J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38**, 625–682 © 2006 Cambridge University Press
Printed in the United Kingdom

# Reviews

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06211507

Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery and the Economy of São Paulo, 1750–1850* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. xii + 273, £18.50, pb.

In a speech to the Brazilian parliament in 1880 the fiery abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco said of São Paulo province that it had 'once owed everything to the initiative of free labour', and was now risking its development by buying slaves from the northern provinces. According to Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, Nabuco had got it wrong: far from being a place of free labour, São Paulo had long, and increasingly so since at least the mid-eighteenth century, relied on slaves to supply the essential labour that had transformed small-scale sugar and subsistence farming into export-oriented sugar *engenhos*, then modest coffee farms, and finally into the big coffee plantations that dominated São Paulo's economy in the latter half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.

Luna and Klein are not the first historians to correct Nabuco's mistaken impression of São Paulo. As early as 1968, Maria Thereza Schorer Petrone published *A lavoura canavieira em São Paulo: expansão e declínio, 1765–1851* to demonstrate, she said, 'how the cultivation of sugar cane is responsible for the transformation of agriculture which ceased being predominantly subsistence to become commercial'. She went on to show that commercial agriculture – the exporting of sugar cane – went hand-in-hand with importing large numbers of African slaves, at first buying them mainly through the Rio de Janeiro slave market, then directly.

So the special value of Luna and Klein's work lies in its sweeping scale. They investigate not one region or one crop, but the entire province and three overlapping economies across one hundred years from 1750 to 1850. Their core evidence comes from the household lists of inhabitants counted periodically in each of some 50 counties from in some cases as early as 1765 to as late as 1850 and even 1866 in one county. They especially work with the 41 counties that provided consistently complete information, although sometimes narrowing their sample to a group of nine counties or, to illustrate a particular set of qualities, comparing two counties. As anyone who has worked with these censuses knows, they are wonderfully rich. For each household, the head of the family is named together with his or her immediate family members, then free dependents, followed by any slaves. Sometimes slaves are grouped by families. More often male slaves are listed first by age or by birthplace, African or creole. Each person is identified by name, age, colour, marital status and place of birth, while occupations are typically given only for the head of the household, sometimes for other resident free persons, but rarely if ever for slaves. In this way, the household economy is identified, but not all of the contributing occupations. For those households engaged in agriculture, the census taker further listed the annual amounts of each crop produced and sometimes the income yielded, making clear that at least some of what was produced was sold at market. Luna and Klein have performed the huge task of aggregating this information in order to paint in broad strokes the transformations of the São Paulo economy and, in the second half of the book, the changing demographic profiles of slave owners, slaves and free people of colour.

What do they find? Teleologically, they see the 100 years preceding 1850 as preparation for the big plantations that eventually grew coffee for an expanded world market, establishing a reliance on African slaves as the principal labour force, although that would change after 1850 to an internal trade and eventually to experiments with European colonists. Those earlier years also marked the building of roads, enabling mule trains to transport inland-grown crops over the *serra* to the coast for shipping to markets. By the end of the eighteenth century the rising international price of sugar made it viable to expand production onto larger holdings, using more sophisticated milling operations. By the early decades of the nineteenth century the make-up of the labour force had changed dramatically: instead of mainly creole slaves, with roughly equal numbers of men and women with a substantial number of children and able to maintain a natural increase in their number, the slaves who worked the new sugar lands were purchased from Africa. They were mainly males, and mainly adults. As sugar expanded, so too the appetite for Africans. As the number of slaves multiplied, the number of estates producing sugar declined while their individual size increased, concentrating more slaves in the hands of fewer owners and raising production even when, by 1829, the average number of slaves per holding had begun to drop. The authors seem to be saying that a dependence on coerced labour set the pattern for later development.

If sugar was the 'engine for the importation of slaves, the improvement of transportation, and the reorganisation of the economy' (p. 51), by the early decades of the nineteenth century coffee growers had begun to provide the São Paulo economy with a new dynamism. This first cycle of coffee producers differed from those who followed them in the second half of the century in owning land in smaller holdings, working fewer slaves on average – in 1829 only 19 slave owners owned more than 100 slaves – and producing less coffee. But for all that, they fed increasing amounts of coffee to a thirsty international market, nudging past sugar by the early 1830s.

While the story of the big shifts to commercial sugar and then to coffee exports sound familiar, what is more original here is the emphasis Luna and Klein give to a third economy devoted to growing such foodstuffs as corn, rice, beans and pork, both for its meat and lard. Tobacco, cane alcohol, tea, as well as the grazing of cattle, horses and raising mules also contributed to this economy. These products prospered alongside sugar and coffee, and were sometimes produced by the same growers and their slaves. If we have tended to see sugar and coffee as monocultures, for this period at least we are wrong. What had been strictly subsistence crops in the mid-eighteenth century expanded for sale locally, at regional markets and for export to towns like São Paulo and even further to Rio de Janeiro. A sugar or coffee planter with more corn than he needed to feed his slaves and mules marketed the surplus, contributing to a more diverse, multi-crop agriculture than we usually imagine.

What remain frustratingly invisible are the markets, transportation and buyers of foodstuffs, cattle and lard. How did producers divide up a local or regional market that could only absorb so much? Who were the buyers? Among those who did not own or work the land, free coloured men and women figured significantly among the poor in these mostly rural counties. Working as day labourers, seamstresses, potters, wood and metal workers, spinners, weavers, often in service to land owners, they participated as consumers in the local sale of foodstuffs and animal products. It seems a missed opportunity, when writing about this population not to return to the intriguing question of markets in order to reconstruct how the sale of food crops operated. Still, we can applaud Luna and Klein for shining new light on the workings of the *paulista* economy, and especially on the cultivation and marketing of food crops and on the people who likely sustained, at least in some part, the food trade. Maybe Nabuco got it right after all.

*Santa Fe, New Mexico* SANDRA LAUDERDALE GRAHAM

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06221503

Peter Guardino, *The Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750–1850* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. ix + 405, $84.95, $23.95 pb; £64.00, £15.95 pb.

In 1737 the Real Academia Española defined '*sociedad*' as a '*compañía de racionales*', or a group formed to advance the faculties or sciences, and did so in less than fifty words. By 1852 the primary definition had changed to a '*Reunión mayor ó menor de personas, familias, pueblos, naciones*', alternate definitions for various business partnerships had emerged, and the entry had nearly tripled in length. The explosion of the concept of society confronts the historiography of nineteenth-century Mexico with an epochal temptation. The conceptual revolution in print in Europe offers to impose a vector of order onto the seemingly chaotic political revolutions shaping the transition to republican governance in practice in Mexico. Despite their coincidence, the precise relationship between the two processes remains an open question, particularly with regard to political actors who did not read or write. Whether to raise a benchmark, impose an obstacle or hoist a straw man, histories of Mexican Independence, liberalism and civil strife lean heavily on the fulcrum of modern consciousness, sometimes to the point of phenomenology. Whether a modern worldview filters down, bubbles up or co-evolves, the geometry of the concept often over-determines the evidence and the scholarship remains mired in a series of irreconcilable binarisms that allow little room for gradual change over time or the non-violent participation of non-literate actors.

Peter Guardino's exhaustive study of political life during 'the time of liberty' avoids the temptation of modern consciousness, providing instead a rich empirical record of political change in urban Oaxaca and rural Villa Alta, and one in which ordinary people exert real agency. As a regional study, Guardino's research is impeccable. He provides rich, textured examples that balance a practical portrait of how some of the broader political transformations defining 'the age of revolution' operated at the micro level, with a healthy dose of qualification and demythification of the more grandiose claims that historians have made for the period.

Guardino chooses the southern state of Oaxaca due to its relative stability in the broader era of Independence and the quality of documentation available for its indigenous villages(4). His study fits into the literature on 'popular liberalism', a variant of subaltern studies among historians of Mexico, with the important caveat that he treats political forms in a purely instrumental fashion (and thus avoids the question of consciousness) (pp. 7–9).

While Guardino's depiction of eighteenth-century Oaxaca may not surprise specialists, for modernists and others in search of a concise, well-grounded portrait of political life in indigenous Mexico on the eve of Independence, and in English, his treatment of Villa Alta fills a huge gap. Dozens of examples culled from state and local archives document oft-cited, but seldom explained aspects of rural life such as the importance of royal land grants as Christian origin myths (pp. 58–9), the contested role of parish priests (p. 68), conflicts over exemptions from community service obligations (pp. 50–1, 54), the importance of ceremonial ritual in reinforcing community hierarchies and its Christianisation in the eighteenth century (p. 73), indigenous litigiousness and communal, negotiated settlements to legal disputes (pp. 53, 74, 79), and a divide between conflicts over social class and conflicts over service and patriarchy mapped along an urban/rural axis (p. 124). And Guardino paints this portrait without essentialising particular communities, revealing a shared political culture across villages, ethnic and language groups, and even between mestizos, creoles and Spaniards (p. 41).

Guardino's emphasis on the local origins of political disputes continues through his analysis of the Bourbon reforms and the wars of Independence. The Bourbons made no concerted effort at popular social control in Oaxaca, and their chief influence was the introduction of new claim structures through which subalterns articulated the same kinds of grievances they had over preceding generations (pp. 92, 102, 104). The most important change that came with Independence, Guardino thus argues, was the removal of the king and destruction of the courts, and not the abolition of the *repartimiento* or the regulation of the Church (p. 90). In a similar vein, he demonstrates how the language of unity and loyalty in the face of the insurgent and royalist threats unintentionally created a new egalitarian political repertoire for subalterns (pp. 127, 131, 149, 151).

Guardino's history of partisan politics in post-Independence Oaxaca is the book's signal contribution. Using electoral records, Guardino shows how two political parties, the elitist *aceites* and populist *vinagres*, emerged almost 'overnight' after the city council and statehouse became real seats of power (post-1820) (pp. 169, 178, 181). Unlike earlier studies of the period, Guardino finds little evidence of strong corporatist bodies or clientelist networks in the partisan mobilisation, emphasising instead the relative attraction of their political ideologies (pp. 157, 172, 192–3, 195–6, 264). Soon after this republican efflorescence, however, Guardino shows how politics degenerated into a rigid factionalism, where opponents accused each other of crimes, electoral violence ran rampant, and control of political office dictated political imprisonment (pp. 183, 191, 204). Given his emphasis on ideology, Guardino is almost forced to attribute factionalism to a 'lack of pluralism', arguing that the political ideas of the two groups were mutually exclusive, retarding the development of democracy, despite elections and mass media (pp. 178, 221). After threats of state secession piqued the attention of Mexico City, local politicians began to ally with military men to control various offices, and proto-national caudillos emerged (post-1828), Oaxaca was pulled into the vortex of national political chaos (pp. 182, 202, 205).

Unfortunately, a 'lack of pluralism' does not offer much of an explanation for either regional or national civil strife, or their uniqueness in time and place. Lacking a relative measure or other causal referents, such an explanation relies on an implicit failure narrative to the same degree as the interest and tradition-based historiography that Guardino criticises. In limiting his definition of 'political culture' to exclude most of what most scholars would define as 'culture', Guardino's analysis of process proves more than a little wanting, especially at key moments when he presents things like 'rumors of political apocalypse' (pp. 154–5), the emergence of 'new political values' (p. 171), or simply participation in new kinds of crowds or armed mobilisations that cry out for differentiation from more quotidian change.

That's not to say that Guardino fails to shed any light on the broader nineteenth-century experience. As in his earlier study of Guerrero, Guardino shows how provincial political struggles underpinned the formation of a national state after 1850. And, as he did with the figure of Juan Álvarez, Guardino provides an invaluable biography of Benito Juárez and his milieu in the heartland of La Reforma, and one which unravels whiggish projections of radical anti-clericalism and calls for the juridical abolition of indigenous communities back onto the 1820s and 1830s (pp. 213, 217, 262). These contributions will help to make *The Time of Liberty* required reading and earn its passage into the canon of nineteenth-century Mexican history.

*The University Of California, San Diego* EVERARD MEADE

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X0623150X

Nora E. Jaffary, *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico* (Lincoln, NE, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), pp. xvi + 257, £34.95, hb.

In *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico* Nora E. Jaffary examines documents from more than 100 Inquisition trials in New Spain, spanning from 1593 to 1801, proceedings against men and women accused of feigning visionary experiences. Jaffary approaches her subject from two directions: first, she examines the Inquisition's perception of these people and the factors informing the court's final verdicts; second, she looks at what the documents really tell us about the spirituality of the defendants. The results are fascinating and break new ground in the study of popular Catholicism in New Spain.

