

CULTURAL PROCESS, CULTURAL  
CONTEXT, AND REVISIONISM:  
Recent Works on Andean Civilization and Cosmology

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- CHAVIN AND THE ORIGINS OF ANDEAN CIVILIZATION.* By Richard L. Burger. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992. Pp. 248. \$49.95.)
- ANDEAN COSMOLOGIES THROUGH TIME: PERSISTENCE AND EMERGENCE.* Edited by Robert V. H. Dover, Katherine E. Seibold, and John H. McDowell. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992. Pp. 274. \$29.95.)
- PROVINCIAL POWER IN THE INKA EMPIRE.* By Terence N. D'Altroy. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992. Pp. 272. \$42.50.)
- THE ARCHITECTURE OF CONQUEST: BUILDING IN THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU, 1535–1635.* By Valerie Fraser. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Pp. 204. \$55.00.)
- HUARI ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE: PREHISTORIC MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE AND STATE GOVERNMENT.* Edited by William H. Isbell and Gordon F. McEwan. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991. Pp. 321. \$48.00.)
- THE INCAS AND THEIR ANCESTORS: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PERU.* By Michael E. Moseley. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992. Pp. 272. \$35.00.)
- THE NORTHERN DYNASTIES: KINGSHIP AND STATECRAFT IN CHIMOR.* Edited by Michael E. Moseley and Alana Cordy-Collins. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990. Pp. 548. \$40.00.)
- PARACAS RITUAL ATTIRE: SYMBOLS OF AUTHORITY IN ANCIENT PERU.* By Anne Paul. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. Pp. 170. \$48.50.)
- THE POLITICS OF MEMORY: NATIVE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE COLOMBIAN ANDES.* By Joanne Rappaport. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Pp. 226. \$42.50.)
- THE HUAROCHIRI MANUSCRIPT: A TESTAMENT OF ANCIENT AND COLONIAL ANDEAN RELIGION.* Edited by Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991. Pp. 273. \$32.50 cloth, \$14.95 paper.)
- THE PRECOLUMBIAN CHILD.* By Max Shein. (Culver City, Calif.: Labyrinthos, 1992. Pp. 137. \$16.50.)

*ANCIENT ANDEAN POLITICAL ECONOMY*. By Charles Stanish. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992. Pp. 195. \$35.00.)

A dozen volumes on related topics necessarily exhibit a multiplicity of recurring themes. What most of these works share, however, is a major shift in theoretical approach. Informed by post-processual arguments in archaeology and discussions of critical theory in history, the authors of these works indicate an awareness that an investigator's unconscious and inchoate cultural biases may distort cultural reconstructions. Some of these works therefore make explicit attempts to separate out the indigenous viewpoint by distinguishing it from researchers' intellectual training. Scholars are increasingly aware that heretofore we have tended to treat the problem somewhat simplistically. It is often argued that archaeologists have assumed that Indian cultural patterns are relatively immutable and that if we could filter out a contemporary Hispanic or Western pattern for the text or the data base, then the residue would reflect the indigenous Andean viewpoint, relatively unchanged from the ethnographic present as far back as the first documentation of Inkaic culture by conquistadors.

Although most of the authors reviewed here perceive certain basic Andean worldview or cosmological exemplars of long duration, these sources increasingly acknowledge that five hundred years of interacting with European worldviews and of undergoing natural evolutionary change imply that the perspectives of today may well differ from those of precontact Andean populations. These arguments are dealt with more explicitly in the ethnohistoric and historic treatises but are equally recognized by the archaeological contributions. Archaeologists base their interpretations largely on various ethnographic and ethnohistoric analogies; thus as the interpretations of these culturally based source data change, so too will the prehistoric reconstructions. The major archaeological works included here acknowledge the criticism of earlier prehistoric reconstructions as too mechanistic and too reductionistic, and these studies attempt through a variety of approaches to bring the individual back into their institutional histories.

For organizational purposes, I have elected to evaluate these contributions according to the chronology of their subject matter. I will start by reviewing discussions of the origins and evidence of the first Andean "civilization" or state and its relationship to Chavín culture, then shift to focus on the second round of civilizations (the Wari-Tiwanaku), its collapse, and the precursors of the third round (the Inka), and finish by reviewing the various assessments of Inka cosmology and the relatedness of the Inka worldview to a more general Andean system. It is here that new work attempts to sort out Hispanic components from indigenous ones.

