

underestimates what local cord keepers would have perceived, and responded to accordingly, as a move against khipu keeping in general. The matter awaits further research.

One final note: the index is inadequate; many terms and concepts are not cited, and items are not cross-referenced well. This is unfortunate as the book is potentially of great interest to a wide range of scholars, not all of whom will want to read the entire book but who could make use of the text for comparative purposes, were they able to navigate the text efficiently. It would indeed be unfortunate were this work to suffer such a fate, for, in fact, this is nothing short of a landmark study in the history of the khipu.

**In Search of an Inca: Identity and Utopia in the Andes.** *Alberto Flores Galindo, Edited and Translated By Carlos Aguirre, Charles F. Walker, and Willie Hiatt, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 270 + xxix pp.*

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If a paradox between utopian and pragmatic ideals has haunted Peru's political history, historian Alberto Flores Galindo wrote to elucidate this impasse: "If people are controlled by ghosts," he said, "it is impossible to confront the future. The challenge is to create new ideas and myths without jettisoning the past" (248). History cannot be ignored, and transformation requires innovation. Thanks to Carlos Aguirre, Charles F. Walker, and Willie Hiatt's translation, Flores Galindo's classic text, *In Search of an Inca*, offers his enduring reflections to an English-speaking audience.

First published in Spanish in 1986, *In Search of an Inca* is a poetic and insightful treatise on the complexity of Andean identity that explores myths, dreams, disappointments, and millenarian leanings, appealing to novice as well as established scholars. With its nuanced accounts of regional identity politics, this collection of essays is fundamental for those interested in understanding the dynamics of contemporary social and political conflict in Peru. Crucially, this is done without "shelving" Andean identity in a museum slot. Looking beyond the idealization of an imagined Incan utopia toward an analysis of contemporary Andean identity, Flores Galindo's essays stand as an important critique of the scholarly historicization of Andean peoples. For Flores Galindo, contemporary Andean identity reflected a complex the synthesis of autochthonous, Christian, Marxist, Maoist, and millenarian principles. From these elements arose a rich cultural and intellectual fabric, but also a series of violent social conflicts that have continued to the present day.

Flores Galindo was a historian but, as the translators note, *In Search of an Inca* is a seminal volume for scholars from many disciplines. The original text contained a collection of essays united by what Flores Galindo identifies as the "Andean utopias." Synthesizing myth, dream, memory, and history, Flores Galindo uses utopian yearning to identify common tropes a series of post-conquest rebellions and revolutions aimed at toppling the existing social order. Beginning with the Taqui Onqoy movement in the 1560s and leaving off in the midst of the two-decade internal armed conflict between the Peruvian State and Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), Flores Galindo's essays situates each of these

social movements within the colonial and post-colonial state. He argues that they share a dream of a returning Peruvian society to its rightful order. For many, this was conceptualized as a time that ended in that fateful moment of contact when Francisco Pizarro and his men murdered the Inca Atahualpa in a notorious act of regicide. Framing utopia in a fictionalization of the past, argues Flores Galindo, will continue to result in failure.

The essays argue that Peruvians are not destined to seek utopia, but must call instead upon elements of their past, utopian and otherwise, to inform a sort of new socialism that can construct a more egalitarian society. Rather than heralding the return of a false utopia, explains Flores Galindo, a form of socialism suited to the existing character of Peruvian societies is possible, but must rely on creativity, reappropriation and innovation rather than the mystification and idealization of the false idea of a unified Incan past. The problem with the myth of the egalitarian Incan utopia is that it ignores the diversity of cultures that constituted pre-Columbian society. A generalizing history makes the realization of this vision impossible. How can an ideal be based on something that never really was? For Flores Galindo, a return to the Inca is not the solution to Peru's problems. But neither is an Occidental development agenda that ignores the wide-ranging needs and desires of a diverse population.