Jaffary argues that the Inquisition documents tell us a double-layered story. The political story, beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, is that of colonial authorities' increasing preoccupation with the growth of the mixed-race population, the increasing power of *criollos* in society and the possible influence of African and indigenous religious beliefs on the colony's Christian traditions. Such concerns are reflected in the fact that the Inquisition pursued trials of false mystics in the most racially mixed cities in New Spain. By the latter half of the seventeenth century the court had largely shifted its focus from the heretical elements of the religious practices of the accused to their social behaviour and deviance from the proper norms of conduct. Further, the vocabulary with which the accused were identified changed. Instead of being classified as *alumbrados*, an Iberian term referring to a heresy that circumvented the mediation of the Church and preached utter abandonment to God, they were given the label of *ilusos*, those 'deluded by the devil', into feigning mystical experiences. The frequency with which the Inquisition prosecuted false mystics intensified in the eighteenth century, the period during which the Mexican Inquisition has generally been seen as going into decline. Visionaries who gathered circles of devotees and benefactors and used their charisma to improve their station in life were much more easily condemned than more timid and less exhibitionist personalities. All of this, concludes Jaffary, reflects elite fears of individuals of a lower station trying to pass for what they were not, and a general erosion of respect for the dictates of Spanish authorities.

This part of Jaffary's argument is perhaps not surprising given what we already know of the tensions between various social and ethnic groups of New Spain. But when she connects this narrative with the actual religious practices and beliefs of the accused there emerges an altogether more revealing image of the nature of urban culture in the colony. Indeed, Jaffary's book draws the image of a perplexed and preoccupied Church and crown, facing large groups of urban dwellers whose religious devotion reflected the success of Catholicism in the New World but whose piety had also taken bewildering and unforeseen turns. Urban spirituality, as revealed in these documents, was a direct product of the Church's teachings; at the same time, it was improvised and coloured by the experience of daily life of the accused, an experience that could not be controlled by viceregal authorities. The originality of *False Mystics* lies in this argument and is expressed aptly in the term 'deviant orthodoxy'.

Unlike Jaffary, who studies a large body of cases that involve both men and women, earlier studies of the Mexican Inquisition's interactions with visionaries, such as those of Alberro and Franco, have focused on selected cases of women mystics. These have been portrayed either as challenging gender codes and institutional authority, or simply as clever women seeking to enhance their social and financial position in a world in which more and more *criollos* were falling into poverty. Other studies of visionary women, mostly nuns in Spanish America who achieved status and fame for their piety, have, to a certain extent, reflected these arguments. Jaffary, however, proposes that it is quite possible that genuine faith motivated the people accused of false mysticism, that they were products of a rich religious culture and that their deviation from orthodox practices and beliefs had little to do with a conscious decision to rebel against established authorities and ideologies. These were often precocious and imaginative personalities, stimulated by the vibrant visual imagery of the baroque, people who came in frequent contact with indigenous and African religions. She argues that 'the indiscriminate characterisation of actions and beliefs of marginalised people as resistance strategies obscures an accurate understanding of what historical characters themselves thought they were doing when they exhibited certain attitudes to institutional power'.

Jaffary rightly does not attempt to determine whether the accused were true visionaries or not. Indeed, many of their visions reveal an experience of the divine so infused with the presence of the material that it seems to obliterate the possibility of achieving the self-transcendence of which pure mysticism consists. It is more important to note that they believed themselves to be true mystics, or – as Jaffary reminds us – at the very least tried to convince others that they were, and that their followers concurred with that view.

The starting points for the visionary experiences and preachings of the defendants were the doctrines and mysteries of the Catholic faith. Their role models were Counter-Reformation saints such as Saint Teresa of Avila and Saint Rosa of Lima, and their visions were based on such central mysteries and miracles as the Incarnation, Eucharist and the Virgin Birth. Readers familiar with the religious literature of the period, particularly the published and unpublished writings of pious nuns and beatas, will discern familiar motifs: the situation of the visionary in the midst of an otherworldly scenario that accords closely to the visual imagery of Baroque Catholicism. But while such figures were usually under the tutelage of male priests and friars who edited and suppressed any heretical tendencies in their writing, the people accused by the Inquisition of false mysticism tended to be less well supervised, even if some of them were lay members of the religious orders. The majority of *ilusa* beatas, for example, were not professed tertiaries and did not live in *beaterios*. As a result, their visions imposed their experience of daily life upon the canvas provided for them by the Counter-Reformation Church. The result was often a radical reinterpretation of Christian dogmas, for example portraying the Child Christ as altogether wilfully human, and questioning Mary's virginity. Other violations included claims to powers derived directly from God and thus to criticise the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The devil, of course, was a significant factor in these proceedings. Jaffary traces the methods used by inquisitors to determine the role of the devil in the behaviour of the accused. The objective was to ascertain whether the subject of the trial was diabolically 'obsessed' or 'possessed', the former referring to the devil's penetration of the soul and the latter to a possession of the body which was a much more serious affair and more likely to lead to a conviction. This part of Jaffary's work is intriguing given the spread of Enlightenment ideas among colonial authorities in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Her analysis reveals that while witnesses in the period often gave rational explanations such as melancholy, epilepsy and hysteria for the ecstatic fits, raptures and physical afflictions of the defendants, the court – instead of dismissing the proceedings – chose in most cases to stick to its charges of false mysticism demonstrating the gravity of the perceived threat to the colonial order.

The organisation of Jaffary's book is elegant; it weaves effortlessly between the Inquisitors and their cultural environment, and the defendants and their social milieu. Using theological tracts and inquisitorial guidelines she sketches the motivating factors in the court's procedure. Similarly, she employs religious art and the stories of saints and holy people to capture the climate in which the accused lived.

In summing up the character of the court's interactions with the people it condemned as false mystics, Jaffary borrows the term 'double mistaken identity' from Mexican ethno-historians' portrayal of Spanish and Indian misperceptions as to each others' religions. In her view, the victims of the court saw themselves as orthodox Christians who had nothing to hide. The Inquisition, on the other hand, prosecuted them for a heresy that focused on interior religion although their practices had little to do with contemplation. Rather than define her subjects as rebels who 'self-consciously defied the doctrines of Catholicism' she sees them as humble people, who – having been told that God favours the poor – believe that they are worthy of and ready to receive mystical experience. With this, Jaffary has gone to the crux of the matter. Scholars studying Catholic spirituality in Colonial Mexico would probably concur that mysticism was a powerful force in the colony's religious culture, appealing to people of all classes and ethnicities. Whether or not the 102 individuals prosecuted for false mysticism and their followers truly represent the religiosity of New Spain's urban population is another question. Undoubtedly, the ease with which they wove elements of their daily lives into their religious experiences reflects the practices of the wider population. But their fits, trances and manipulation of their followers must have been out of the ordinary, even in the Baroque period.

A cursory glance at Inquisition documents from the period reveals glimpses of the world that Jaffary describes, clusters of people living lives and expressing beliefs that contradict the stereotypical image of Baroque society as rigid and highly regimented. The value of Jaffary's work lies in bringing together these disperse documents and the stories they tell. The result is an impressive excavation of testimonies of popular culture in New Spain.

*New York* ELLEN GUNNARSDÓTTIR

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06241506

José Roberto Juárez, *Reclaiming Church Wealth: The Recovery of Church Property after Expropriation in the Archdiocese of Guadalajara, 1860–1911* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), pp. ix + 251, $45.00, hb.

During the colonial era the Church acquired enormous landholdings throughout Mexico. However, by the mid-nineteenth century the liberal government under President Benito Juárez viewed the vast ecclesiastical properties as a barrier to the country's agricultural productivity. As a result, in 1856 the government issued the Ley Lerdo, which forced the Church to sell its lands, but allowed it to remain as a mortgage lender. As the Church resisted and rebelled, three years later Juárez nationalised all ecclesiastical wealth without compensation. Although the conservatives under Emperor Maximilian came to power in the 1860s, the properties and capital of the Church were not returned. After Maximilian's execution in 1867 the Church was forced to negotiate a compromise settlement with the victorious liberal administration.

In this fluent and interesting monograph José Roberto Juárez describes how the ecclesiastical administration in the archdiocese of Guadalajara regained cultural, political and, above all, economic power in the following decades. Although successive liberal administrations periodically sought out ecclesiastical properties, banned the collection of tithes outside temples and prohibited clerical garb, bell ringing, procession, fireworks and canonical baptisms and marriages, local parishes proved extraordinarily adaptable and resilient to the state's anticlerical campaigns. During the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz (1876–1911) tithes actually increased, liberal nuisance laws were tactfully evaded and priests managed to retain control of their homes, temples and atria.

Within this context of accommodation, the Church sought to recuperate its wealth. The principal means was the *arreglo de conciencia*. This was a financial settlement between the Church and the owner of a former ecclesiastical property. In return for some form of pecuniary reimbursement, the local clergy would allow the beneficiary of the nationalisation laws to retain his property without fear of damnation. In order to promote the acceptance of the contracts, the archbishop toured the parishes offering salvation, the ecclesiastical government published supportive pamphlets and the local clergy refused recalcitrant property owners the sacraments of marriage and extreme unction. Although landlords of former Church goods were ordered to pay the difference between the price paid for the land and its actual value, local pastors often took the individual's character and his financial and family circumstances into account. The persistence of Catholic beliefs and the liberal government's lack of interference allowed the successful pursuit of the flexible ecclesiastical campaign. The author estimates that the archdiocese of Guadalajara lost around 8.4 million pesos worth of property and goods to nationalisation. However, over the succeeding four decades the Church recovered around 30 per cent of its wealth, or 2.5 million pesos.

Finally, the Church continued to act as a banker for the region's elite. During the Porfiriato Mexico's liberal leaders failed to put in place any viable alternative to church funding. While the Church charged around five to six per cent interest per year, a new breed of usurers was charging haciendas one to five per cent per month. As a result, although the Church in Guadalajara was more cautious in its lending policies than it had been during the colonial era and the early nineteenth century, it nevertheless continued to advance money to the region's principal investors and businesses.

The book is extremely well researched and clearly benefits from Juárez's exhaustive mining of Guadalajara's ecclesiastical archives and his comprehensive understanding of the subtleties of Church and secular law. Although the author concentrates on the economic transformations of the region's church, there is space for personal profiles, discussions of Church rhetoric and sections on political and cultural changes. Furthermore, like all good regional studies, Juárez's work on Guadalajara not only offers up another footnote to the historical perfectionist, but also suggests a revision of current scholarly assumptions. Although François Xavier Guerra provocatively argued that the expansion of the Church during the Porfiriato could be compared to that of the sixteenth century, few historians have pursued this line of enquiry. In fact, most scholarly works on the late nineteenth century only offer the Church as a convenient conservative backdrop to the economic and social tumult of the period. By examining the Church's accommodation with the liberal establishment and its subsequent economic growth, Juárez has begun to reinsert ecclesiastical history into the standard narrative of the Porfiriato.

*Michigan State University* BENJAMIN THOMAS SMITH

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06251502

Jaime E. Rodríguez O. (ed.), *The Divine Charter: Constitutionalism and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Lanham, MD, and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), pp. xii + 402, £57.00, hb.

*The Divine Charter* highlights both the strengths and weaknesses of edited volumes. The articles it contains survey a period that runs from the crisis of 1808 to the regime of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1910). Their topics range from the republican ethos transmitted by early political catechisms; the dynamics of regional politics in Oaxaca and Texas; the imperial government of Maximilian; the politics of Catholics; 'popular' nationalism; the weight of the military in shaping visions of citizenship, as a seed-bed for political personnel and as a bone of contention; and 'liberal' economic policies. It is a broad set of issues that are central to our understanding of how the nation-state was constructed in independent Mexico. Yet, while the authors' treatment of these complex and multi-dimensional issues is sophisticated and suggestive, there is unfortunately little that weaves these interesting contributions together.

The book is supposed to 'synthesize discussions about liberalism and constitutionalism', but, in general, the articles do not talk to each other, even in those instances where differing visions would have made for fruitful dialogue, as with the contrasting images of citizenship – radically broad versus exclusive – analysed by Jaime Rodríguez in the introduction and Manuel Chust in his article on civic militias. If the different articles fail to engage in conversation, the introduction and conclusion do not succeed in pulling them together. Their task was, doubtless, not an easy one. Rodríguez's introduction is a very useful seamless narrative that makes sense of very convoluted times. Aldo Flores-Quiroga's conclusion sets forth an interesting reflection on the difficulties of reform, in general, in Mexico – over the last two centuries – to make the slightly unsettling assertion that 'history displays the habit of repeating itself' (p. 349). One misses, nevertheless, an engagement with the different articles, a discussion of the problems and concepts that one supposes are the heart of the volume.

