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10-1-2005

# Landscapes of Power and Identity. Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia. Endnotes to the book.

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## Recommended Citation

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## Radding, *Landscapes of Power and Identity*

### Introduction: Notes and References

1) Luis Velarde, *La primera relación de la Pimería Alta* (1716) in Luis González R., *Etnología y misión en la Pimería Alta, 1715-1740* (México: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1977) p. 49-52. El clima de esta Pimería es templado, sin declinar a demasiado frío o calor ... Es la tierra llana, aunque entretejida con varios cerros y sierras que la hermocean, mas que la impiden para los caminos, los cuales son llanos, extendidos, des[a]hogados, y sus montes de mezquites chinos y otros árboles y matorrales comunes. Y en las márgenes de los ríos: álamos, sauces, tarayes, nogales y güéribos. Y en algunas sierras muchos y buenos pinos para fábricas de iglesias de los pueblos en que están fundados ... La fertilidad de la tierra es más que mediana, y en partes muy abundante, aunque en partes es algo estéril, más por falta de beneficio – a lo que creo – que por la calidad de la tierra. Pues los que allí habitan, llamados papabotas, esto es pimas frijoleros – que su principal siembra es frijol, llamado *papavi* – se contentan con muy poco para asar la vida. ... Los demás frutos de esta Pimería son: maíz, frijol pequeño, llamado *tépari*, y otras semillas que a sus tiempos, cogen los pimas y guardan para su sustento. Y después que comunican con los españoles, y entraron los padres, cogen bastante trigo, especialmente los del poniente; frijol de todos géneros, habas, lentejas, calabazas de varias especies, sandías y melones. ... De donde se infiere la fertilidad de la tierra en nada inferior, sí superior a partes de la Nueva España.

2) Juan Patricio Fernández, *Relación historial*, p. 34-5. La provincia a quien vulgarmente llamamos de los Chiquitos ... por la mayor parte es montuoso y poblado de espesísimos bosque muy abundantes de miel y de cera por la gran multitud de abejas de varias especies ... El terruño de suyo es seco, pero en tiempo de lluvias, que duran desde diciembre hasta mayo, se anega tan disformement la campaña que se cierra el comercio y se forman muchos ríos y grandes lagunas, que abundan de muchos géneros de pescado ... Pasado el invierno se secan luego los llanos y para sembrar es menester desmontar con gran trabajo los bosques y cultivar las colinas y cumbres de los montes que rinden muy bien el maíz o trigo de las Indias, arroz, algodón, azúcar, tabaco y otros frutos propios del país, como plátanos, piñas, maní, zapallos (que es una especie de calabaza, mejores y más sabrosas que las de Europa ... A number of the products that Jesuit

Fernández names in this passage are not native to the Americas: sugar, rice, and bananas were brought to Chiquitos and to other regions of Spanish America from the Mediterranean, Asia, and Africa.

3) Robert MacCameron, "Environmental Change in Colonial New México," in *Out of the Woods. Essays in Environmental History*, edited by Char Miller and Hal Rothman (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997) p. 79-98; Karl S. Zimmerer and Thomas J. Bassett, "Approaching Political Ecology: Society, Nature, and Scale in Human-Environment Studies," in *Political Ecology. An Integrative Approach to Geography and Environment-Development Studies*, edited by Zimmerer and Bassett (New York, London, The Guilford Press, 2003) p. 1-28.

4) Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport: 1972); Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism. The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986); William H. McNeil, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Anchor Books, 1998 [1976]); Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel* (New York: MacMillan, 1997).

5) Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism. Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995).

6) Several outstanding studies for North and South America that employ environmental frameworks include: Warren Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand. The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Rainforest* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1995); Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep. The Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land. Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1997 [1983]); Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency. Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1983); Neil L. Whitehead, "Ethnic Transformation and Historical Discontinuity in Native Amazonia and Guayana, 1500-1900," *L'Homme* 126-128 (1993) XXXIII (2-4) p. 185-305; James Schofield Saeger, *The Chaco Mission Frontier. The Guaycuruan Experience* (Tucson, Univ. of Arizona Press, 2000); Jeremy Adelman, *Frontier*

*Development: Land, Labour, and Capital on the Wheatlands of Argentina and Canada, 1890-1914* (1994); Stephen Bell, *Campanha Gaúcha, a Brazilian Ranching System, 1850-1920* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1998); Zephyr Lake Frank, *The Brazilian Far West: Frontier Development in Mato Grosso, 1870-1937* (Univ. of Illinois Ph.D. diss., 1999); Arij Ouweneel, *Shadows Over Anahuac: An Ecological Interpretation of Crisis and Development in Central Mexico, 1730-1800* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1996).