*The Basis of Andean Civilization*

Three authors (Burger, Moseley, and Paul) deal explicitly with issues relating to the origins of the pristine Peruvian (and Andean) civilization. Michael Moseley is well known for having suggested a maritime basis or locale for the earliest state (Moseley 1975), while Richard Burger has proposed a sierra or highland origin. These positions continue as subplots or themes in their current works, although the explicitness varies according to the divergent purposes of the publications. Moseley wrote *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru* as a textbook for introductory courses on Peruvian prehistory and therefore opted to eschew discussing alternative interpretations in favor of presenting “just the facts.” In my view, this factual bias weakens the book in some ways, as when interesting and significant arguments of interpretation are ignored or trivialized, but perhaps it is a necessary evil of any introductory text. Burger, who conducted his doctoral research at Chavín de Huantar in the sierra, focuses all of *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization* on marshaling arguments for the primacy of Chavín. Wanting to mobilize the evidence in the strongest way to support his argument, he ignores various problems of contexts, differentiating multicomponent sites, and alternative explanations.

A significant result of research in Peru in the last two decades has been the discovery and identification of scores of monumental public and ceremonial structures that were constructed between 2500 and 1500 B.C. Both Moseley and Burger provide a real service in collating information from disparate reports and making a synthesis of them available for the first time. Four different religious traditions (used in part as proxies for local sociocultural developments) are identified: Aspero on the North Coast, Paraíso on the Central Coast, Kotosh in the North Highlands, and Yaya-Mama in the South Highlands. These religious traditions can be correlated with the regions of later linguistic groups—Aspero with Muchiq, Paraíso with Quechua, and Yaya-Mama with Aymara—providing researchers with fertile sets of hypotheses to test in future longitudinal studies.

Some of Moseley's students, including Robert Feldman (1985) and Shelia and Tom Pozorski (1988), have been particularly impressed by the substantial degree of planning exhibited at some of the sites constructed along the Peruvian coast between 2500 and 1500 B.C. They believe that this planning, coupled with the ability to mobilize a massive corporate labor force to execute carefully designed projects, provides evidence of a proliferating bureaucracy and centralized control that represent the coalescing of ideological and economic power into the first instrument of reproducible political power, the kingdom (or perhaps even the state) by 1500 B.C. While Burger agrees that the epoch of 2500 to 1500 B.C. was the

great age of ceremonial architecture, he rejects this interpretation of political development, arguing that organizational innovations permitted large-scale mobilization of labor that he believes occurred without the development of occupational specialization, division of labor, or social hierarchies. Burger envisions not a kingdom or significant political hierarchy dominated by one or more centers but a patchwork of weakly stratified small-scale societies linked via shared religious beliefs and loosely federated alliances.

Burger finds no clear evidence of economic inequality, amassing of personal wealth, or social and political stratification developing until 900 B.C., when it first occurred in highland Peru at Chavín de Huantar. On the basis of a few scattered test pits there, he pronounces Chavín to have been the first city or urban center. Burger also emphasizes the cosmopolitan ideology that developed at Chavín from a fusion of tropical, coastal, and highland elements, which depended on significant long-distance trade.

While Moseley concedes that Chavín was a center of new ideology and innovation, he argues that the political transformation leading to the first well-defined state did not happen until roughly 200 B.C., with the formation of the Moche state on the Peruvian coast. Part of this running argument arises from differing criteria for determining exactly what attributes are minimally sufficient to define the term *state*. But one also finds a significant shift from Moseley's original configuration of "maritime" origin that posited fishing and maritime resources as sufficient for developing cultural complexities that define civilization (Moseley 1975). Now, no matter which of the two scenarios is championed, the proponents all include agricultural production as a necessary major component for producing economic surpluses that can support corporate labor and be mobilized by emerging elites in developing incipient political institutions.