As Flores Galindo observes, "we cannot write the history of a collective idea such as the Andean utopia... without individuals and their biographies" (2). One such biography is that of Gabriel Aguilar, a mestizo dissident who is the subject of the original Spanish-language chapter missing from this translation. A

portion of *Los Sueños de Gabriel Aguilar*, has already appeared (in English) in Steve Stern's *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World* (1987). This chapter presents a fascinating ethnographic portrait of a millenarian dissident whose dreams reflect the duality of Catholic and autochthonous imagery and ideology. Gabriel Aguilar's dreams reveal some of the possible links between utopianism, revolution, and Catholicism, and how conceptions of an Andean utopia were grounded in both pre-Columbian imagery and mythology and also Occidental religious ideas and forms of divinity, revelation, and millenarianism. As Stern's translation omits the content of the actual dreams, those interested should read the definitive original version of the text, *Buscando un Inca* (1988).

Flores Galindo was a Marxist but not a dogmatic one; a conviction that might have been tested had he lived to see more of the agonizing internal armed conflict between the state and rebel groups, most notably Sendero Luminoso. In the final essay, "The Silent War," Flores Galindo discusses the discursive function of the label "terrorist" used by representatives of the state to describe Shining Path members. As the label grew to include all those who had socialist leanings, members of the leftist intelligentsia were often challenged to find a space for less-orthodox interpretations of socialism and Marxist thought. Flores Galindo, who called for a form of heterodox Marxism to transform Peruvian society, died tragically in 1990, and did not live to see the height of this political oppression.

The appearance of Flores Galindo's book in English reminds us that instead of looking backwards toward an imagined utopia that never was, transformative

social change in Peru must craft a particular version of socialism to combat social stratification and inequalities. Borrowing more from José Carlos Mariátegui, reformers must look toward a utopia aware of the past and open to the future; one that can craft a Peruvian style of socialism that considers the unique history of both polity and individual. Nonetheless, such suggestions have not been heeded by any large-scale social movement of recent times, and the neoliberal Peru of today may perhaps be a reaction against the orthodox, authoritarian, and millenarian revolutionary agenda of Sendero Luminoso. Peruvianist and Latin Americanist scholars alike will find Flores Galindo's essays an original and illuminating understanding of current social movements and the complex identity politics that accompany them.

### References Cited

- Flores Galindo, Alberto. (1988) *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y Utopía en los Andes*. Volume 5. Lima: Editorial Horizonte.
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**Fighting Like a Community: Andean Civil Society in an Era of Indian Uprisings.** *Rudi Colloredo-Mansfeld*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 233 pp.

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Richly documented native economic practices lie at the core of Rudi Colloredo-Manfeld's study so as to inform his political analyses of local conflicts and their broader implications. These are in turn the bases of ethnographer's principle argument—that in order to understand the mechanics and meaning of pluralism, it is imperative to grasp the intricacies of disunity and negotiation. His engaging narrative pulls apart essentialist notions of collective cohesiveness as he delves into some of the details and changing parameters of political economic landscapes in the northern Andes. Colloredo-Manfeld focuses on communities in Otavalo, Imbabura, and Tigua, Cotapaxi to give the reader multiple snapshots of how Kichwas make ends meet. Through thick descriptions of individuals and groups from these communities, he describes diverse agents who employ creative strategies to make their livings and their place in the world. In addition, he reveals how economic activities are linked to political endeavors, and particularly in the final chapter, to how grassroots' indigenous undertakings were infused into national discourse in the *levantamientos* (uprisings) of 1990 and 2006.

Vivid vignettes make this book a delight to read, while Colloredo-Manfeld's longitudinal scope convincingly portrays multidimensional (mostly) men and women. The author's descriptions and analyses are diverse, nuanced, and not romanticized. We witness the subjects coming to terms with broad political and economic changes as they reshape their lives to meet new challenges. Colloredo-Manfeld's text reveals plurality in action, which not coincidentally includes how groups of different Kichwas mediate discord. In fact, he leads the reader to messy situations within communities and between groups.