7) Carl von Linné [Linnaeus, 1707-1778], "The Oeconomy of Nature," 1749; Alexander von Humboldt, *Personal narrative of travels to the equinoctial regions of the New Continent during the years 1799-1804* (Amsterdam, New York, 1972, 7 vols.); Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy. A History of Ecological Ideas*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994) 31-55.

8) Worster, *Nature's Economy*, 388-433; Leslie A. Real, James H. Brown, eds., *Foundations of Ecology. Classic Papers with Commentaries* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991); Robert Clinton Stauffer, "Ecology in the Long Manuscript Version of Darwin's *Origin of Species* and Linnaeus' *Oeconomy of Nature*," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 104, 2 (1960) 235-241.

9) For a critical review of the discourse of ecological management, see Arturo Escobar, "Constructing Nature. Elements for a Poststructural Political Ecology, in *Liberation Ecologies. Environment, Development, Social Movements*, R. Peet and M. Watts, eds., London, Routledge, 1996, 46-68; Zimmerer and Bassett, "Approaching Political Ecology," p. 3, insist on the dual importance of biophysical processes and "socially mediated" understandings of nature.

10) Clifford Geertz's now classic formula of "thick description" remains relevant for the historical study of cultural encounters in colonial situations, but it has been reworked by, among others, William Sewell, "The concept(s) of Culture," p. 35-61 in V. Bonnell, L. Hunt, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1999); Marshall Sahlins, *Culture in Practice. Selected Essays* (New York, Zone Books, 2000) and James Clifford's emphasis on translation, movement, and becoming in *Routes. Travel and*

*Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997). Following James Clifford's metaphorical use of routes and translations, *culture* is rendered in its adjectival form, "cultural," to comprehend distinctive modes of action and reflection among different peoples.

11) Marshall Sahlins, *Culture in Practice. Selected Essays*; Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985) p. 34 and *passim*; Clifford, *Routes*, p. 11; Carolyn Martin Shaw, *Colonial Inscriptions. Race, Sex, and Class in Kenya* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1995) p. 14-16.

12) Richard Peet and Michael Watts, "Liberation Ecology. Development, sustainability, and environment in an age of market triumphalism," in Peet & Watts, eds., *Liberation Ecologies. Environment, development, social movements* (London: Routledge, 1996) 4-5. The critique of structuralist ethnographies that view cultures as self-contained entities is largely overturned, however, by recent studies that track the impacts of social change on traditional cultures, stemming from colonialism, technological innovation, and the complex forces of modernization. See Benjamin Orlove, "Ecological Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980) 235-73. Orlove exemplifies the ethnography of change and a comprehensive approach to political ecology that combines biophysical and social processes in *Lines in the Water. Nature and Culture at Lake Titicaca* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2002). Applied anthropology has recognized local knowledge about the environment with the term "traditional ecological knowledge (TEK)" as exemplified by the *Rio Declaration* and other international protocols (Andrew Sluyter, *Colonialism and Landscape. Postcolonial Theory and Applications* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002) 7.

13) The term was first coined in foundational works by Julian Steward, *Theory of Culture Change* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1955); Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involvement. The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1963).

14) Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Language and Landscape among the Western Apache*.

(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996) p. 66-70.

15) Cultural ecology and the supposed divide between a balanced nature untouched by human intervention and a disturbed environment have been discussed widely in the literature on the history of environmental change in colonial and post-colonial Africa. See, for example, James Fairhead and Melissa Leach, *Misreading the African Landscape. Society and Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996) p. 9-14.

16) The term was adopted by Ramachandra Guha and earlier generations of historical sociologists as a kind of short-hand for "environmentally oriented sociology." See Guha, *Social Ecology*, 1-18; Radhakamal Mukerjee, *Social Ecology* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1942); Mukerjee, "Ecological Contributions to Sociology," *The Sociological Review* XXII, 4 (1930) 281-91; Joan Martínez-Alier, "Ecology and the Poor: A Neglected Dimension of Latin American History," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23,2 (1991) 621-39.

17) Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples*, p. 3; Jonathan D. Amith, *The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of a Colonial Society* (Ph.D thesis, Yale University, 2000) examines *territoriality* both conceptually and historically for Central Guerrero, Mexico.

18) Peter Gow, "Land, People, and Paper in Western Amazonia," in Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon, *The Anthropology of Landscape*, p. 59.

19) Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove, "Introduction: iconography and landscape," summarize the contextual interpretations of symbolic imagery elaborated by European art historians and philosophers such as Ernst Cassirer, Erwin Panofsky, and John Ruskin, in Daniels and Cosgrove, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape. Essays on the symbolic representation, design, and use of past environments* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988) p. 1-10. In this same essay Daniels and Cosgrove point to the critical

connections between art history and anthropology for the study of iconography, a theme which is developed further by Eric Hirsch, "Landscape: Between Place and Space," in Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon, *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995) p. 1-30.

20) D'Orbigny, Bach, and Castelnau traveled through eastern Bolivia during the 1830s and 1840s; d'Orbigny, *Viaje a la América Meridional* [1835, 1945], Castelnau, *Expedition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du sud* [1851] were cited in previous chapters (see Chapter 3, note 40). Moritz Bach, *Descripción de la nueva provincia de Otuquis en Bolivia* [1843] is cited below. The reports of Hardy, *Travels in the Interior of Mexico* [1829] and Zúñiga, *Rápida ojeada al Estado de Sonora* [1835] informed much of our discussion in Chapter 7; Bartlett will be referenced in this chapter. On the characterization of "insider" and "outsider" views of landscapes, see Daniel Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London, Croom Helm, 1984) and Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1973) as cited in Hirsch, "Landscape: Between Place and Space," p. 13-14.

21) Carl Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," in J. Leighly, ed., *Land and Life. A Selection of the Writings of Carl Sauer* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1963); Sluyter, *Colonialism and Landscape*, 6-7, recognizes Sauer's clarity in emphasizing native modifications of precolonial landscapes.

22) Peter Gow, "Land, People, and Paper in Western Amazonia," in Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon, *The Anthropology of Landscape*, p. 47-53. Gow narrates these processes of associating family relationships with places and modified environments as "landscape implication." See also Alcida Rita Ramos, *Sanumá Memories. Yanomami Ethnography in Times of Crisis* (Madison, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1995) p. 19-177 on space-time and the construction of historical memory in the landscapes of Sanumá communities.

23) The Bourbon colonial regime designated all of northern New Spain as the "Internal Provinces" under a military commandancy in 1779. The term was not used officially in the viceroyalties of Perú or Río de la Plata, but the forest-and-savanna lowlands extending eastward from the Audiencia of Charcas, today

comprising portions of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Brazil, became an internal frontier between the Spanish and Portuguese dominions of South America. See Daniel Santamaría, "Fronteras indígenas del oriente boliviano. La dominación colonial en Moxos y Chiquitos, 1675-1810," *Boletín Americanista* 36 (1986) on intermediate territories between the Spanish and Portuguese realms of South America.

24) On *longue durée* views of comparative imperial histories in Mesoamerica and the Andes: George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, John D. Wirth, eds., *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800: Anthropology and History* (New York: 1982); H. R. Harvey, ed., *Land and Politics in the Valley of Mexico. A Two Thousand Year Perspective* (Albuquerque: Univ. of N. Mexico Press, 1991).

25) James C. Scott, "The State and People Who Move Around: How the Valleys Make the Hills in Southeast Asia," keynote address to the conference Peasants in Comparative and Interdisciplinary Perspective: Landscapes of Identity, Nature, and Power, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 9-10 April, 1998; Scott, *Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1998) p. 1-13; Eric Van Young, ed., *Mexico's Regions: Comparative History and Development* (San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, Univ. of California at San Diego, 1992).