It is not that the articles lack conceptual clarity, or that one is disappointed, in the end, by the absence of authoritative definitions, notably for liberalism – beyond the somewhat fuzzy 'ideals of popular sovereignty, local rights and representative government' (p. 25), which, as we know, have no place in history. What seems to be lacking is an awareness, with the exception of Andrés Reséndez, that concepts such as 'republicanism', 'constitutionalism' and, especially, 'liberalism' are not transparent. In *The Divine Charter*, 'liberalism' serves as a catch-all generally positive term, and I would be hard-pressed to pin down what it is that it describes. William H. Beezley's fascinating survey shows the ways in which, spurred by the pecuniary interests of *papeleros* and *titriteros*, calendars, almanacs, bingo games and puppet shows constituted and disseminated the images of popular Mexican nationalism. But although it suggests 'popular liberalism' had much to do with the defence of individual rights at a local level, Beezley does not make clear what it was that made these nationalist images 'liberal'. Similarly, it is difficult to see, even for someone who has insisted on the liberal horizon of the *imperialista* project, how the emperor could be placed, as Robert H. Duncan argues, 'at the forefront of a liberal constitutional movement that swept Europe in the mid-nineteenth century' (pp. 158–9). Even if he ratified the *Reforma* statutes and decreed the protection of labour and Indian communities, he, like Santa Anna before him, broke down the division between powers and eliminated political representation beyond the municipal level.

'Liberalism' in *The Charter* tends to be, then, amorphous and disembodied, its evolution and transformations indistinct. It becomes grounded only in certain articles. Brian Connaughton's careful analysis of the responses of Catholics, within and without the Church, to the challenges of Independence, speaks not only to various 'catholicisms', but to distinct 'liberalisms' moulded by unsettled circumstances. Andrés Reséndez, in a notable piece on Texas politics to 1836, unencumbered by the conventional foolishness of nationalist histories, highlights the importance of the political actors' place within the framework of public authority at state and national levels, the weight of their interests as property holders, and the effectiveness of their social networks.

A similar perspective, which grounds the analysis of liberalism by focusing on the intersection between ideals, interests and the exigencies of political survival, is what makes the section on 'The Economy' the most coherent and stimulating of the book. It is revealing in that it illustrates the interaction between the economic and the political elements within liberalism, which is unusual for the literature. Marcello Carmagnani traces the contentious pulling apart of older structures of production and commerce, and the projected emergence of a society that is liberal because it is made up of individuals – consumers and potential property owners. While he surveys the construction of a 'liberal economic culture', José Antonio Serrano Ortega and Sandra Kuntz Ficker analyse the difficult establishment of the fiscal and tariff policies that go with it. These are a privileged vantage point from which to look at liberal practices, in that, as their advocates were well aware, they were to act upon a refractory reality, and they affected palpable interests. Their failure or success adequately measures – and sometimes even assigns a number value to – the capabilities of a state that was under construction. These policies, then, had what for the historian is the great advantage of making 'liberal' elites put their money where their mouth was.

The diverse articles in the volume show that the study of political ideas is most fertile when firmly bounded temporally and spatially, and when the complexity of the institutional framework, the dynamics of the struggle for power, and the interests, fears and ambitions of the actors are taken into account. If *The Divine Charter* is a collection of solid, interesting articles, it is its last section which attests to the value of collective efforts, delivering a result that is greater than the sum of its parts.

*Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE), Mexico City* ERIKA PANI

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06261509

Paulo Drinot and Leo Garofalo (eds.), *Más allá de la dominación y la resistencia: estudios de historia peruana, siglos XVI–XX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2005), pp. 379, pb.

A new generation of historians has moved the historiography of Peru, as the title of this useful and informative work indicates, *más allá de la dominación y la resistencia*, themes that have shaped the writing of Andean history since the 1970s. The volume is the result of a conference or workshop that took place in 2002 at the then Institute of Latin American Studies, now Institute for the Study of the Americas, in London to assess new scholarly directions in the Peruvian field, and the papers selected for publication were judged as superior by a select group of senior Andean historians. The editors, Paulo Drinot of Manchester University and Leo Garofalo of Connecticut College, argue that this new cohort of Peruvianists is not so much rewriting history as 'widening the horizon' of the country's historiography by 'introducing new theoretical, methodological and interdisciplinary perspectives that suggest new ways of thinking about and writing Andean history' (p. 9).

To establish the context for the volume, which consists of twelve chapter examples of this selection of new historical writing, Drinot and Garofalo nicely recapitulate the past three decades of Andean historiography. They show, for example, how historians departed sharply in the 1970s from past work by incorporating into the country's narrative previously excluded subaltern groups (Indians, workers and women) whom they portrayed as having been historically dominated and victimised by the country's elites. During the 1980s this, in the editors' view, one-dimensional analysis, was modified in a climate of rising violence (the Shining Path insurgency) and for various political or ideological agendas, to show how subalterns 'resisted' in various and sundry ways their historical subordination. These tendencies were then further refined in the 1990s by a more eclectic and theoretically diverse set of contributions, enriched by Gramscian, Habermasian and neo-Tocquevillean themes, by the young historians represented in this volume.

The twelve contributions range from the conquest (one), colonial (four), nineteenth century (four) and early twentieth century (three); half are by women and Peruvians (teaching abroad, mainly in the USA) and roughly half are on political themes. Thus, they confirm the rising number of women historians, the continuing emphasis on political history and the trend towards filling the scholarly vacuum on the nineteenth century. There is no unifying theme to the volume, other than that indicated in the title, but most of the studies have a regional focus continuing the trend towards de-centring Peruvian history away from Lima.

The literary turn in historical studies makes its theoretical and methodological mark in two of the colonial contributions. Heidi Scott, for example, skilfully employs discourse analysis to the close reading of colonial narratives by Spaniards who, she shows, initially depicted the natural environment as the major obstacle to conquest, but later replaced it with the human obstacle of fierce native opposition. Rachel O'Toole applies Judith Butler's theories suggestively to analyse how the lower castes in Trujillo participated, with the authorities, in defining their caste identity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, Maria Marsilli and Leo Garofalo build on past scholarly trends. Marsilli continues the study of the persistent worship of cults by the indigenous, but interestingly finds, unlike elsewhere, no real opposition from priest-*doctrinarios* in her perusal of the ecclesiastical documentary records in Arequipa. Garfalo reveals the unexpected interaction of people of different *castas* in the taverns and *pulperías*, contrary to the view of the authorities in Cuzco. Finally, Adrian Pearce carefully shows how the colonial census of 1725–40 influenced the application of the Bourbon reforms in Peru by Viceroy Castelfuerte (this essay was originally published in the Latin American Research Review in 2001).

As for the nineteenth century, two contributions deal with familiar mid-century developments. Natalia Sobrevilla shows that despite robust guano revenues that strengthened the state, the central government was unable to eliminate regional conflict or *caudillismo*, although she concedes that inroads in these directions were made. Her carefully detailed study illustrates how complex and intractable both political phenomena were. Martin Monsalve Zanatti intriguingly points out elite 'moral panic' at the increasing visibility of the pueblo in the electoral process, leading liberals to advocate a greater 'tutorial' role in educating various plebeian social and ethnic groups into their new civic responsibilities as 'citizens'. Antonio Espinoza takes up the subject of elite efforts in the second half of the century to promote popular (primary) education in order to '*crear patria*', that is to transform plebes and peasants into Peruvian citizens. Finally, Tanja Christiansen draws on her interesting recent book (Texas, 2004) on gender in late nineteenth-century Cajamarca society to elucidate relations between domestic servants and their *patrones*. She describes these relations, based on extensive work in judicial trial records, in familiar ways – unequal, paternalistic and rigidly patriarchal, often bordering on actual slavery.

The three early twentieth-century pieces focus on the southern highlands, dealing respectively with Protestant missionary views of Indian political mobilisation in Puno and the 1934 Southern Railway strike. Juan Fonseca skilfully analyses the discourse on Indians produced by protestant missionaries at the beginning of the century, a mixture based on European and North American civilising concepts and those drawn from Indigenista groups. Annalyda Alvarez-Calderon examines community petitions for redress of grievances which she concludes deal with concrete political and economic problems, showing that these and, not the millenarian forces usually attributed to such movements, were at the root of the uprisings. Finally, Paulo Drinot adroitly examines the reasons for the victory of the, mainly British (Peruvian Corporation), Southern Railway strike of 1934.

All of these excellent studies, mostly micro in nature rather than macro sweeping generalisations, serve as important building blocks that help to illuminate the highly complex, fragmented and variegated patterns of Andean society. In particular, they happily concentrate on Peru real and not the Lima-centred focus that pervades so much of the traditional historiography of the country.

*George Washington University* PETER F. KLAREN

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06271505

Thomas J. Dodd, *Tiburcio Carías: Portrait of a Honduran Political Leader* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), pp. xvii + 268, £37.95; $56.95, hb.

Modern Honduran history is rarely treated seriously outside the country. It is too often referred to as the so-called 'classic Banana Republic' and its complicated past is reduced to clichés and unsubstantiated claims. This is particularly the case when Honduras' leaders and their lives and times are analysed, whether they were scoundrels, military chieftains, wise intellectuals or peasants. Thomas J. Dodd's long-awaited biography of General Tiburcio Carías Andino (1876–1969) is a major exception to a genre either little explored or generally abused in scholarship about Honduras. Scholars interested in the history of military strongmen in Latin America, from General Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina to General Rafael Leónidas Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, now have a solid portrait of a comparable case study for Honduras.

The period between General Carías' birth in 1876, his monopoly of power after democratic elections in 1932, and the end of his dictatorship early in 1949, demarcated critical watersheds in modern Honduran history. First, during no point from the country's reorganisation after the Spaniards' arrival in the 1520s to Independence in 1821 did Honduras undergo the kind of transformations that occurred between 1876 and 1933. Moreover, between 1892 and 1932 Carías participated in almost every major political and military engagement that then scarred Honduran society. And he did much more than 'participate'. In the 1920s he assumed the mantle as the National Party's main military and political caudillo, a position he consolidated during his dictatorship, and that he maintained until 1963. The Honduran political system with which the country ended the twentieth-century could not have been understood without Carías' legacy.

Carías is a critical personality through which many issues and themes of various periods in Honduran history may be studied. On the other hand, General Carías' regime between 1933 and 1949 represented a unique period of Honduran history because it seems to have institutionalised the worse aspects of the social, economic and political processes that emerged prominently early in his life. These included the detrimental relationship between concessionary contracts and the US banana companies' monopoly over the economy; a general subservience to the dictates of US foreign policy; the marginalisation of labour from access to power; political authoritarianism and personalist political parties.

Dodd addresses all these topics. His emphasis, however, is on the nature of Carías' rule, or what Alejo Carpentier called the 'Recourse of Method'. Perhaps the best chapter in the book is chapter five, 'The Hardware and Practice of Dictatorship'. Therein, Dodd offers a fascinating narrative of how Carías and his allies used radio programmes, the telegraph, the printed press, and how they even commissioned airplanes to sustain his regime. At times, however, Dodd's fascination with the mechanics of reproducing the dictatorship keeps him from fully grasping the impact on what Honduran intellectual Héctor Leyva has called the paternalist 'public morality' of modernist repression that was established during the Carías regime.

Nonetheless, the fact is that unlike all his dictatorial counterparts, General Carías died at home, peacefully, at the age of ninety-three. No one sought to assassinate him. Few serious conspiracies were mounted against him. This is a point that Dodd emphasises and it illustrates his main argument: that Carías achieved and maintained power, not primarily by brute force or as a simple representative of US power, whether in the guise of the United Fruit Company or US ambassadors stationed in Honduras. Rather, Carías, himself of rural origins, even educated as a lawyer, skilfully cultivated, manipulated and served rural social and economic interests that by the 1930s had suffered from the ravages of decades of civil war. He tapped into deep aspirations for peace under an authoritarian rule that Carías and his allies felt he was destined to impose. None of the Central American and Caribbean dictators of the 1930s and 1940s enjoyed the mobilising political power that Carías accumulated in the decade or so prior to assuming dictatorial power.

Indeed, Carías became the Nationalist Party presidential candidate in the elections of 1923, 1928 and 1932. In 1923 he won a plurality of the votes, but a civil war ensued, and while his military efforts contributed to a Nationalist victory, the negotiations excluded him from power. In 1928 Carías lost the elections to the Liberal Party, but he emerged as victor in the elections of 1932. Late in 1932 another civil war erupted and again Carías became directly involved in the military defence of his campaign success. In February 1933 Carías assumed power even while fighting raged very near Tegucigalpa. Finally, in 1936 he amended the constitution and extended his 'presidency' to 1949.

Critics of the regime, from the socialist left to the mainstream Liberal Party, including the historiography that Dodd incorporates, although too often only implicitly, fail to grasp Carías' populist origins. This is an almost entirely misunderstood history that Dodd details especially in chapter one, 'The Landscape of City, Village, and Rural Family'. When translated and published in Honduras, Dodd's biography of Carías will provoke much welcome debate, and even polemic, not only about the dead general but about the nature of Honduran politics before and after Carías' rule. However, those debates will benefit from a book deeply grounded in a great variety of documentation and evidence. Unlike many scholars who have written about modern Honduras, Dodd reviewed almost all the major Honduran archives relevant to his subject, as well as the leading newspapers. Finally, he complemented this meticulous search into primary sources with nearly fifty interviews with key associates and descendants of Carías, from former ministers to Carías' telegraph clerk. In short, Dodd's monograph is first-rate scholarship.