In *Paracas Ritual Attire: Symbols of Authority in Ancient Peru*, Anne Paul addresses the problems of the primary civilization from a different set of data, focusing on the beautifully preserved mummy bundles from the Paracas peninsula on the South Coast. Paul's work deals with costume from the cemeteries, detailing evidence for social differentiation of what Moseley terms a "gentry of privileged status" in the Yaya-Mama religious tradition area on the South Coast. Paul's analysis indicates that these textiles conveyed social, religious, and political information as well as being codices of Paracas cosmology. Her work details specific economic, social, and political differentiation extant in the Paracas region by at least 500–300 B.C. If such inequality is the basis for development of the organizational complexities that we term *kingdoms* or even *states* (as most archaeologists believe), then by the Upper Formative period or Early Horizon period (900 to 300 B.C.), "civilization" must have emerged. This reasoning implies that Moseley's Moche group is a secondary development built on earlier formations. As yet, not enough information has been

found to identify whether the coast or the sierra was the locale of the initial inequalities and differentiations subsumed under “the state.” The debate on such primacy will continue to be lively, given the various current research projects in Peru focusing on this critical time period.

### *The Tiwanaku-Wari Expansion*

The second significant pan-Peruvian political epiphenomenon involves the sister states of Wari and Tiwanaku. Concern with “intellectual imperialism” has led many archaeologists to spell the name Wari instead of Huari, Tiwanaku instead of Tiahuanaco, as well as Inka instead of Inca. Although scholars remain interested in whether Wari spread urbanism in the Andes, whether Wari was an empire, and what kind of relationship existed between Wari and Tiwanaku, the contributors in the Dumbarton Oaks symposia volume edited by William Isbell and Gordon McEwan offer alternative approaches, avoiding these issues. The title, *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, seems somewhat misleading to me in implying discussion of political mechanisms. Instead, Isbell and McEwan make it clear that “the data are architectural.” Isbell argues that architecture is the best index of conquest: thus if scholars wish to investigate whether Wari was an empire and how this empire functioned, we must study the architecture.

For many years, it was assumed that Wari had conquered the Moche coastal state as well as the north highland polities of Huamachuco and Cajamarca. This conclusion was based on finding fancy Wari ceremonial ceramics in some assemblages in these areas and an elaborate Wari administrative complex, Viracochapamapa, at Huamachuco. But scholars working on the North Coast—for example, Moseley, Christopher Donnan, Carol Mackey, Izumi Shimada, and their students (see Moseley and Day 1982, Shimada 1987)—have contested this interpretation vigorously.

Earlier scenarios envisioned the concepts of “city” (or urbanism) and the state entering the Moche area via the Wari expansion. Moseley’s *The Incas and Their Ancestors* provides an able summary of the arguments by the proponents of non-Wari origin for North Coast development. These scholars find good evidence of state government and even of incipient urbanism prior to the first contacts with the Wari expansionist state. They believe that the patterns of Wari influence in Moche offer no support for the conquest interpretation. The architectural measuring rod proposed by Isbell appears to support their position as it also fails to provide any evidence of Wari conquest of the North Coast.

In a pair of contributions, John Topic and Theresa Topic argue forcefully for reassessing Wari presence in Huamachuco. Although Viracochapampa is clearly Wari in design and execution, John Topic presents

convincing evidence that the construction project was short-lived and that the enormous administrative complex was abandoned before completion and hence was never functional. Theresa Topic argues that Wari interest lay in securing trade routes north to Cajamarca, not in controlling Huamachuco territory. Thus both scholars perceive the relationship between Wari and Huamachuco as based on trade and religion, rather than on politics and conquest, and argue that Huamachuco was nearly as powerful in the northern sierra as Wari was in the southern sierra and Tiwanaku was in Bolivia. Fifty years ago, scholars concurred regarding a monolithic Tiwanaku presence in the central Andes. This view was subsequently modified by the suggestion that the evidence indicated two competing sister states, Wari and Tiwanaku. Now the Topics and to a lesser extent Isbell, Moseley, and Shimada are proposing the existence of a powerful north Peruvian political cabal involving complex interrelationships among Sican, Moche, Cajamarca, and Huamachuco polities, a poorly appreciated cabal that may even have rivaled the political power of Wari and Tiwanaku.

In *The Incas and Their Ancestors*, Moseley suggests a model that is parsimonious in explaining the rise and fall of these states. Building on an earlier publication by Isbell (1978), Moseley proposes that Wari developed highly successful new terrace agricultural constructions and that this innovative agrarian technology enabled it to secure economic surpluses. Thus the Wari state spread, he argues, not via militarism but via the adaptive dispersal of terrace technology. This explanation would account for the lack of Wari impact on the coast, he asserts, because Wari canal-fed terracing would have been ineffective in that environment. Moseley extends this model of environmental determinism to explain part of the subsequent collapse of the sister states, arguing that it may not have been coincidental that ridged fields in the southern altiplano were abandoned during the decline and fall of the metropolis of Tiwanaku circa A.D. 1000–1100.