26) Steve Stern, "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean," *AHR* 93, 4 (1988) 829-73, argued persuasively that the core/periphery paradigm envisioned by Immanuel Wallerstein was tempered by the exercise of agency within the Ibero-American colonies; see Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (N.Y., 1974); Wallerstein, *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (N.Y., 1980). More recently, Anthony Ballantyne, "Introduction: Aryanism and the webs of empire," in *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (MacMillan, uses the metaphor of webs to describe intercolonial relations in the British empire. I find the metaphor instructive, but condition it to emphasize the tension between "webs" and "hubs," representing parallel centripetal and centrifugal pressures within imperial systems.



27) Jeremy Adelman, ed., *Colonial Legacies. The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Stuart Voss, *Latin America in the Middle Period, 1750-1929* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2001).

28) Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origins and Spread of Nationslism*. (London: Verso, 1991).

29) Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1982); Marshall Sahlins, "Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of 'The World System'," *Culture in Practice*, p. 415-69; Gyan Prakash, *After Colonialism. Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1995).

30) Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (N.Y., 1978); Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, Knopf, 1993); James Clifford and George Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Politics and Poetics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1986); Shaw, *Colonial Inscriptions*; Steven Feierman, "Colonizers, Scholars, and the Creation of Invisible Histories," in Bonnell & Hunt, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, p. 182-216; Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject. *Subaltern Studies* and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies* 22, 1 (1988) p. 189-224; Antoinette M. Burton, *At the heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in late-Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998); Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*; Fawzia Afzal-Khan, Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks, eds., *The Pre-Occupation of Postcolonial Studies* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2000).

31) Natalie Zemon Davis's beautifully crafted *Women on the Margins. Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995) takes up the task of de-centering European history for the early modern period; the second biography of this book, "New Worlds: Marie de l'Incarnation," p. 63-139, admirably captures colonial subjects; see also, Davis, "Iroquois Women, European Women," in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds., *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (London:

Routledge, 1994) p. 243-58, 350-62. A different approach for the modern period and from the South Asian perspective is Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000).

32) Pat Seed, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse," *LARR* 26, 3 (1991) p. 181-200; Florencia Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *AHR* 99, 5 (1995) p. 1491-1515; Mallon, *Peasant and Nation. The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1995); Peter Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800-1857* (Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1996); Jeffrey L. Gould, *To Die in this Way. Nicaraguan Indians and the Myth of Mestizaje, 1880-1965* (Durham, Duke Univ. Press, 1998); Greg Grandin *The Blood of Guatemala. A History of Race and Nation* (Durham, Duke Univ. Press, 2000); Francie Chassen-Lopez, "Maderismo or Mixtec Empire? Class and Ethnicity in the Mexican Revolution, Costa Chica of Oaxaca, 1911," *The Americas* 55, 1 (1998) p. 91-128;

33) Tzvetan Todorov *The Conquest of America. The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984); Serge Gruzinski, *La guerra de las imágenes. De Cristóbal colón a "Blade Runner" (1492-2019)* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994); Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992); Kenneth Mills, *En Evil Lost to View? An Investigation of Post-Evangelisation Andean Religion in Mid-colonial Peru* (Liverpool: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1994); Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent. Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings. Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994); Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance. Literacy, Territoriality, & Colonization* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1995); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001).

34) Miguel León Portilla, *Visión de los Vencidos. Relaciones indígenas de la Conquista* (Mexico: UNAM 1992 [1959]); Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished* (New York: Barnes & Noble Imports, 1977); Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1952) *Tlaxcala en el siglo XVI* (Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991, p. 70-123; *Aztecs under Spanish Rule* (Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1964); Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1984); Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests. Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987); Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico. The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993); James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest. A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Stanford Univ. Press, 1992); Marcello Carmagnani, *El regreso de los dioses. El proceso de reconstitución de la identidad étnica en Oaxaca, siglos XVII y XVIII* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988).

35) Three recent collaborative volumes that illustrate the insights to be gained from comparative research are E. Langer, R.H. Jackson, eds., *The New Latin American Mission History* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1995); D.Guy, T.E. Sheridan, eds., *Contested Ground. Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire* (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1998); N. Griffiths, F. Cervantes, eds., *Spiritual Encounters. Interactions between Christianity and native religion in colonial America* (Birmingham: Univ. of Birmingham Press and Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1999).