*Trinity College, Hartford* DARIO A. EURAQUE

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* 38 (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06281501

Jorge Luis Chinea, *Race and Labor in the Hispanic Caribbean: The West Indian Immigrant Worker Experience in Puerto Rico, 1800–1850* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005), pp. xv + 227, $59.95, hb.

*Race and Labor in the Hispanic Caribbean* is the first book-length study of intra-Caribbean migration to Puerto Rico. Grounded in thorough archival and primary source research, this study complements the few journal articles on Caribbean migration to Puerto Rico, while also being a valuable companion to the works of Francisco Scarano and Luis Figueroa on slavery and labour in southern Puerto Rico. The book's relevance, and that of the population studied, can be sustained in both simple and complex fashion. Like many Puerto Ricans, I was able to recognise the surnames of the immigrants in Chinea's book: a Bernier was among my ancestors, a Verges was a high school friend, a Forestier I met in college, the Benjamins I interviewed as a graduate student, and a Watlington now sits opposite my office. I would say that the names are a contemporary testimony of the *presence* of West Indians in the island – one that is not often recognised by mainstream scholarship or by popular and political discourses of national formation.

Chinea's cards are on the table from the very beginning, with a dense introduction summarising the author's main thesis. The argument is a circular one, as he argues that West Indians 'influenced the course of Puerto Rican history' (p. 5) and that colonial immigration policies and domestic politics 'had a vast impact on the West Indian experience in Puerto Rico' (p. 27). The relatively limited population sources about West Indians available are critically assessed and supplemented by thorough revision of the archives and collections in Puerto Rico, Spain, and the United States. Chapter one is as dense as the introduction. It covers the eighteenth century (the pre-plantation era) and serves as an historical background to the period of interest to the author: 1800–1850. It is, in practice, a concise history of the eighteenth century (a period to which he returns later) and therefore the dates in the title of the book are somewhat misleading (perhaps in a positive way, as the author covers the nineteenth century from a *longue durée* perspective).

Chapters two and three describe the socioeconomic profile of the West Indian immigrants to the island and the economic impact they had, mostly based on a critical analysis of a registry of foreigners in Puerto Rico (covering 1800–1845) consulted in the US National Archives. Among the foreign immigrants to Puerto Rico 2,141 persons of different colour, ethnicity and social background constitute the focus of Chinea's study (p. 72). The available data for each immigrant is not always complete or clear, yet the author is careful to look critically at some of the categories in the sources, such as the migrants' occupations (p. 92). Chinea demonstrates that most of the migrants were from Saint Domingue, Saint Thomas, Saint Croix, Guadeloupe and Curaçao. There were free blacks, free mulattos (some owning slaves) and white planters, and they 'were primarily single, young, male free coloreds who came to Puerto Rico hoping to improve their social and economic conditions' (p. 81). There were also slaves taken to the island by their owners or through intercolonial 'slave snatching' (p. 82) and 'maritime maroons' (pp. 85–8). Most of the West Indian migrants for whom Chinea can provide information came to places like Ponce and Guayama where the southern plantation economy was growing, but also to the northern capital San Juan and to Mayagüez in the west.

The occupations of the migrants were varied, from tailors and shoemakers to seamstresses and farmers, with most men classified as *labradores*, *jornaleros* and merchants.

Chapter four looks at 'racial politics' in relation to West Indian immigration and general immigration policies in Puerto Rico. Locating the island in a pan-Caribbean setting (rather than as an isolated Spanish colony), Chinea is able to document how the fear of blacks in the nineteenth-century in the Caribbean manifested itself on the island. He examines the discourse of the non-white 'other', perceived as a 'plague', 'contaminated' or 'undesirable', and looks at the different actions against West Indians, such as surveillance and control of their mobility. In contrast – or as a complement – there was a colonial attempt to promote white immigration to neutralise the growth of the non-white population (in places like Guayama 80 per cent of the population was non-white and the population increase in Vieques was due mostly to free coloureds coming from nearby islands). In the conclusion the author locates his work within a wider historical perspective by briefly (re)visiting José Luis González's *El país de los cuatro pisos* and raises important questions that are left for others. He calls for more research on Puerto Rico's pre-plantation era (which has been the focus of work by historian Elsa Gelpí) and other aspects untouched by his study such as regional differences in the West Indians' experience and their involvement in 'slave intrigues and revolutionary movements' in Puerto Rico (p. 151). Even though the book has not completely answered all the questions raised, the call for further research (certainly needed) in the final lines comes as a touch of modesty on the author's part after his own important contribution to Puerto Rican (and Caribbean) scholarship.

I have one contention about this book, nonetheless, and that is Chinea's use of the term 'West Indian'. Most of the existing historiography on intra-Caribbean migration to Hispanic America in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in this area uses the term West Indian to refer almost exclusively to non-white free (and unfree) labourers. In his study, Chinea includes white creole planters from neighbouring islands that, to be sure, were as 'West Indian' as non-white immigrants (in fact the historiography of intra-Caribbean migration has tended to silence white people's mobility). But while the author is careful to divide the migrants by occupation as foreign farmers (including the whites), foreign free labourers, West Indian slave labourers and so forth, his division of the different kinds of 'West Indians' is mostly descriptive. Therefore, the general question of how these immigrants shaped 'social, economic, and political developments in Puerto Rico' (p. 9) is not broken up to address the specific relation of each of these groups with the local context in which they arrived. Moreover, if one considers that the immigrants arrived at very different and specific localities (see map on p. xx), and from different islands (as noted in chapter three), one must ask what impact the migrants had on these localities, and how each of these towns was changed by the presence of a specific group of immigrants. Was their influence on the 'course of Puerto Rican history' similar in each town? Was the reaction to West Indian migration similar in the southern plantations of Ponce and Guayama to that in San Juan? As historians, it is easy to forget that while Puerto Rico is today *one* island (which one can drive around in a day), in the early nineteenth century it may have been, as it were, *many* islands with as many histories as it had towns. Chinea deploys a national frame of reference that does not allow him to consider local histories and particularities, yet he also adopts a transnational historical perspective that challenges our assumptions of mobility in the Caribbean past. From the Puerto Rican standpoint, Chinea has produced a remarkably outward looking work, yet the questions he raises in the conclusion demand a more profound gaze inward.

*University of Puerto Rico* JORGE L. GIOVANNETTI

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06291508

Elizabeth W. Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary: Memory and History in Minas Gerais, Brazil* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), pp. xvi + 287, $55.00, hb.

African-Brazilian forms of collective identity evolved from the colonial period onward within the lay religious brotherhoods that were dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary in Minas Gerais. The main premise of this work is that within these brotherhoods, collective beliefs, shared language, 'race' and the devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary provided the means for survival to the present in the face of the asymmetry of power in Brazilian society and the changes over time in their relationship to the Roman Catholic Church. 'Africans and their descendants in Minas Gerais actively participated in organizations that simultaneously linked them to the European power structure while allowing them to continue practices that served as a foundation for their existence and endurance as communities' (p. 5). The issue of communities is as complex as the differences among the brotherhoods in such a vast captaincy. Selection and sampling of the documentation provided contrasts and comparisons from specific cases. For example, in Jatobá, where the imposing figure of the book's cover presides over annual festivities, a group of Afro-Brazilians created a devotion based on Our Lady of the Rosary outside of the Church and state infrastructure. In Oliveira, where Kiddy also carried out a major part of her local research, the church and the state were omnipresent in the history of the brotherhood. Part one of the study traces the antecedents of the Minas Gerais Rosary brotherhoods to Europe and to sub-Saharan Africa, where elements of Catholicism and of European culture already existed prior to the sixteenth century. Part two details the development of the early brotherhoods in Minas Gerais from 1690 until the fall of the Brazilian empire in 1889. Despite the considerable variation in the origins, legal status, organisation and the membership of the brotherhoods, Kiddy maintains that 'the identity of being part of a community "of the blacks" had been forming since the earliest days of the colony, when the black rosary brotherhoods began to separate from the white brotherhoods' (p. 121). Details of the brotherhoods have been gleaned from the statutes (*compromissos*) that set out the governing rules and regulations. Changes to the statutes enabled Kiddy to identify the processes and negotiations within the brotherhoods and between them and the local authorities. The documentation also included slaves, *forros* and a range of different African groups or the descendants of these among the members. 'Although brotherhoods of the rosary were characterised as brotherhoods of slaves, their populations always had a large percentage of non-slave members, and this population increased as the colonial era drew to a close' (p. 114). For Kiddy, membership and leadership were usually determined along colour lines. In some cases it was found that the leadership of the brotherhood was almost exclusively white, perhaps due to the generally poor literacy rate in the brotherhood, whilst in others the positions of authority were more broadly shared. The research revealed no evidence of ethnic splits: 'The brotherhoods of the rosary in Minas Gerais never split along ethnic lines as they did in Bahia, where Angolan slaves formed a brotherhood dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary exclusively for themselves' (p. 118). A watershed occurred in the relations of the brotherhoods with the colonial apparatus around 1750. The presence of a new bishop coincided with the centralising reforms that were put into place by the Marquis of Pombal. The reforms subjected the brotherhoods to greater centralisation and tighter control and generated tensions between the chaplains that served the brotherhoods and parish priests. According to Kiddy, the accounting books of the brotherhoods, their *compromissos* and their festivals were subject to greater scrutiny by the Mesa de Consciencia e Ordens in Lisbon. Traditional requirements of brotherhoods to prove the 'purity' of their bloodline were abolished and the dues of the judges were reduced. The measures also prohibited the annual coronation of the kings and queens, a ceremony that derived from Africa centuries earlier and that associated the king with religious and supernatural powers. This ceremony was exclusive to the brotherhood of the Rosary of the blacks (p. 105). A general decadence in the institutions of the brotherhoods of the rosary in the latter decades of the eighteenth century accompanied the decline of the mining economy of the captaincy of Minas Gerais. Documents from that time, however, include detailed descriptions of the rituals, the symbols, the festivals and the *congados*, the costumed groups that sang and danced as they accompanied the royalty through the towns (p. 124). In the nineteenth century, despite the intensification of the trends towards secularisation in the relations between the Church and the state, the brotherhoods experienced a resurgence that Kiddy attributes to 'the internal coherence of the organisations and the support of the organisations and their festivals by the general population of Minas Gerais' (p. 140). The longstanding traditions of African-related commemorations had, she argues, become customary in Minas Gerais.

Part three continues the main thrust of the study that 'the brotherhoods served blacks who could build a shared identity on the foundation of their common link to an African past' (p. 140). In this final section, Kiddy highlights the *Congados* and the *Reinados* (coronation of kings and queens), bringing the chronological parameters of the study forward from the onset of the First Republic in 1889 to the present day. She argues that the *congados* continue to play a central role in the annual festivals by keeping alive the apparition narrative of Our Lady of the Rosary and other shared memories of the African past. The interviews of local leaders and participants in the festivals emphasise the devotional nature of the festivals. Moreover, they defend the changes that recent generations have made to traditional Afro-Brazilian songs, dances, costumes and customs. In some respects, however, the popularity of the festivals has resulted in a public association of the celebrations with exotic performances and with folklore instead of with religious practices. Despite the historical differences in the evolution of the festivals, they continue to be robustly celebrated and for Kiddy the rosary and Our Lady of the Rosary maintain their centrality to the devotion of blacks in Minas Gerais today.

*King's College London* NANCY PRISCILLA NARO

J. Lat. Amer. Stud. 38 (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06301502

Edward L. Cleary and Timothy J. Steigenga (eds.), *Resurgent Voices in Latin America: Indigenous Peoples, Political Mobilization, and Religious Change* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), pp. vii + 268, $24.95, pb.

This well-integrated volume addresses the religious roots of recent indigenous mobilisation in Latin America. The collection includes six country-specific essays (Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Guatemala and Mexico), an introductory overview, a conclusion and a topical essay comparing regional indigenous theologies. Written by historians, political scientists, anthropologists and sociologists, the essays are particularly strong in delineating the religious pluralism and transnational actors from 1945 to the present.

Edward Cleary, Dominican priest and long-term Latin Americanist scholar of religion, contributes two essays, one a brief overview of religious missions in the Americas from European contact to the present. The second essay compares the impact on indigenous movements of the Bolivian and Peruvian religious centres that served as leadership incubators and indigenous think-tanks (although their original goal was to create indigenous religious leaders). In Bolivia, indigenous movements recently brought Evo Morales to the presidency, while in Peru, the protracted conflict between Fujimori's regime and Sendero Luminoso stifled formation of a national indigenous movement. Cleary describes, sparingly, the progressive Adventists around Lake Titicaca, but few other Protestant denominations, nor the intersection of miner's organisations with the religious activists. The essay is most valuable in comparing the relative impact of the Catholic centres.

Alison Brysk, like Cleary, covers some of the most vibrant indigenous movements in Latin America, in this essay those of Ecuador. She broadly surveys the civil society context of the movements, including the US-based Summer Institute of Linguistics and the development agency World Vision; SIL's story in Ecuador, and to a lesser degree, World Vision, is covered by other scholars.