In the concluding essay in *Huari Administrative Structure*, Isbell proposes that Wari developed hierarchical organization and thus institutionalized inequality through urbanism sometime between A.D. 300 and 500 and that urban growth in Wari was due to religious innovations that made Wari an attractive and successful location. Although most scholars view these religious innovations as having derived from Tiwanaku, Isbell posits a yet-to-be-found mother site related to the Pukara culture (the site must be unknown because Pukara was moribund by this time), which he identifies as the generative culture for both Tiwanaku and Wari. To explain Tiwanaku architectural traits in Wari around A.D. 500–600, Isbell argues for Wari conquest of the Tiwanaku colony in Moquegua and the importation of these Tiwanaku colonists into Wari to help construct Wari temples. To explain the Huamachuco architectural traits in Wari adminis-

trative compounds between A.D. 600 and 700, Isbell posits Wari troops similarly importing conquered foreign troops from the north after conquering Huamachuco. While these ideas are controversial and little supported by the archaeological record to date, they are important in reflecting the shift from previous archaeological works that only reported ceramic sequences and described static archaeological constructs to recent scholarship that proposes dynamic and fluid models.

The relationship between Tiwanaku and Wari is still poorly understood. Almost as hazy is the perception of how Wari and Tiwanaku administered the territories where they had influence. According to the model developed by Terence D'Altroy in *Provincial Power in the Inka Empire*, a continuum of options are possible, ranging from hegemonic (indirect) to territorial (direct) control. The general Andeanist propensity has been to perceive Wari interactions as territorial, as direct conquest and militaristic control. But as D'Altroy notes, such control entails much greater costs for the central political unit than hegemonic control, and these kinds of costs have often led to the collapse of empires. Although dealing with the Inka situation, D'Altroy's suggestion provides an exciting new avenue for exploring Wari collapse.

Tiwanaku appears to have employed a mix of strategies of governance and political interaction. In certain areas of what is now northern Chile (such as San Pedro de Atacama) and in central Bolivia in the Cochabamba region, Tiwanaku appears to have emphasized alliance and loose federation, practicing hegemonic rather than territorial control. But the areas surrounding Lake Titicaca were under direct territorial control of Tiwanaku, as portions of a conquest state in the Titicaca basin similar to Wari. In their analyses, Moseley and Charles Stanish point out that Tiwanaku physically transported some of its population to colonize the rich maize-growing areas of the Moquegua valley. Now the old static Tiahuanacoid period of Peruvian prehistory established by Max Uhle (1919) and Julio Tello (1960) has evolved into a dynamic epoch. The exciting innovative research projects, partially summarized in Isbell and McEwan's volume, are generating new directions to investigate faster than researchers can answer old questions.

### *Regional States and the Inka*

How different from previous political states were the Inka? To what extent did they develop new institutions? Answers to questions like these require thorough understanding of the polities that immediately preceded the Inka. Three particularly illuminating new studies turn up in the dozen books under review: Stanish's study of the Estuquiña of the Moquegua valley in southern Peru, D'Altroy's analysis of the Hatun Xauxa of the Mantaro valley in central Peru, and the volume edited by

Moseley and Alana Cordy-Collins on the Chimú or Chimor state centered at Chan Chan in the Moche valley in northern Peru.

Stanish's title, *Ancient Andean Political Economy*, is a bit imprecise in that the author is mainly concerned with the specific patterns in the Moquegua valley during the Regional State or Late Intermediate period (A.D. 1000 to 1450). His description concentrates on settlement patterns and ceramics, architecture and pottery. The theoretical model of "zonal complementarity," however, attempts explicitly to extend backward in time certain patterns observed in the ethnographic and ethnohistoric records. Stanish takes the model of "verticality" or vertical control by colonization popularized by John Murra (1964, 1972) and merges it with María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco's (1965, 1978) model of horizontal political integration via commerce and trade, arguing that the contrast previously attributed to these two paradigms is a false dichotomy. For Stanish, the two models are merely variations along a continuum that he calls "Andean zonal complementarity strategies." In this synthesis, ancient Andean political economy methods would include direct control of resources by colonization and also local barter exchange, long-distance exchange, market exchange, and elite alliances. At this point, Stanish admits, his reconstruction is basically descriptive, but he is convinced nevertheless that it provides testable hypotheses that are potentially falsifiable, the grist of science.

