period of the first globalization' – that is, 1890–1930. This is the period in which Tafunell has specialised, including an article in this journal on the Latin American cement industry, and what he has been able to uncover is very impressive. The most striking result is the relative under-investment in agricultural machinery compared with industrial machinery, the main exception being Argentina.

The foreign trade data are also used by César Yañez in a most illuminating way to compare Chile and Cuba before the First World War and by André Hofman and Cristián Ducoing to examine capital goods imports in Chile over the long run. There is also an excellent examination of the terms of trade in Colombia from 1875 onwards by Santiago Colmenares; in this study, the net barter terms of trade are adjusted for productivity changes in Colombia and outside to yield the double factorial terms of trade, which are generally regarded by economists as more significant than the net barter terms of trade that are based only on export and import prices.

There are also three chapters that are very original and add a great deal of value to this book. One, by José Jofré González, looks at energy use and deforestation in Cuba from the eighteenth century onwards. A second, by José Alejandro Peres Cajías, uses primary sources to construct the fiscal accounts for Bolivia from 1900 to 1931. A third, by Carolina Román Ramos, builds a demand function for the consumption of durable goods in Latin America from 1890 to 1913.

Readers expecting yet another broad-brush approach to Latin American economic history based on a single dimension such as quality of institutions will be disappointed by this book. Those looking for a detailed analysis of individual countries and time periods that goes beyond sweeping generalisations will be delighted. The editors, and their chosen authors, should be congratulated for an excellent piece of research. It suggests that this is still a very active area of investigation with much remaining to be done.

Institute of the Americas,
University College, London

VICTOR BULMER-THOMAS

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **44** (2012). doi:10.1017/S0022216X12001009

Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. xvi + 297, £66.00, £16.99 pb.

Any visitor to Cusco cannot ignore the skills of the Inka masons in cutting stone, building walls and carving or enhancing large boulders or rocky outcrops. They are informed that even a piece of paper or a knife cannot fit in the joints between the blocks in the well-fitted stone walls of the city and its environs, and are amazed at the intricate carving of seats, steps, platforms and niches as well as a few animals on boulders. Carolyn Dean, an art historian, has pieced together a very interesting book on the meaning of stone for the Inkas, based on observations she has made on 'hikes and outings' and supplemented by good use of colonial documentation. The book is well written and well illustrated with photographs, but alas there is no map and no site plans or line drawings. Its four chapters ('Rock and Remembrance', 'Rock and Reciprocity', 'Rock and Rule' and 'Rock in Ruins') relate four principal aspects of her thesis as she lays out the role that stone played in Cusco during Inka times, in the colonial era and into the modern day.

The most impressive chapter is clearly the first, in which Dean argues that rocks, whether carved or uncarved, represent Inka *w'aka* – that is, sacred places – that are

generated by the nature and location of the rock itself. Dean states that the Inkas believed the very rock was animated and imbued with a life force, which they utilised through the petrification of ancestors and the use of stone in various objects – some portable, such as *wawki* (brothers or effigies), and others very large and immovable, including *wank'a* (petrified owners of places), *saywa* (boundary markers), *puruawqa* (petrified warriors), *sayk'uska* ('tired' stones) and *sukanka* (horizon pillars). She defines two other categories: 'echo stones', which are rocks that are either natural or have been shaped to mirror the form of the landscape beyond them; and *apacheta*, which have traditionally been considered rock piles left by travellers on passes or crossroads but which through various chroniclers, such as Arriaga and Murúa, she considers 'built structures'.

While Dean cogently develops the Andean notion of animation and essence (*camay*) for stones as a mode for the interpretation of particular geographical features and artefacts, it must be said that rocks do not offer, by any means, a complete picture of the Inka understanding of landscape. Everything, living or inanimate, was considered to have been created and hence possessed camay, and to play a role in the everyday life of the people and their environment. Therefore, springs, pools, waterfalls, fountains, trees, tree roots, mountains, hills, cliffs, caves, the sky, clouds and stars as well as certain animals, birds, shells, flowers and man-made objects, including pottery, clothing, pins and knives, have camay. These features are found throughout the Cusco landscape, in the Andes in general, and among all objects, utensils, tools, plants and animals. The Inka and Andean landscape is ordered, and everything is in association and interplay with everything else, to the extent that whole areas can be regarded as having animation or are identified as a human or other body with feet, legs, torso, hands, arms, head and so on. It is not just that the rocks are animated, but rather that everything has these qualities for memory of events, for memorialising the past and for creating an understanding of the world.