Rene Harder Horst's essay, among the collection's best, demonstrates how Paraguayan indigenous groups negotiated alliances with Catholic, Mennonite and Anglican missions. Paraguay presents a fascinating case study, a country where the majority identify as mestizo but speak Guarani. The missions, the author demonstrates, were not the 'brokers for encroaching modernization', integrating indigenous peoples into the national lower class; rather these provided the means for indigenous community and identity reconstruction. Further, interaction with indigenous people altered both Catholic and Protestant religious organisations in Paraguay. For example, indigenous peoples forced the mission denominations to recognise validity of minority theologies, religious ecumenism and priority of political defence over proselytising.

Bruce Calder and Virginia Garrard Burnett, long-term scholars of Guatemala's Catholic and Protestant movements respectively, address that country's inculturation and Maya movements. Calder opens with the weakened Catholic Church of the 1940s under Archbishop Rossell. Most ethnographers concentrate on Rossell's anti-communist and laity-oriented programme Catholic Action. Calder emphasises, however, Rossell's effort (pre-Medellín) on behalf of the poor and exploited. After Vatican Two, Calder finds, Guatemala's Catholics seldom used the terms of liberation theology publicly. Instead, a Maya Catholic inculturation movement developed within certain catechist circles in the 1970s before the violent counterinsurgency. He concludes that today's Catholic-Guatemalan Maya relationship is a work in progress, conditioned primarily by the legacy of violence, and not significantly by the much-analysed growth of Pentecostalism.

Garrard Burnett covers the post-violence inculturation movements of both Maya Protestants and Catholics, people who state 'God was already here when Columbus landed'. This strong essay delves into the theological/spiritual principles elaborated by Maya intellectuals. Some Maya repudiate Christianity entirely as a step towards decolonisation. These Maya tend to be well-educated, while other non-elite Maya, she concludes, are comfortable with Christianity's relationship to more locally-controlled practices. She explores the double challenge to Maya Protestants who previously shunned Catholic and indigenous practices.

Further north in indigenous Oaxaca, Mexico, Kristen Norget questions the literature's common presentation of Catholic churches in indigenous areas as autonomous and transparently-motivated institutions. After an unnecessary invocation of Bourdieu, she details the history of Oaxacan Catholic Church's vanguard, powerful *pastoral indígena* programme in relation to the energy that various Catholic religious invested in managing the complex hierarchies of their church, including the conservative backlash, the defensive posture towards Protestants, and the resistance towards women as subjects of liberation.

Christine Kovic provides a straightforward account of the transformation of Samuel Ruiz, Archbishop of Chiapas, and his role in the social movements that foreshadowed the 1994 Zapatista uprising and beyond. She attempts a counterpoint story of a radicalised Maya believer to whom she gives only the name 'Juan', a resident in the urban slums created when Protestant and renewed Catholic believers were violently expelled from their communities. In contrast to Norget, she demonstrates a firm belief in the liberatory Catholic church as liberator and Ruiz's advocacy of the indigenous poor.

Stephen Judd traces the different intellectual histories, influences and transnational integration of the continent's indigenous theologies. While at one point Judd, unfortunately, reifies the idea that indigenous people follow a 'non-linear' view of history and make no distinctions between the sacred and the social, he also recounts such internationally smart gestures as that of 1985, when a Cuzco indigenous leader handed the Pope back the Bible, or in 2002, when indigenous people purified the Pope before he canonised Juan Diego. Judd acknowledges Protestant theologians such as Vicenta Mamani, but this essay is centred on Catholics.

As co-editor Timothy Steigenga states, the image of the Latin American evangelical pastor preaching progressive politics still draws chuckles. However, while this volume does include nuanced historical accounts of Protestant agency in indigenous movements, it is still Catholic-centrist, with Protestants described as 'the challenge', 'the influx' at points in the text. Brysk states, for example, 'Catholic notions of human dignity were quite compatible with indigenous rights … [while] Protestant missionaries in Ecuador were originally imbued with a Euro-centric ethos that gave short shrift to indigenous-determination.' Other minor critiques are the lack of editing to remove redundant narratives of the post-Vatican Two Catholic Church. An essay on the non-Spanish speaking Brazil and missions in the Amazon would also have been helpful.

Steigenga concludes the volume with a closely-worked essay that strengthens the book as a teaching tool by integrating the comparative case studies. It will be of interest to Latin Americanists, scholars of religious change and members of denominations with Latin American missions.

*Central Connecticut State University* ABIGAIL E. ADAMS

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06311509

Andrew Orta, *Catechizing Culture: Missionaries, Aymara, and the 'New Evangelization'* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. xiii + 357, $69.50, $26.50 pb; £45.00, £17.50 pb.

Elayne Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth and Culture on an Andean Island* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2004), pp. xix + 226, $49.95, $24.95 pb.

Much recent anthropology has been critical of ethnographies in the past which focused on village studies as bounded communities and ignored larger national and global processes and influences. In the Andes even the communities furthest from metropolitan centres have long been part of wider social processes and developments. Both the books reviewed here examine how communities on or near Lake Titicaca are affected by and influence trends which have global resonances. In Orta's words, 'within these regional and global networks the social groups once thought to be local are better seen as translocal, comprising a range of migrants and travellers, products and ideas coming from and destined for other places' (p. 8). It is this continuous folding in of global and local which is at the heart of both monographs. Andy Orta draws on over a decade's research in and near Jesús de Machaqa on the Bolivian *altiplano*, particularly looking at Catholic missionaries and catechists in their 'new' evangelisation; whereas Elayne Zorn draws on almost three decades of research centred on cloth on the island of Taquile to reflect on how islanders are affected by becoming a major tourist attraction. Both accounts, moreover, deal with authenticity, religious and cultural authenticity, respectively: missionaries and catechists invoke an authentic and 'inculturated' Aymara religiosity in the context of a global Catholic renewal; Peruvians market Taquile as the authentic indigenous experience even as they pressure Taquileans to conform to a particular image of what is deemed authentically indigenous. In Jesús de Machaqa, as in Taquile, outsiders largely define what is valuably authentic and what is not.

In his book Orta recounts in great detail and theoretical sophistication the recent history of Catholic evangelisation in Jesús de Machaqa and its environs in the context of a *longue durée* appreciation of the role of the Church, physical and institutional, in people's lives. What will be of particular note to students of contemporary Catholicism is how the Church abandoned its centuries-old accommodation with local Catholic practices in the 1970s in an anti-paganism campaign much influenced by evangelical Protestants who, too, were campaigning against divination, sacrifice, alcohol and coca. Orta suggest that the catechists of the 1970s went as far as destroying sacred places where offerings were made, only to have the Church reverse its position as it embraced 'inculturated' forms of faith in the 1980s and 1990s. Faith by then had become a universal concept with local forms that missionaries needed to discover, nourish and affirm; shamanic practices were no longer to be destroyed but embraced. At the root of the faith of local people is the 'Aymara heart, the *chuyma*, along with other beliefs which have been uncorrupted by global influences'. The *chuyma* is, among other things, the locus of an unmediated and true faith. Orta explains the *chuyma* in great detail but it remains unclear the extent to which this account is generalisable among other Aymaras (do Protestants talk of *chuyma* in the same ways?) or if it is a particular elaboration of catechists and missionaries. What is certainly the case is that there is great investment on the part of missionaries and catechists in its unsullied cultural specificity as well as its being a repository of universalisable innocent faith.

Contemporary catechists are required to eschew the iconoclasm of recent years and explicitly invoke ancestral authority in establishing their positions and there is a conscious effort to articulate relations with priests into paternal ones involving a transmission of knowledge and authority. Local religion has long recognised the political and spiritual power of the Church and now it seems the Church recognises the power and legitimacy of local religion. This renders rather sterile any discussion of syncretism and Orta is keen to demonstrate the weakness of its analytical purchase, even as the new evangelisation appears so invested in the syncretic subject. Indeed, one of the striking features of contemporary Aymara Catholicism as described by Orta is not its fusion but its parallelism: potency and legitimacy are translatable 'across what are often characterised as discrete systems' (p. 210).

Orta's book focuses heavily on missionaries and catechists and there is much less emphasis on those people who are not engaged closely with church activity; information from lay people seems almost entirely to have come from close relatives of catechists. Much more serious an omission is the elephant in the room represented by the presence of evangelical Protestants: the reader is told they are there, that the 'new evangelisation' is partly in response to them, that they are enjoying considerable success in the region, all through brief and tangential references; but there is an extraordinary reluctance to engage with evangelicals, their presence and their beliefs, despite the fact that it is almost certainly the case that there are more active Protestant church-goers in the area than Catholic ones.

In *Weaving a Future* Elayne Zorn explores the community of the island of Taquile, which has frequently been cited as a success story where local people have taken control of tourism. Taquileans are famous for their production of skilfully woven cloth which they sell and exhibit internationally; and they have become a principal destination in Peru's expanding tourism industry. The 'success story' is, however, undermined by the loss of control Taquileans have over transport to the island and their impotence in the face of state liberalism which makes them vulnerable to competition from the mainland. The book will certainly be of interest to anyone studying ethnotourism but it is strangely and persistently equivocal as to whether Taquileans have been successful in exercising their control over tourism. The book is at its most fluent when describing weaving and the role of cloth in the lives of Taquileans; one gets the impression that Zorn would much rather have written the entire book about cloth rather than tourism.

One of the undoubted strengths of the book is the manner in which it clearly describes the vigorous agency of the men and women of Taquile in confronting change. Despite lacking the social capital valued by outsiders they have demonstrated time and time again their ability to engage with the state and other agencies in imaginative and flexible ways and one is left with the impression that they will continue to do so. In a rather similar way the people of Jesús de Machaqa and its environs have a long history of engaging with religious and state (often one and the same) institutions whilst retaining an ability to weather even the most dramatic shifts in Church policy towards local religion.

*University of Essex* ANDREW CANESSA

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06321505

Carol Ann Drogus and Hannah Stewart Gambino, *Activist Faith: Grassroots Women in Democratic Brazil and Chile* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), pp. xi + 212, $55.00, hb.

Was the intense wave of protest and organising that swept Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s all for nothing? This is the question Carol Ann Drogus and Hannah Stewart Gambino seek to answer from the perspective of grassroots women in Christian Base Communities in Chile and Brazil (Cecilia Loreto Mariz and Maria das Dores Campos Machado did much of the research and co-author two chapters of the book). Base communities were focal points of organisation during the authoritarian regimes in both countries, where activists were able to mobilise and build political and social consciousness under the protective umbrella of the Catholic Church. They also promoted women's empowerment, since as religious organisations working with local communities, they created a socially appropriate space in which women could build political capacities and consciousness. But when democratisation diminished the urgency of protest-based organising and the Church turned away from liberation theology, base communities disappeared from public view in both countries.

Drogus, Stewart-Gambino and their co-authors, have gone back to poor women activists who participated in the base communities during the transition period to find out what has become of them. They interviewed 48 women in Santiago de Chile, and 25 Brazilian women in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The book begins with an important argument: since intense waves of protest cannot last forever, measuring the 'success' of social movements by their ability to keep up the intensity is misguided. Periods of decline are a normal and healthy part of the social movement cycle, during which actors redefine goals in the face of new conditions and build networks in preparation for future mobilising. The authors' objective, therefore, is to look for signs not only of personal empowerment of the women involved, but also of such continued community building.

Two chapters are dedicated to analysing the context within which women base community activists work today. During the transition period, base communities in Chile were, according to the authors, more politicised and more radical than in Brazil. Chileans concentrated more on national political issues and engaged locally on economic self-help activities, while Brazilians followed a decentralised, 'sociocultural' model that gave greater attention to social action and consciousness-raising. The Church's abandonment of liberation theology and of the base community model was also more dramatic in Chile than in Brazil, in part because the latter's more decentralised system allowed pockets of progressiveness to remain. But in both countries, the authors argued, the retreat of the Church was devastating for base communities.

Three chapters then consider what women activists previously involved in base communities are currently doing. The authors show that the majority are still active in their neighbourhoods: 72 per cent of Brazilians studied, and 92 per cent of the Chileans. 30 per cent of the Brazilians and 21 per cent of Chileans are involved in what the authors define as 'political' activities, the former largely through the Workers Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*), while the latter have engaged mainly in neighbourhood councils (p. 127). The argument here is that these activists have not 'gone home' as much of the literature seems to suppose. Concerned with finding signs of 'down-cycle' network-building, the authors examine whether the poor Catholic women they study are building networks with two specific groups: Pentecostal churches and feminists. In both cases they suggest that Brazilian activists are much more open to building alliances than Chileans. But the differences are subtle: for example, although Brazilians have been better at building networks with feminists, Chileans are more 'individually empowered' (p. 183).