Stanish's conceptualization leads to explicit recognition of cycles in the political economy. In the Moquegua valley, direct control via colonies is most evident in the Tiwanaku and Inka periods; the intervening intermediate period was characterized by independent polities linked through alliances and various mechanisms of barter and trade. The trajectory from Tiwanaku to Estuquiña to Inka include all the components of Stanish's "basic unitary Andean model of zonal complementarity": during Tiwanaku and Inka periods, direct control dominated while alliance and exchange prevailed during the Regional State period.

D'Altroy makes much the same kind of distinction in *Provincial Power in the Inka Empire*, his analysis of the Hatun Xauxa polity of the Wanka province. His focus on power identifies four components: political, economic, military, and ideological power, which form a continuum ranging from hegemonic (indirect) to territorial (direct) control of regions by the central political group. He deliberately excludes ideological power from his discussion, a factor sure to occasion criticism by the post-processualists. D'Altroy's focus on the differing balances among the sources of power and the nature of extraction of resources for central polity consumption are nearly identical with the contrast made by Stanish, with but different labels. D'Altroy's model, however, is more completely developed and offers subsidiary implications for cultural historical reconstructions providing a rich field of research.

D'Altroy chooses to illustrate his theoretical argument by elucidating the development of the political economy of the Hatun Xauxa polity. At this point, some forty books, articles, and dissertations have resulted from the research of the Upper Mantaro Archaeological Research Project (UMARP); hence much of the information on the Hatun Xauxa has been published elsewhere. I use the name Hatun Xauxa advisedly. Although the UMARP publications refer to this cultural group as "the Wanka," the Wanka province actually consisted of three different political unities representing two groups that differentiated themselves ethnically at some points: the Sausa of Hatun Xauxa and the Wanka of Hanan Wanka and Lurin Wanka. UMARP investigated only the sites associated with Hatun Xauxa.

Using the hegemonic versus territorial distinction enables D'Altroy to provide some powerful new insights on exactly how this particular polity was incorporated into the Inka empire. He also defines for the first time three clear evolutionary trends in the political economy of the Inka state: a tendency to move toward greater independence of production (and away from reliance on corvee or *mit'a* labor); a shift toward greater state control over quality of product; and a trend toward increased efficiency of production. D'Altroy perceives these trends as unequivocal evidence that the Inka state was deliberately changing the social relations of production (to use Marxist terms) by using criteria that showed an awareness of the energetic costs and benefits of differing strategies, an awareness previously not inferred for the Inka.

Moseley and Cordy-Collins's edited volume, *The Northern Dynasties: Kingship and Statecraft in Chimor*, accelerates the integration of ethnohistoric and prehistoric models by including some contributions that are entirely historical and ethnohistoric in approach. María Rostworowski provides ethnohistoric support for a model of dual power and governance, a point later taken up by Geoffrey Conrad in developing his argument for "dual kingships" throughout the Chimu political history. In this light, Moseley observes that the term *dynasty* is misleading because archaeological and ethnohistoric data indicate that Chimor was ruled by a diarchy or dual rulership rather than by a monarchy. Reflecting the stated purpose of the Dumbarton Oaks conference to achieve firm concordances between ethnohistoric and archaeological records, this volume is rich in diverse arguments that are hard to compact into the space of a review essay.

