

300,000 pesos. Such a development raised the obvious question of why the ransom was not sent directly to the crown, rather than have it pass through the hands of the profligate Potosí mining elite.

The second main theme in this book concerns the attempts of the Hapsburg regime to administer the mita under drastically changing circumstances, a task complicated by extraordinarily difficult communications and the high stakes of silver mining. Although Viceroy Toledo (1569–81) not only designed but also made operational the first mita, subsequent viceroys were less willing to commit themselves to reform for fear that Potosí would collapse during their term. Besides this, any policy designed to lighten the burden on Indian workers was bound to be opposed by the powerful mining guild in Potosí. Cole sorts out the different interest groups in the Andean economy, and, along the way, points out that much previous description of Potosí has come from the highly colored arguments that various factions put forth to make their case for access to Indian workers.

The patient scrutiny of archival evidence by Bakewell and now by Cole, with additional detail being filled in by several students, now begins to make clear the inner workings of the silver economy throughout the Andean region. Their research, together with that of Carlos Sempat Assadourian, has substantially altered the earlier picture of the colonial mita and raises larger questions about the impact of export economy on local society.

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*Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth Century Peru and Upper Peru.* By SCARLETT O'PHELAN GODOY. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1985. Map. Graphs. Tables. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Pp. xv, 345. Cloth.

The incidence of social disorder in Lower and Upper Peru during the last century of colonial rule has long been a central concern of historians, without, until now, a convincing synthesis having emerged. This shortcoming was a reflection not of a lack of research but rather of the wealth of documentation on the theme, dispersed throughout the archives of Spain, Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina. Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, a Peruvian historian writing in English, has now filled this urgent need, though her study terminates in 1783 and, being based on Spanish and Peruvian sources alone, is far richer on the events in Lower Peru. Notwithstanding that the author disclaims a complete coverage of the phenomenon of Andean rebellion, no fewer than 140 revolts and disturbances are dissected within this period.

The study approaches the plethora of outbreaks by grouping them into three "conjunctures" corresponding to three periods of crown fiscal innovations, view-

ing them against a backcloth of fluctuations in the principal productive sectors of the colonial economy, as well as the nature of the internal market. The protests were, for the author, above all antifiscal in character. The argument proceeds by way of an examination of power conflicts among local elites, through an attempt to correlate the implementation of Bourbon fiscal reforms with the incidence of social unrest, with, finally, occupational status, kinship, and commercial relations being employed to explain participation in, and the spread of, the great uprising of 1780–82. These three heuristic perspectives are undoubtedly crucial in any evaluation of the nature of social disorder in this era and are skillfully handled here; taken together, they represent the principal contribution of this most welcome book. The discussion is well structured and fleshed out with an abundance of detail, so much so that it will provide a ready introduction to most aspects of economy and society in the two Perus in the eighteenth century, of interest to scholar and student alike.

There is one curious omission. The importance of land conflicts as a source of social unrest has been treated in an earlier article by O'Phelan, yet there is scarce mention of the matter here, save for a disclaimer that it really wasn't important as a factor in the social upheavals of the time. However, the struggle over land was a prime catalyst of conflict in the southern Andes and helps explain, inter alia, why protests over tribute *revisitas* often involved creole groups also. A further aspect which receives only passing treatment is the key question of ideology. In large measure this is a problem of sources, of the difficulty of penetrating formulaic and culturally prejudiced testimonies to the native Andean reality submerged somewhere within, but more emphasis on the "mentalities" of the participants might have lightened the economic tone of this work. So, too, historians are beginning to detect a quotidian violence which seems to have been endemic to Andean society, although quite how this relates to colonial uprisings remains difficult to assess. However, two cases of ritual mutilation and death (pp. 81, 202) meted out to targets of the protesters' ire point to specifically indigenous concepts of justice and the afterlife. Moreover, several uprisings coincided with the celebration of religious festivals, and it might have proved interesting to focus more on such circumstances, perhaps by correlating all of the revolts with the liturgical calendar of the epoch.

Nevertheless, such considerations properly represent an agenda for future research, work which will have as its essential framework this valuable and timely book, a permanent contribution to the historiography of colonial Peru and Bolivia. The volume is handsomely produced, with the principal findings enshrined in 36 tables and graphs, though the incidence of printing errors indicates that the text was not proofread.

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