By demonstrating how activists remain active during times of movement interregnum, the book provides an important contribution to the study of social movements in Latin America. But it could do more and better. At times the information presented is confusing. The authors regularly refer to the current 'hostile' political conditions of the countries under study. Neoliberalism seems to be part of this, but it is never clear why and how the national political climates are so unfavourable to organising, especially when compared to the repressive regimes within which base communities were founded. Although we are told about participation in a variety of organisations, it remains hard to understand whether or not the women are still members of base communities themselves, and how these are currently structured. Apparently in an effort to keep up the suspense, the authors avoid providing crucial information for much too long, only telling us whether their respondents are still active in their communities in chapter five. Why not present these results at the beginning and use the remaining space to fill out the stories of the women they have learned about?

In general, the book is suggestive of a fascinating comparison between the social and political cultures of the two countries: repeatedly the authors demonstrate greater tendencies in Brazil for decentralisation, ecumenism and cross-group alliances, while Chilean grassroots activists seem more radical, more fragmented, more politically-oriented. But the contours and implications of these differences could have been drawn out in greater detail and colour, especially considering the rich empirical sources the authors draw from. The authors make it clear that their small sample is far from statistically representative, but it is still a pity that they did not seek out a more regionally representative group, especially in Brazil where studies have historically favoured Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo over the country's many other large metropoles. And although the presentation of data in percentages is useful (such as the percentage of respondents who still participate in social movements), the reliance on such statistics for so many conclusions leaves the reader wishing for something weightier onto which to seize. Despite the authors well-intentioned attempt to let the women interviewed 'speak for themselves', their voices end up seeming diluted and impersonalised, cut up as they are into innumerable short quotes on a theme-by-theme basis. More detailed case studies of some of respondents and their communities would have added richness and nuance to this book that tantalises us with many interesting ideas but leaves us wishing for more.

*University of Brasília* REBECCA NEAERA ABERS

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2005). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06331501

Dana Sawchuk, *The Costa Rican Catholic Church, Social Justice, and the Rights of Workers, 1979–1996* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004), pp. xiv + 270. $49.95, hb.

Dana Sawchuk's *The Costa Rican Catholic Church, Social Justice, and the Rights of Workers, 1979–1996* is an interesting study of the complex, and understudied, interrelationship between the Catholic Church and the state in Costa Rica. The author sets out with the ambitious goal of producing a better understanding of a recent key transitory period (1979 to 1996) of Costa Rica's political and economic history and complex organisational relationships within the Catholic Church, its position on workers' rights and its relationship with the state. This period spans from the onset of the country's worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, which brought an end to Costa Rica's post-war state-led economic development policies and heralded the adoption of neoliberal economic prescriptions, subsequently implemented by governments of five presidents from two parties. The period was also tumultuous due to the collapse of the Central American Common Market trade regime and the existence of the Sandinista revolution and a US-funded counter-revolutionary war in Nicaragua, Costa Rica's northern neighbour.

The author correctly bemoans the lack of academic literature on the post-civil war Church–state relations and the Church's relationship with organised labour. This lack of investigation has resulted in a dearth of understanding of some key Church organisations and actions and an inability to explain apparent contradictions in the Church's actions with respect to workers. It is this lacuna that the book purports to fill. The work is divided into ten chapters starting with a general introduction and literature review that illustrates the lack of attention to the Costa Rican case, especially since the onset of the economic crisis of the late 1970s. The chapter also situates the study in a larger socio-political context. Chapter two discusses the economic downturn of the late 1970s and the adoption by successive governments of neoliberal economic policies to combat the economic crisis and its consequences. Chapter three examines the union movement, its response to the crisis and its relationship with rival solidarity unions (company unions). The following chapter examines the link between Catholic social teachings and the labour movement. The chapter identifies two distinct streams of thinking (liberationist and conservative) within the Church, which are used to explain the different (at times contradictory) approaches in the Church's *pastoral obrera*. The author argues that 'in order to understand the various positions of Costa Rican Church organizations, examining the Church's socio-economic context is as crucial as assessing the Church as an institution and evaluating Catholic social teaching' (p. 192). The following five chapters position the various voices of the Church hierarchy (and organisations) in their socio-economic context (including that of the long-time Archbishop of San José, Monseñor Román Arrietta, the single most powerful Church leader in the country).

This is a very well researched book and is especially successful in explaining the apparently contradictory actions by different organisations and leaders within the Catholic Church in Costa Rica. It identifies the role and thinking of the Catholic Church and the leadership of its different organisations, weaving these together to present a fascinating portrait of the inner workings of the Church and its broader impact.

The persuasiveness of the research on the theological reasoning for contradictory Church actions is somewhat dimmed by some weaknesses in the author's interpretation of the institutions and operation of Costa Rican politics. For example, she implies that Costa Rican presidents are powerful, effective governors and notes, for example, that President José María Figueres Olsen's (PLN 1994–1998) inability to govern effectively was due to his lack of a governing majority in the 57-member legislative assembly, which forced the president to cut deals with other parties (p. 96). Yet Costa Rican political parties are famously undisciplined and the office of the president is generally recognised as one of the weakest in the hemisphere. Thus, deal cutting with different parties in the congress is the norm.

Another, related problem of the book is the categorisation of the pre- and post-1979 period as state-led versus neoliberal government policies. The transformation of the Costa Rican development model was not that stark. A considerable literature demonstrates the very gradual and incomplete shift to neoliberal economic policies in Costa Rica during the period under consideration. Even during the 2006 presidential elections of 2006, few candidates professed faith in unbridled neoliberal solutions. Many of the policies of the Monge administration (1982–1986, PLN) and those that followed tended to deliberately tackle the negative aspects of neoliberal policies. As a consequence, poverty rates for a large part of this period declined rather than increased, in spite of neoliberal policy prescriptions.

Another shortcoming is the period under consideration. A great deal has happened since 1996, including major victories at the Constitutional Court for organised labour and an apparent devolution of power within the Church away from the archbishop of San José. Having said that, the strength of the book, and the reason scholars of Church-state relations, industrial relations, and Latin Americanists in general, need to read it, is its strength in using archival resources and interviews with leading actors. The author does an excellent job of illustrating and explaining the complexities of internal Church actions and their impact on the political process.

*University of Central Florida* BRUCE M. WILSON

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06341508

Timothy Matovina and Gary Reibe-Estrella (eds.), *Horizons of the Sacred: Mexican Traditions in U.S. Catholicism* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. ix + 189, $45.00, $19.95 pb; £30.50, £13.50 pb.

Catholics of Latin American origin easily outnumber those of European ancestry in the USA at present and yet this book is subtitled 'Mexican Traditions in U.S. Catholicism'. Edited by two theologians with strong Latino connections and concluding with analytical chapters also contributed by theologians (Goizueta and Espín), the book takes a 'liberation' view as to what can be said to constitute Catholic faith and practice. For Goizueta, God *is* revealed in the religious practices of the people (almost whatever they may be), while Espín discusses the significance of 'faithful intuitions' (*sensus fidelium*) as a 'privileged locus of God's self-revelation' (p. 120). The book is not however couched predominantly in theological language. Its four core ethnographic chapters focus rather on the practice and the experiences of popular Mexican Catholicism, many of whose practices originated in Mexico and have developed in new ways in the USA.

Matovinia looks at how devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe grew in significance in San Antonio, Texas, as Mexican immigrants gradually overcame some of the ethnic prejudice towards not only themselves but also, earlier in the twentieth century, those Mexicans of native origin. During the *Cristero* rebellion San Antonio was one of the centres of Mexican Catholicism and the Virgin of Guadalupe gave hope in exile. Davalos analyses how in the Pilsen area of Chicago, the annual 're-enactment' of the Way of the Cross (Via Crucis), 'invented' in 1977, forms part of the religious practice of the predominantly Mexican community. Importantly it acts as a means by which they can make their feelings felt about the discrimination and poverty they suffer in their daily lives as they struggle for justice and a political voice. Medina and Cadena discuss how in Los Angeles the Día de los Muertos has become less of a family celebration of short duration focused on the home (although it is also that) and more of a communal public event, involving the display of murals painted well in advance in anticipation of processions, music and dancing which last for several days. León looks at how, again in Los Angeles, many turn to *curanderas* in their search not just for help with physical illness but also for assistance in more spiritual matters. It is not that such people do not see themselves as Catholics, but rather that they recognise that *curanderas* can also manifest the divine.

Most of the Mexican traditions celebrated in the USA reflect a communal world view which is a vital source of personal identity (at least for the first generation) shaped through interpersonal ties whether with the family (often extended), the local community and/or with God. This approach to life is very different from the individuated and self-achieving life-world of most Euro-Americans. In Goizueta's view, for Mexicans human agency is not the source of community but rather its by-product (p. 122). Their popular practices subvert most of the dichotomies of a western worldview: individual versus community; material versus spiritual; private versus public – there is instead fluidity between the two. In Chicago as well as Los Angeles celebrations have moved out into and/or taken over public spaces while the *curandera* operates from a shop rather than her home. Additionally, there is a blurring of the distinction between life and death – not only during Días de los Muertos, but also in Pilsen, as the enactors of the Via Crucis experience the death of Christ as though it is really happening today. The book is, however, grounded in that other dichotomy: the difference between Euro-American Catholicism and Mexican American religious traditions. The term syncretism is eschewed in favour of a discussion of what Matovina and Riebe-Estrella (following Elizondo) call the *segundo mestizaje*, used initially to refer to the gradual Americanisation of the religious practices of Mexicans (living in those south western states that were once Mexican). In Los Angeles *mestizaje* is occurring: during the Day of the Dead festivities, onlookers 'encounter both Nahua *danzantes* and Vietnam veterans, remembrances of César Chávez and Robert Kennedy' and much else besides, while in the shop where Hortencia the *curandera* works, the sacred images on sale include many 'official' saints to be found in Mexico as well as those found elsewhere in Latin America (Shango and Eluguia from Brazil important to *Santería*), but also images of the Buddha and Hindu deities. However, to emphasise the tensions inherent in the coexistence of diverse religious practices some of the contributors have deployed the Nahua term *nepantla*, usually used to mean a state of betwixt and between, one that implies a lack of holism and coherence. In the USA today most Mexican-Americans live in a world of both/and rather than either/or, able to tolerate and even manipulate the contradictions and appropriate what is relevant to themselves as Medina and Cardenas so rightly point out.

If I have a criticism of the book, it is that it does not give an overview, however brief, of Mexican traditions throughout the USA, although there are occasional hints. It is a welcome addition to the literature on the relationship between US Catholicism and Mexican traditional religious practice, although from the evidence presented, it is not so much that a gradual Mexicanisation of US Catholicism is occurring (Euro-American Catholicism seems still to be very separate, at least in terms of the places where people go to worship), but rather that a gradual Americanisation of popular Mexican Catholic practice is taking place.

*Cambridge University* SUSANNA ROSTAS

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06351504

Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. x + 275, £29.95, hb; $ 21.95 pb.

Herman Bennett has written an interesting book on an important topic that certainly deserves serious research. Few historians of Latin America are aware of the fact that there was a large population of African origin in the cities and mining communities of Mexico from the last decades of the sixteenth century until the end of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the specific period that Bennett examines coincides with the Union of the Crowns, that is, the years in which the Afro-Mexican population grew markedly because Spain had direct access to the slave trade originating in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. Indeed by the end of this period, New Spain had the second largest slave population in the New World, second only to Brazil.

The first part of this study briefly reviews the early history of blacks in New Spain, the structure of slavery and the attitude of the Catholic Church toward this population. With the creation of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the New World in 1569, people of African descent, unlike the indigenous neophytes, were subject to its jurisdiction. The overriding thesis of the second part of the book is that the population of African origin, both those born in the Old World (*bozales*) and those born in Mexico, underwent 'creolization', a process that enabled them to understand the law and use it to claim their rights.

Bennett is intent on 'producing an unmediated past capable of restoring subjects, agency, and narratives'. To do this most of the material he uses in this study of American and African born slaves and free people of colour is ecclesiastical and Inquisition records, documents often related to marriage, a key institution in the formation of community and one that directly affected people's lives. Bennett does a wonderful job of using documents as varied as proof of spinsterhood and bigamy proceedings to reconstruct individual actors and piece together the narratives of these cases. As a result, the reader is given a rich picture of the lives of the individuals confronted by religious strictures. But the question of agency is far more difficult to ascertain; because of the nature of Spanish colonial jurisprudence, the accused were always limited to answering pre-formulated questions. Furthermore it is difficult to know if any formal or informal legal counsel was made available to the accused. While Bennett discusses several concrete incidences, we cannot ascertain if Afro-Mexicans manipulated the legal system any differently from other colonial subjects caught up in the same system. But the larger question of whether this creolisation was voluntary or inevitable or whether creolised Africans were intentionally exercising new strategies or rather following conventional patterns is never directly discussed. Neither is the relationship between creolisation and the survival of African culture.