*The Northern Dynasties* documents historical revisionism for the Chimu king lists by means of truncation of succession, telescoping of events, and the creation of composite characters to help legitimize the official Chimor history, but the same revisionist tendency is a continuing Andean trait. The Andean sense of history is not identical with the Western concept of historiography, as is argued by Frank Salomon and George Urioste in the introduction to *The Huarochiri Manuscript*, Carol Rappaport

in her studies in Colombia, and many of the contributors to both the Moseley and Cordy-Collins volume and the collection edited by Robert Dover, Katherine Seibold, and John McDowell, *Andean Cosmologies through Time: Persistence and Emergence*. All these sources make the points that Andean peoples perceive history as a means of revalidating their cosmology, that historical knowledge is bound to the present through a non-linear expression, and that "historic accounts" serve several other functions beyond historicity in the Western sense. Knowledge of the past as expressed in Andean narrative and texts must therefore be understood in the context of a whole range of cultural activities; it is not simply chronological. Western scholars tend to assume that their idea of arranging historical facts according to a temporal framework is both natural and a preordained given. This assumption cannot be made for the Andean peoples, and thus Andean historical narratives and texts cannot be properly understood if approached as unambiguous chronological renditions.

A concern that the majority of the contributions reviewed here try to address is the issue of undertaking the analysis of process. Much of current Andean historiography as well as previous prehistoric texts have tended to concentrate on structural rather than causal relations, on the relations between individuals or groups or archaeological cultures rather than on the processual relationships between events. As noted here, now that spatial and temporal frameworks have been established for most prehistoric groups, archaeological work is shifting toward processual (and even post-processual or contextual) examinations. A similar shift is beginning to permeate historical studies of the indigenous peoples of the last five hundred years.

The contributions to *The Northern Dynasties* argue for a radical secularization of architecture and political organization for the Chimú as contrasted to the Moche. Two major temporal and economic foci are identified: an earlier one emphasizing control of agricultural lands and food production, following the major El Niño flood circa A.D. 1000; and a later shift toward control of craft production (such as metallurgy, lapidary, pottery, and weaving) and the storage and manipulation of these goods after the El Niño flood circa A.D. 1350. This later flood is identified by several contributors as the event referred to in the narrative of Antonio de la Calancha of 1638 and the "Historia anónima de Trujillo" of 1604. Thus contrary to the earlier reconstructions by John Rowe and the essay in this volume by R. Tom Zuidema, which argue that the kingship lists are ahistorical myths, most of the archaeologists contributing to *The Northern Dynasties* perceive a clear relationship between the narrative Naymlap flood event and the El Niño flood of A.D. 1350. They suggest as well that the narrative Fempellec flood may relate to the El Niño flood of A.D. 1000–1100.

*The Ethnohistoric Andean Cosmology*

Rostworowski argues in *The Northern Dynasties* that in one sense the history of the last millennium may be viewed as the history of hydraulic technology, of water use and rights. Highlanders claimed rights because water originated in their territory. Coastal polities, when strong enough (as during the Kingdom of Chimor), seized control of the canal intakes in the highland and created political entities in the mid-altitude Andean flank (the cis-Andean region). When the coast lost power (as in the Wari and Inka periods), the highland groups retook control of water resources and extracted payment from coastal polities.

*The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*, translated and annotated by Frank Salomon and George Urioste, deals in part with these kinds of shifts in control over water rights. Several versions of the Huarochiri document are now available, incorporating testimony collected for Francisco de Avila in 1608. The current version is intended as a “reader’s edition” rather than a study text (although it contains variorum and critical and interpretive notes). It is the first complete modern English translation and thus makes available a significant Quechua or Inka oral tradition. The sharing of underlying pan-Andean concepts allows comparison of these societies with groups beyond the local province. Even with this text, however, concern remains about “integrity” or Spanish bias, given that it was written after seventy years of European influence and as a document supporting the extirpation of idolatry trials. Thus while I am highly enthusiastic about this major Inka-contemporary text as literature, its cultural context must be carefully considered and evaluated (see also Salomon 1982).

Physician Max Shein’s *The Precolumbian Child* covers an overlooked area in which a substantive text would be a major addition. This work, however, is an uncritical compilation of materials drawn from a variety of primary and secondary sources that treats Aztec, Maya, and Inka peoples as if undifferentiated in a kind of generic pre-Columbian unity. One finds such categorical statements as “among primitive peoples, the care of children was completely neglected” (p. 1) or “Inca women were used as property” and “had fewer rights in their huts than the domestic animals” (p. 62). Hence this book appears to be intended more for the “pop-anthropology” market than for serious scholars.