In the second chapter, Dean argues that rocks were important elements of the Inka sacred landscape and as such, stonework in structures, terraces and tombs was symbolic of the all-pervading qualities and essence of rock. She uses this argument again in the third chapter to posit that for the Inkas, stoneworking was a signature that displayed their hegemony and power over the conquered peoples and provinces of the empire. She views the well-fitting stonework as a metaphor for the Inkas' engagement with, and control of, the camay of stones, which their masons revealed by 'nibbling' each block, transforming it in order to construct their impressive buildings and terraces. This is a very strong argument, but is it correct? It is true that the Inkas valued certain stone blocks to the extent that they transported them as far as southern Ecuador and probably elsewhere in Tawantinsuyu. However, it is probably not their worked or 'nibbled' nature that was important but the fact that this andesite had come from the flanks of sacred mountains in the Cusco valley, namely the Rumiqolqa quarry close to the important Urqos Wiraqochan mountain; a second andesite quarry, Waqoto, lies on the flanks of Pachatusan, 'the stanchion of the world'. Indeed, these stone blocks came from places associated with the Creator, Wiraqocha Pachayachachiq, and while some of them had been selected for the most important architecture in Cusco, others were taken north to build a structure in a 'new cusco' at Tumibamba (Cuenca).

Dean is puzzled by the fact that in some cases well-fitted stone facades had been covered with plaster and therefore could not be seen. However, this should not be

puzzling at all as many important buildings were made not of such high-quality stonework but with substructures of various grades of stonework capped by adobe brick or even *pirka* (random rubble) walls. Even buildings within Cusco are known to be of such mixed construction, as the buildings at royal palaces such as Qespiwanka, Chinchero and Tambokancha and the temple complex at Rajchi were also well made with adobe superstructures, while the urban *kancha* of Calca and Ollantaytambo had superstructures made from pirka.

Dean's book is the fourth study by an art historian of Inka rocks in and around Cusco since the 1980s and is certainly the most accessible and readable. It should be read by all serious scholars of the Inka people. It explores the importance of camay, but is far from the most definitive work on that subject or on the importance of landscape to the Inkas.

Australian National University IAN FARRINGTON

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **44** (2012). doi:10.1017/S0022216X12001010

Susan Schroeder (ed.), *The Conquest All Over Again: Nahuas and Zapotecs Thinking, Writing, and Painting Spanish Colonialism* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), pp. xiii + 273, £65.00, £25.00 pb; $94.95, $39.95 pb.

The flood of scholarly writing about indigenous histories of the Americas that picked up steam around 1992, the year of the protest or celebration – depending on one's point of view – of the Quincentennial, has not abated; nor has the influence of major works published around that time, especially James Lockhart's *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Stanford University Press, 1992) and Tzvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America* (Harper Collins, 1996), diminished. Lockhart and Todorov, in very different ways, expressed and encouraged the interdisciplinary turn not only toward the textual and cultural but also toward an examination of colonial indigenous history through indigenous ways of seeing the world. This much-needed corrective to a historiography that remained rooted in triumphalist perspectives for far too long has led lately to a growing body of research dealing with Spanish conquests.

This emergent scholarship emphasises the use of indigenous-produced documentation to understand these events through the worldviews of indigenous peoples. Matthew Restall recently examined this trend in an essay on the New Conquest History (in *History Compass*) and characterised it as having 'profoundly altered' understandings of the conquest period. One of the books he mentions, *The Conquest All Over Again*, I review here. It constitutes a significant contribution to the New Conquest History and is based upon intensive analyses of indigenous-focused texts (whether produced by indigenous, mestizo or, in one case, Spanish authors), and covers a wide range of document types, including annals, plays, confessionals, primordial titles and pictorials. In these varied genres, Nahuas (and in one essay, Zapotecs) grapple with the impact, meaning and consequences of conquest. Each essay shows the challenges wrought by invasion, war, and new forms of rule and expression. These challenges led natives to produce literature that sometimes spoke to that new audience of Spanish officials but more often addressed primarily native audiences and concerns. Rather than discuss the essays in the chronological order in which they appear in the book, I group them here as texts that speak largely to indigenous audiences, those that are what I call 'outer directed,' and those whose audience is potentially bicultural.