This book also has some other problems. To begin with, the title is somewhat misleading. There is little mention of absolutism, no definition of the phenomenon, and no reference to the rather lengthy bibliography on absolutism in sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European polities. Bennett believes that 'absolutism gained its fullest expression' in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spanish America in spite of a large literature that argues that in colonial Latin America overlapping institutions – royal agencies, local government, Church and the Inquisition – produced a system that was far from absolutist. Indeed many of the marital cases examined in this book demonstrate the ability of Afro-Mexican slaves to use the Church as allies in their disagreements with their masters. Bennett is also interested in 'identity', but exactly what the author means by this term is never made clear. There are also problems of definition and interpretation. For example, Bennett believes that only people of colour were creoles, an interpretation that does not reflect the Spanish usage of the term *criollo*. At times he seems to include indigenous people in the group. Exactly who was a creole and who was included in the rather open ended group termed 'Africans and their descendents'?

Bennett's chapter on marriage attempts to use *matrimonio* documents to understand how people of African descent fashioned friendships. Throughout this chapter, Bennett confuses those chosen to testify to the groom's unmarried state (*testigos de soltería*) in pre-marital procedures with the witnesses that later stood up for the couple in the actual marriage ceremony (*compadres de matrimonio*). Although Bennett eventually tells us that *testigos de soltería* were chosen primarily because of the length of time they had known the groom-to-be, this information only appears in the next chapter and does not in any way inform the earlier discussion. In his chapter on bigamy, Bennett concentrates on five cases involving Afro-Mexicans. These people were overwhelmingly mulattoes attempting to justify their actions using the same excuses and language as others faced with the same charge. Bennett clearly sees people of African descent as demonstrating a keen understanding of local mores, but also underlines their special difficulty in conforming to required monogamous behaviour. Some comparative data on similar behaviour by other racial groups would have been most helpful.

Although somewhat repetitive, the book is, on the whole, well written, especially when the author is examining various detailed cases. Unfortunately, several chapters never reach any conclusion, and thus often fail to prove the author's major thesis. In sum, this is an interesting book with several problems. Nonetheless by focusing on Afro-Mexicans, it re-opens an interesting field of social history research.

*Emory University* SUSAN M. SOCOLOW

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06361500

Jeffrey H. Cohen, *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004), pp. x + 195, $50.00, $21.95 pb.

A sense that a growing number of people are constantly on the move features prominently in many accounts of the contemporary human condition. Guesstimates put the number of people working outside their country of origin at 175 million, generating a flow of remittances worth at least $100 billion. Domestic migration involves many more people and probably larger absolute sums of returned income. Researchers are increasingly aware of the distinctions between daily, weekly, seasonal and circular, semi-permanent movements, the difficulties of stereotyping places of origin or destination as urban or rural, or even national and international, and the dangers of reducing the motives for migration to wage differentials or the distress caused by poverty. With international remittances worth approximately twice official development assistance, multi-lateral agencies and governments have recently become attracted to the potential of remittances to mitigate livelihood risks and enhance pro-poor investment.

Jeffrey Cohen's study of national and international migration in Oaxaca, Mexico, therefore, is timely. Although representing only about four per cent of migrants to the United States, migration in the central valleys is pervasive with 40 per cent of households possessing a US-bound migrant. Cohen argues that the decision to migrate is rooted in everyday experiences that he determines as a 'culture of migration'. In setting out this argument Cohen is keen to stress that the culture of migration should not imply that migrants are 'cultural automatons' (p. 4), following pre-ordained decisions driven by tradition, nor is migration a 'hard-wired response' to pressures for income or welfare even as Oaxaca becomes more linked into national and global labour markets. Rather, migration is a highly differentiated response between households and communities. In line with other studies of migration, Cohen notes that men migrate more than women, although the gap is less than in the past, women are migrating earlier in life than previously but remit less money, younger men migrate further afield than older men or younger women, and migrants from the very poorest and better off communities migrate less than the marginal poor. Among non-migrant households we find fewer social networks, a greater likelihood of being poor and of describing migration as high risk. Cohen also affords attention to whether migration disrupts local *cargo* systems such as *tequio* (community labour) or *mayodormías* (saint day celebrations). He concludes that, broadly, civic participation has withstood the circulation of people, with households reallocating or contracting out their responsibilities and women taking on more roles. Indeed, despite their physical absence, migrants remain very much a presence in Oaxaca with fewer than ten per cent of migrant households reporting members as missing or uninvolved in daily affairs of the domestic group.

*The Culture of Migration* focuses considerable attention on remittances, a subject on which academics hold sharply divided views. The positive view regards remittances as a source of much needed and debt-free capital, capable of releasing labour tied to less productive tasks and smoothing consumption. The negative view places remittances in a dependency framework that stresses labour exploitation and enhanced inequalities. Cohen errs toward the more positive view, observing that respondents indicated how remittances were mostly used to cover food bills, with house construction and education costs also prominent. The few households that planned to use remittances for investment in business start up tended to be smaller, better off, more likely to have two migrants and receive higher levels of average remittance. Again, Cohen is alert to differences among households and (as international migration retains strong community network patterns) between communities when, for example, noting that the amount of remittance depends on whether the destination is the USA or Mexico City, with a person in the USA sending about four times more on average than a migrant to Mexico City. These differences, however, might mask greater inequalities between households which do not possess a migrant at all or those with migrants who no longer send remittances.

*The Culture of Migration* suffers from a number of weaknesses. First, the underlying research is grounded in a curious mix of methods. The base is a survey of 590 households in 12 communities which provides for useful empirical observation, although the use of a logistical regression model to identify predictors of future migration only to find that the most significant of the 259 independent variables are household size, ties to experienced migrants and household possession of goods and appliances seemed unnecessary. Similarly, a Likert-type scale to rank motivations for migration finds that work followed by a desire to improve family living conditions ranked as top. In presentation terms, these approaches add little to our understanding of a 'culture' of migration and crowd out the few, but interesting, life histories that might have humanised the text but which unfortunately are closer to vignette rather than first person narrative.

Second, there is a tendency for the book to lack specificity. A number of times we are informed that migration can be costly, but while we are told how meeting these costs breaks down between savings, family members and loan sharks, no approximate amounts are mentioned. How long does it take a household to recoup savings, what happens if the would-be migrant fails to enter the USA and how does the household respond to crises in the meantime? The book is vague on levels and impact of debt, wealth and investment that are central to the argument, and to land holding despite its relationship to livelihood security and cargo status. Are the communities based on *ejido*, *comunidad* or small-scale property and how do we understand 'community' without knowing this context? How do households (and again there is little attention to definition but an assumption that members engage in altruistic cooperation) feel about taking on the responsibilities for absent members? To convey a culture of migration we should be given much more detail on these intricate social relations. This criticism notwithstanding *The Culture of Migration* is a useful and readable account of a topic that will vex academics and, increasingly, policy makers for a considerable time to come.

*London School of Economics* GARETH A. JONES

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06371507

María Teresa Sierra (ed.), *Haciendo justicia: interlegalidad, derecho y género en regiones indígenas* (Tlalpan, México DF: CIESAS, 2004), pp. 477, pb.

This timely volume provides a comparative anthropological look at the relationship between gender, law and legal practices in five indigenous regions in Mexico and among indigenous migrants to Mexico City. The individual contributions, most from anthropologists with long experience in their regions of study, usefully demonstrate both the ever-present effects of the state, and the vibrancy and uniqueness of local practices in different social contexts. The volume illustrates the ways in which the legal practices of the state exist in constant tension with those of indigenous communities, offering insights into state hegemonic processes and the potentialities and risks of alternative indigenous legal practices. There is consistency throughout the chapters as the authors maintain a focus on the primary questions at the heart of the project, making the book a coherent read and facilitating comparison between the cases.

The book has four principal lines of investigation: forms of legal practice in indigenous communities, gender and legality, socio-economic change and changing legal dynamics, and interlegality. In analysing the first of these, the collection is quite successful. Looking at cases ranging from the Nahuas of the Sierra Norte de Puebla, Totonacas from the Sierra Papantla (Veracruz), Mixtexos from Guerrero, Tzotsiles from Zinacantan (Chiapas Highlands), Mixes from Totontepec (Oaxaca) to Triquis, Otomis and Mazahuas migrants to Mexico City, the volume provides a rich look at the variance in local practices. Most of the contributors do a good job of demonstrating how local histories, particularly relations with the state, have shaped the ways in which indigenous and state legal force are currently used for the resolution of conflicts. Further, they demonstrate that, at least at the municipal level, even in state legal fora where mestizo officials predominate they are frequently obliged to take into consideration the cultural context and cultural logics within which a presumed crime takes place (Mexico City was a clear exception, perhaps for obvious reasons). In this respect the book illuminates the ways in which indigenous people and the state continually negotiate and renegotiate their relationship in particular contexts.

It is the focus on gender and legality that most differentiates this book from other volumes on indigenous rights and on local justice, providing a distinct lens for examining the meaning of such practices in the lives of women and men in the communities of study. The volume makes a number of important contributions in this regard. First, several of the chapters demonstrate something that activists and theorists of both cultural rights and women's rights have seemed at times to have difficulty grasping: that both Mexican positive law and indigenous customary law can serve to maintain male power. Thus, an indigenous women who feels the indigenous *usos y costumbres* have not provided her with legal justice may seek redress outside the community in the legal system of the state, but she may well encounter the same dynamics of reproduction of male power in that arena. Of course, that legal systems and the law frequently serve to reproduce the status quo of power is something we have long known. What is new and interesting in this volume is the attention paid to the ways that legal practices interact with social change, including changing gender dynamics.

The various chapters document processes, from changes in legal codes in the state of Veracruz to shifting economic and migratory patterns in Chiapas, changing marriage patterns in Cuetzalan, and increased women's participation in social organisations. The different cases provide a sense of both how these changing dynamics affect women's relationship to the law and legal customs, and how they contribute to changing those laws and customs. Most interesting is the discussion in the introduction of indigenous women's 'critique of indigenous customs' (p. 41). Sierra tells us that in some regions of Puebla, Chiapas Oaxaca and, to a lesser extent, Mexico City, indigenous feminist organisations are emerging and are developing analyses that imply the redefinition of established gender norms within their communities. These may in part be the result of the presence of human rights and women's organisations that 'open alternatives and generate fissures in established customs that women are taking advantage of', resulting in the construction of a critical discourse 'that directly proposes a critique of their indigenous customs, thus questioning established power before indigenous legal logics and those of the state'

(p. 42). This suggests that indigenous feminists are by-passing the popular public discourse about limiting indigenous rights in order to protect women from indigenous customs that discriminate against them. Instead they seek to challenge patriarchal forms of power both in indigenous customary law and state law, and to change cultural customs from within the community itself.

The fourth line of inquiry in the book is around the notion of interlegality (utilising De Souza Santos' definition), which explores how different forms of legality exist simultaneously and in interrelated forms. Disputing the assertion that state legal systems and indigenous ones are fundamentally incommensurable, Sierra suggests instead that in different social contexts both are mobilised in a '*bricolage* of legal norms and referents' (p. 45). Avoiding an overly-celebratory approach to such postmodern mixing, the cases suggest that this multiplicitous construction of legality can at times strengthen indigenous customs and at times weaken them, can at times reinforce state power and at others challenge it, and may or may not serve women's goals in a particular social context.

This volume provides a focused analysis of gender and legal practices in indigenous communities of Central and Southern Mexico. This is both a strength and a weakness: while it offers rich data on the local, it may limit somewhat the potential for comparison beyond Mexico's borders. The book clearly targets a Mexican readership with certain knowledge of indigenous issues in Mexico. For non-Mexicans or Mexicanists, some portions of the book may be confusing because they reference entities or processes particular to the Mexican landscape without explanation. Perhaps more importantly, a broader theoretical discussion of global dynamics, especially of the globalisation of rights discourses and of neoliberal reform and its effects, might have helped to make the book more easily comparable to other Latin American countries experiencing similar processes. Some of the chapters err on the side of tight focus, narrowing the lens to a point at which local dynamics seem to be taking place in a vacuum. A concluding chapter that drew on the cases toward broader theoretical conclusions would have added a great deal to the volume.

Nonetheless, this book will be tremendously useful to those interested in Mexico, as well as to those prepared to draw their own comparative conclusions for what these case studies can tell us about gender, indigenous politics and legal practice today.

*University of Texas* SHANNON SPEED

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06381503

Anath Ariel de Vidas, *Thunder Doesn't Live Here Anymore: The Culture of Marginality Among the Teeneks of Tantoyuca* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2004), pp. xviii + 436, $75.00, $29.95 pb.

'To be is to be related; to know is to see relationships.' This quote which I recall as the epitaph to a mathematics school text also captures the spirit of inferential inquiry in a mode of ethnological ethnography associated with the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss: layer upon layer of associations between myth, ritual and etymological reference are examined in order to isolate and identify key relations inscribed in a specific culture; neither a bounded nor a homogenous culture, but one sustained by a structuring aesthetic which seemingly binds meaning to experience. This aesthetic can be 'read' by the ethnographer as a cultural logic or a structure of collective memory. Anath Areil de Vidas has produced such an ethnological ethnography of the Veracruz Teenek. Working specifically in Loma Larga, a hamlet in the Teenek Congregation of San Lorenzo, in the Municipality of Tantoyuca in the Huasteca Region of the Mexican State of Veracruz, the author focuses on the representations of illness and territoriality in the preservation of what she describes as a 'space of memory', a cosmological space with celestial, terrestrial and subterranean dimensions of great complexity.