In *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635*, Valerie Fraser approaches the question of the interface between Spanish and Inka cultures from the Hispanic architectural perspective and offers some refreshing observations. She perceives architecture as but one aspect of the system of domination of the Inka-Andean culture by the Iberian culture. Hence the very existence of colonial architecture presupposes suppression of native culture and exploitation of

native labor. Ecclesiastical architecture becomes a special focus, given the Catholic Church's desire to represent and recreate the absent reality of Spain within the alien Peruvian environment. Fraser points out three colonial assumptions: urban life is a "good" thing that is bound up with civility, which is bound up with town planning and the Spanish grid town; certain types of construction materials are more civilized (such as stone and brick); and there is only one permissible style in architecture—a classical approach involving columns, capitals, and especially arches. Fraser attributes this orthodoxy to an expatriate syndrome in which those living away from the Iberian peninsula homeland adhered more strictly to "traditional" values than would have been necessary or even appropriate back home.

Some aspects of the presumed Hispanic orthodox forms, such as the open chapel, atrium, and *posa* (oratory), lack direct European antecedents but do have Inka correlates. The whole question of grid-plan towns has occasioned a large literature. Hispanic towns laid out on a grid pattern were established as early as 1523 or 1524 in Mexico, but towns on this pattern have also been identified by John Hyslop (1990) and Craig Morris (1985) as an alternative Inka pattern. Thus while Fraser adds some significant material culture patterns in early colonial architecture that differentiate and signify the position of the expatriate Iberians versus the Andeans, it might be arguable that more Inkaic influence existed than has been recognized in colonial architectural patterns.

In these kinds of cultural contact situations, neither culture retains its integrity unblemished as both exert a variety of influences and impacts on each other, an observation made repeatedly by Rappaport and other contributors to *Andean Cosmologies through Time: Persistence and Emergence* and expanded by Rappaport in her monograph, *The Politics of Memory*. These two volumes focus largely on the colonial and ethnographic present, attempting to ascertain mechanisms and means by which Andean people have endeavored to maintain an indigenous cosmology distinct from the dominant Hispanic culture.

Contributors to Dover, Seibold, and McDowell's *Andean Cosmologies* argue that Andean peoples work out their cosmologies pragmatically through their sociopolitical organizations rather than by employing hierarchical, multilayered universes such as those found in Mesoamerica. Andean worldview stresses reciprocity and regulation rather than hierarchy and control. The indigenous regulatory system—where order rests implicitly on sacred propositions and sanctions and structural similarities between the ayllu and cosmological systems—is contrasted with imposed Hispanic state systems where the controlling mechanism is based on authority structure backed by coercive force and cognitive patterns that legitimize hierarchy. The contributors seek to understand the persistence of practices motivated by reciprocal valuation of commu-

nalism and ayllu differentiation as they are reproduced in societies where there now exists an equal stress or valuation on processes and relations promoting economic or class differentiation.

In *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*, Joanne Rappaport treats oral traditions as dictated by non-narrative political strategies and circumstances. In their practical aspect, oral traditions derive from cultural links that articulate powerful symbols by forging a moral link to a distant past; in their efficient aspect, they effect the merging of myth and history. Much of Rappaport's investigation focuses on the use of past events to explain present concerns, recognizing alterations, omissions, and the telescoping and condensing of time periods in oral narrations as conscious efforts at revisionist history or reinvented tradition. Thus historical knowledge is based not on static texts but on ever-changing interpretations whose form and content are determined by the memory of earlier interpretations and the exigencies of the current situation.

The mythic narrative is thus perceived by Rappaport as well as by the contributors to *The Andean Cosmology* as taming spiritual power but also as bound within certain Andean structural constraints, including domestic or stable centrality versus wild or restless outside world, idealized complementarity, dyadic and triadic institutional patterns, symmetry, and hierarchy. These patterns, which are cited to describe twentieth-century attempts by Colombian, Ecuadorian, and Peruvian autochthonous polities to define their cosmology, bring us full circle back to the same organizing principles that Moseley and Burger saw emerging in their analyses of the origins of Peruvian (and thus Andean) civilization some four thousand years ago. Rappaport is correct in pointing out that traditional Andean scholarship is flawed in its insistence on the cultural continuity of indigenous cultures unchanged since pre-Columbian times. Five centuries of functioning amidst the intrusive Western cosmology have necessarily changed the content of Andean cosmology. Yet the studies here suggest that the organizing structural principles have been more resilient and that in a general sense they still aptly define Andean cosmological principles operating over four millennium.

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