. "Autos promovidos por el Bachiller Melchor de Segura, 1661," Archivo Arzobispal, "Visitas de Huarochirí," Legajo I, fols. 1–2v, 9.
49. Gibson, *Aztecs*, 101.
50. Among the important early publications of source materials are Pablo José de Arriaga, *Extirpación de la idolatría en el Perú* (Lima, 1920), recently translated into English by L. Clark Keating under the title, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1968); the reports of Francisco de Avila and other clerics working in the region of Huarochirí, published in various sources and recently collected and republished in *Dioses y Hombres de Huarochirí*, 241–266; Carlos A. Romero, "Idolatrías de los indios Huachos y Yauyos," *Revista Histórica*, VI, ent. 2, 180–197 (Lima, 1918); Pedro de Villagomez, *Exhortaciones e instrucción acerca de las idolatrias de los indios del arzobispado de Lima [1649]* (Lima, 1919).
51. Nancy Caldwell Gilmer, "Huarochirí in the seventeenth century: the persistence of native religion in colonial Peru." (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Berkeley, 1952); Franklin Pease, "Una visita al obispado de Charcas [1590]," *Humanidades*, no. 3 (Lima, 1970); Pierre Duviols, "Estudio biobibliográfico de Francisco de Avila," in *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí*, 218–237; Duviols, "Un inédit de Cristóbal de Albornoz," *Journal de la société des Américanistes*, 56: 7–39 (Paris, 1967); Luis Millones, "Un movimiento nativista del siglo XVI: el Taki Onqoy," *Revista Peruana de Cultura*, 3: 134–140 (Lima, 1964); Millones, "Introducción al estudio de las idolatrías," *Aportes*, 4: 47–82 (Paris, April, 1967); Millones, *Las informaciones de Cristóbal de Albornoz: documentos para el estudio del Taki Onqoy* (Cuernavaca, México, 1971).
52. For an example of analysis of the relation between ritual and social structure in anthropological literature, see Victor W. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (N.Y. and Ithaca, 1967). On witchcraft, see Mary Douglas, ed., *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London, 1970), which contains a theoretical introduction to the subject; and, for an example of the historical analysis of witchcraft in European culture, Alan MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (N.Y. and London, 1970).
53. There is an extensive literature on millenarian movements. For a survey of the literature on one of the more-studied aspects of these movements and a useful theoretical essay, see Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: a Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia*, 2nd ed. (N.Y., 1968). For a collection of essays on a variety of periods and regions, see Sylvia L.

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- Thrupp, ed., *Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements* (N.Y., 1970).
54. Wachtel, "Vision des Vaincus," Part III, *passim*; Wachtel, "Structuralisme et histoire: à propos de l'organisation sociale de Cuzco," *Annales, E.S.C.*, 21, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1966) pp. 71-94; Millones, "Un movimiento nativista."
55. Klein, "Peasant Communities in Revolt: the Tzeltal Republic of 1712," *Pacific Historical Review*, 35: 247-264 (Aug., 1966).
56. Calnek, "Highland Chiapas," esp. 65-71.
57. "Structuralisme et histoire."
58. Planned revolts are distinguished here from localized riots and more-or-less spontaneous outbursts, which are a constant part of both rural and urban society throughout the colonial period.
59. See, for example, Boleslao Lewin, *La rebelión de Tupac Amaru y los orígenes de la emancipación americana* (Buenos Aires, 1957); Carlos Daniel Valcárcel, *La rebelión de Tupac Amaru* (México, 1947).
60. Sebastián Franco de Melo, "Diario histórico del levantamiento de la provincia de Huaro-chirí, y su pacificación, escrito por . . . Pachachaca, 20 de octubre de 1761." (Unpublished ms. in the Museo Mitre, Buenos Aires, *Mss.* collection, Arm. B, C. 19, P. 1, no. de orden 4, fols. 17v-18).
61. Rowe, "Movimiento nacional inca."
62. For a suggestive discussion of the relationship between economic fluctuations and revolt, see Ernest Labrousse, "1848; 1830; 1789: trois dates dans l'histoire de la France moderne," *Actes du Congrès de l'Histoire de la Révolution de 1848* (Paris, 1948).
63. Wachtel, "La vision des vaincus: la conquête espagnole dans le folklore indigène," *Annales, E.S.C.*, 22: 554-585 (May-June, 1967).
64. Rowe, verbal communication.
65. Gibson, *Aztecs*, 376-377. Documentary sources on Peru indicate that the same statement can be made for the city of Lima. For evidence of "acculturation" among the urban Indians in Lima, see Emilio Harth-terré, "On the discovery of documents which reveal the Negro slave trade among the lower-class Indians during the viceregal government in Peru." (Pamphlet, Lima, 1961); Harth-terré, "Cauces de espanolización de la sociedad Indo-peruana de Lima virreinal." (Pamphlet, Lima, 1964); Spalding, "Indian Rural Society," 218-221.
66. There is abundant documentary information on the Indian population of Lima, including several detailed visitas of the native urban population. A highly valuable recent publication of such a visita is Noble David Cook, ed., *Padrón de los indios de Lima en 1613* (Lima, 1968).
67. The literature on racial or quasi-racial distinctions and social stratification in colonial society is voluminous; for a recent discussion, which includes an extensive bibliography on the literature, see Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967).

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