36) Stuart Hall, "When was 'the post-colonial'? Thinking at the Limit," Ian Chambers, Lidia Curti, eds., *The Post-Colonial Questions. Common Skies, Divided Horizons* (London: Routledge, 1996) p. 253, citing Ella Shohat and Peter Hulme, notes the tensions between the chronological and paradigmatic dimensions of *post-colonial*, signifying both going beyond and after the historical moment of colonialism. (P. Hulme, "Including America," *Ariel* 26, 1 (1995); E. Shohat, "Notes on the Postcolonial," *Social Text* 31/32 (1992).

37) The constitutions of Bolivia and Ecuador were modified during the 1990s to include specific language that defined these countries as "multiethnic and pluricultural" nations. The San Andrés Accords and the

controversial Law of Indigenous Rights and Cultures, arising from the Chiapas peasant movement in Mexico, challenge the political definition of the Mexican nation set forth in the Constitution of 1917. Recent scholarship that develops these themes for Mexico includes: Arturo Warman, *Y venimos a contradecir*; Paul Vanderwood, *the Power of God Against the Guns of Government. Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1998); Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion* (Stanford Univ. Press, 2000); and for the Andes, Mark Thurner; Charles Walker; Andrés Guerrero; Thomas Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power. Ethnography and History Among an Andean People* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1998). On contemporary movements, see George A. Collier with E.L. Quaratiello, *Basta! Land & the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas* (Oakland, Food First Books, rev. ed., 1999); Norman Whitten, *Sicuanga Runa: The Other Side of Development in Amazonian Ecuador* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1985) and "Commentary: Historical and Mythic Evocations of Chthonic Power in South America," in J.D. Hill, ed., *Rethinking History and Myth. Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past* (Urbana, Univ. of Illinois Press, 1988) p. 282-306; Norman E. Whitten, Dorothea Scott Whitten, Alfonso Chango, "Return of the Yumbo: The indigenous Caminata from Amazonia to Andean Quito," *American Ethnologist* 24, 2 (1997) 355-91; Marc Becker, "Comunas and Indigenous Protest in Cayambé, Ecuador," *The Americas* 55, 4 (1999) 531-560.

38) The disciplinary implications of blending economic and cultural history are discussed in a special issue of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, 2 (1999) entitled: "Mexico's New Cultural History: ¿Una Lucha Libre?". Contributing authors are Eric Van Young, William E. French, Mary Kay Vaughan, Stephen Haber, Florencia E. Mallon, Susan Migden Socolow, and Claudio Lomnitz; see also William H. Beezley, Cheryl E. Martin, William E. French, eds., *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1994); and on the limits of cultural history, William Roseberry, *Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy* (New Brunswick: 1989).

39) Escobar, "Constructing Nature," 46.

40) William Cronon, *Changes in the Land. Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1997 [1983]); Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative,"; Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1995); Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency. Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1983); White, *The Middle Gound. Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991).

50) My reading of White's use of *dependency* is consonant with the conceptual frameworks employed by Florencia Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983) p. 3-7; and Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1998 [1988]) p. 322-326.

51) Kristine L. Jones, "Comparative Raiding Economies: North and South," p. 97-114; Thomas D. Hall, "The Río de la Plata and the Greater Southwest: A View from World System Theory," p. 150-166 in D. Guy and T. Sheridan, *Contested Ground*; Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880* (Lawrence: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1989); James Saeger, *The Chaco Mission Frontier*; Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Rise and Fall of the Comanche Empire, 1700-1875* (Ph.D. diss., University of Helsinki).

52) Bernardo García Martínez, *Los pueblos de la sierra: el poder y el espacio entre los indios del norte de Puebla hasta 1700* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1987); García Martínez, ed., *Estudios sobre historia y ambiente en América, I* (Mexico: El Colegio de México, Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1999); Elinor G..K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Arij Ouweneel, *Shadows Over Anáhuac: An Ecological Interpretation of Crisis and Development in Central Mexico, 1730-1800* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1996).

53) Alfred H. Siemens, *A Favored Place: San Juan River Wetlands, Central Veracruz, A.D. 500 to the Present* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); Andrew Sluyter, *Colonialism and Landscape*; Jonathan

D. Amith, "The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of a Colonial Society: Central Guerrero, Mexico, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," Ph.D dissertation, Yale University, 2001.