The ethnographic corpus in this study is very rich and diverse consisting of origin myths, tales (*relatos*), dances, healing practices, beliefs about sorcery, toponyms and sacred geography, and the practices and beliefs of local Teenek Catholicism. This information is analysed intertextually with an emphasis on the analogies and homologies between Teenek etiology and myth which establish structural relations between a subterranean autochthonous world, the Teenek's terrestrial 'interethnic' marginality and a syncretic Christian dominated celestial domain.

The Veracruz Teneek occupy the foothills of the Eastern Sierra Madre that delimits the North Eastern coastal plain on the Gulf of Mexico occupied by mestizo cattle ranches. Veracruz produces 40 per cent of Mexico's cattle and these coastal cattlemen have constituted the dominant group in the region for several centuries. All relations between these mestizos and the Teenek are characterised by extreme subordination. Thus Ariel de Vidas argues that social and economic differentiation maintains an almost caste like system, in which, for the Teenek there exists a structural separation between their 'traditional, familiarised, intimate' Teenek-speaking communities and the 'anonymous, Christian, urban, public' institutions of the Spanish speaking mestizo towns (p. 80). A central interest of Ariel de Vidas is to understand and explain the representations of this structural inequality in what she characterises as a 'culture of marginality among' the Teenek of Loma Larga. Thus, the ethnographic narrative moves from locating the natural and social landscape of this inequality (part one) to capturing its most powerfully autochthonous representations (part two), as well as the structural-dialogical relations of these representations to the acculturative processes of Spanish mestizo domination (part three).

Loma Larga is a rural hillside community composed of cognatic kindreds with preferred virilocal residence and patrilineal descent. Traditional access to communal lands requires adult males to participate in communal service which impedes any prolonged engagement in regional, national and transnational trans-migrant labour markets. In this sense Loma Larga is a traditional and conservative Teenek hamlet. This conservativism is also evident in Ariel de Vida's description of matrimonial practices organised around the *ch'abix* ('to pay a visit with gifts'). These practices reveal local norms of reciprocity and define an endogamous cultural group comprised of Teenek speaking villages and hamlets. Ariel de Vidas follows Fredirik Barth in categorising this group as an ethnic group constructed in opposition to the other coexisting groups of the region (Nahuatl communities and mestizo towns and cattle ranches).

According to the author, the ethnicity of the Teenek of Loma Larga is best revealed in the reciprocity represented in myth and ritual. Key to this system of reciprocal exchanges is the relation of the Teenek to the autochthonous original occupants of the region, the *baatsik'*. The *baatsik'* lived in the flat primordial terrestrial world in darkness. With the appearance of the first sun, their flight into the subterranean world created the hills and mountains of the Teenek homeland. The *baatsik'* are envious of the Teenek occupants of their former terrestrial abode and eager to get even. The Teenek seek to maintain a delicate reciprocity with these envious subterranean forces that represent the primordial darkness and define Teenek notions of wildness. Teenek etiology is constructed around this reciprocity, but in relation to notions of domesticity which include the Christian cult of saints and virgins. In addition, Teenek norms of sociability and interpersonal relations are also structured by this balancing of the ever present envy of the *baasik'*, an envy also present amongst the Teenek who believe that an individual's material success does not come from work but from destiny or luck. In contrast, the Teenek view the mestizos as outside the circle of this constraining balance of envy and appeasement. Ariel de Vidas also argues that the Teenek have developed a regional identity that places themselves in a position not to be coveted by others and hence 'free' from the envy of the more powerful, a position that also allows them to effectively resist acculturative processes that threaten their continuity as a pole of cultural coherence in the region.

This very rich and original ethnography of a culture of marginality does, however have its risks. The combination of the arguments and approaches of Lévi-Strauss (structural homology and analogy in oppositional contrasts), Fredrick Barth (ethnicity as a collective form of social differentiation) and George Foster (peasant communal logic of envy) can lead to narrative closures and possible misrepresentations. A narrative that presents Teenek marginality as a form of agency may fail to capture how Teenek meanings are actually separated from experience through mestizo domination. Similarly, ethnicity defined outside any historical form of collective identification potentially capable of effective mobilisation of a cultural group could 'naturalize' forms of oppression and strategic division operating in a cultural region.

*El Colegio de Michoacán* ANDREW ROTH-SENEFF

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X0639150X

Victor Montejo, *Maya Intellectual Renaissance: Identity, Representation and Leadership* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005), pp. xxii + 236, £12.95, pb.

Let me cut straight to the chase: Victor Montejo's *Maya Intellectual Renaissance* is an impressive work that makes significant contributions to the study of Maya activism in Guatemala and to the field of identity politics in general. This being my area of specialisation, and an already crowded field, I approach new publications sceptically, wondering what more can be said about a topic so well mined. Montejo's book was a pleasant surprise, shaking me out of my cynical distance and reminding me of the earnest real-world relevance our work can have.

In many ways Montejo is uniquely positioned to write such a book – born in Jacaltenango, Guatemala, fleeing persecution during the violence of the early 1980s, earning a PhD in anthropology and becoming a professor at the University of California at Davis, and then returning to Guatemala to be elected to congress and appointed minister of peace. Montejo has the insight of a privileged insider as well as the critical analytic eye of the anthropologist. Yet, what makes this work so powerful and compelling is that Montejo is unafraid to think outside the box, to criticise elements of Maya identity politics even as he supports the general cause. He writes with a rare honesty about corruption, the xenophobia that can accompany nationalistic rhetoric, and about the many dilemmas facing Maya leaders in Guatemala today.

The core of Monetejo's argument is presented in chapter one ('Maya Identity and Interethnic Relations') and chapter seven ('Theoretical Basis and Strategies for Maya Leadership'). Here he lays out a theory of Maya 'resistance leadership'. Montejo links this to prophetic cycles of time, revealing what he terms a b'aktunian ethnotheory of cyclical change. He presents a typology of three types of Maya leaders: militants, regenerationalists and traditionalists. Montejo's sympathies rest clearly with the regenerationalists, whom he labels the 'true leaders.' In discussing Maya leadership, we see clearly Monetjo's willingness to tackle tough issues, such as the divide between the relatively affluent Maya middle class and the poor Maya masses as well as the problem of corruption and cooptation among Maya politicians. He is critical of the lack of results from pan-Mayanist activism, which seems to be inversely related to the plethora of projects undertaken. But his work goes beyond such critiques to offer a positive plan for the future. He calls for a 'regenerationist' form of leadership that would avoid extreme nationalistic rhetoric. He emphasises the need to make connections with progressive non-Indians (ladinos), and working within the system to the extent possible.

Theoretically, Montejo tries to balance contemporary anthropological concerns with culture as an ongoing creative process with the political imperative of documenting Maya continuity in order to justify claims against the state. He does this by positing a macro-level continuity that encompasses micro-level diversity, which, in turn, feeds back into macro-level change.

This argument is supported by a wide range of data (from textbooks and native documents as well as oral histories and more traditional ethnographic observations), at times giving the text a jumpy feel. For example, in chapter two, Montejo offers a tour de force of ancient and modern Maya history and culture, an overview of Maya non-governmental organisations and their efforts, and a coherent eleven-point plan to revitalise Maya identity while not falling prey to the dangers of exclusionary nationalism. He calls for a pluricultural Guatemala, but not of the kind that would deny Maya distinctness and subsume it to a mestizo identity. Then, in chapter three, Montejo maps representations of the Maya in Guatemalan school textbooks. Seeing textbooks as 'polysemic constructs' that can be broken down to reveal hidden ideologies, Montejo traces the essentialist portrayals of Maya peoples back to early ethnographies and archaeological treatises, those of Sylvanus Morely in particular. Chapter four presents a history of the pan-Maya movement and chapter five examines the Rigoberta Menchú controversy in a very reasonable assessment that goes beyond the shrill punditry of much of the debate.

In the second half of the book Montejo brings ethnohistorical and ethnographic studies to bear on the development and character of current Maya leadership. Chapter six starts with a cursory summary of the Popol Wuj and other important native Maya texts. But Montejo then uses these sources to tease of examples of early Maya resistance to colonisation and of leadership, providing a quick summary of Maya leadership from independence to the present. Chapter eight develops an ethnographic perspective on Maya ways of knowing, stressing the importance of oral traditions. He praises Maya forms of consensus building, introducing the ideas of *wayab'* (a communal moral responsibility to care for all in one's community) and *komontat* (a theory of cosmic unity that underwrites consensus and communalism).

Montejo concludes by arguing for a form of Maya self-determination that will allow for cooperation and accommodation with Guatemala's non-Indian population. He points to the post-9/11 danger of viewing indigenous activism as terrorism or a 'security threat', arguing that exclusionary policies and practices are the biggest threat to long-term stability in Guatemala.

There is some repetition between the chapters and the inclusion of some extraneous lines of thought – both shortcomings perhaps inherent in such a collection of essays and articles. Nonetheless, this is a powerful and important intervention in the debate over identity politics in Guatemala and elsewhere in the world. This book has had a profound impact on my thinking, and is essential reading for anyone concerned with issues of indigenous rights.

*Vanderbilt University* EDWARD F. FISCHER

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06401504

Catherine M. Conaghan, *Fujimori's Peru: Deception in the Public Sphere* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), pp. xii + 311, $29.95, hb.

Even as Peru enters a new period of uncertainty in the wake of the 2006 presidential elections, both scholars and ordinary Peruvians continue to grapple with the meaning and legacies of the presidency of Alberto Fujimori (1990–2000). In her new book, Catherine Conaghan attempts to answer one of the most important questions raised by the Fujimori period: how did the administration eviscerate democratic rules and institutions, leaving behind a façade of democracy while constructing an authoritarian regime? This is a question that has had growing resonance beyond Fujimori's Peru, from Belarus and Nigeria to Venezuela, as presidents concentrate power, pressure the media and manipulate electoral and legal rules in order to neutralise opponents. In examining the Peruvian case, Conaghan argues that authoritarianism in Peru was 'not a function of formal design', but rather resulted from the fact that the people working in state institutions were willing to do whatever was necessary to serve Fujimori and remain in power. Countervailing powers did not function because those in charge were not 'interested in or capable of making them work' (p. 66). With subservient followers occupying the state, a 'permanent coup' (p. 7) took place, in which laws and regulations were made or unmade purely to serve the interests of the regime. In the public sphere the administration relied heavily on the intelligence service (SIN) and especially the secretive presidential advisor Vladimiro Montesinos to use fear and intimidation as well as a masterful programme of media manipulation. Yet, as Conaghan makes clear, the regime never achieved the degree of dominance in the public sphere that it did in state institutions.

Most of the book is a detailed, thoroughly researched and superbly written narrative that clearly documents how the Fujimori administration and its followers went about constructing an authoritarian regime in the aftermath of the 1992 self-coup (*autogolpe*), that closed down the congress and led to an opportunity to rewrite the constitution. In writing about the case of La Cantuta, for example, Conaghan reviews how the disappearance of nine university students and one professor in 1992 brought to the fore the full repressive and manipulative apparatus of the regime. Executed and buried by a special intelligence unit, Grupo Colina, the subsequent discovery of the corpses presented a dilemma for the administration and its supporters. An investigation and prosecution would clearly implicate members of the regime and undermine its support at home and abroad. Instead, every arm of the state was used to impede an investigation and intimidate opponents, starting with a show of strength by the armed forces, which drove tanks through the streets of Lima. Opposition members on an investigative congressional committee received death threats and the congressional majority limited any testimony to high-ranking officers. In the face of growing international criticism the regime opted for a quick closure of the affair. After detaining ten suspected members of Grupo Colina, they were given a short trial and speedy conviction. Two years later, an amnesty law was passed releasing those who were convicted.

By far the most riveting and important section of the book concerns the efforts of the regime to ensure a third term for President Fujimori. This is the most important contribution, and Conaghan offers a definitive account of the 2000 elections and the scandals that followed. She notes how efforts to ensure a third term for Fujimori began immediately after his re-election in 1995. In the face of stronger than expected resistance to these efforts the regime was more brazen in its attempts at repression, including the forced takeover of a television station, the questionable removal of members of the Constitutional Tribunal after they ruled against a third term, and finally the outright voter fraud during the 2000 elections. Both the USA and the OAS responded weakly to the most important challenge to democracy in the hemisphere in a decade. Nonetheless, she rightly concludes that despite the decline of presidential legitimacy and credibility brought about by the 2000 elections, the regime had every intention of remaining in power and continued to have a working majority in Congress and the support of the armed forces, making its continuance in power likely. The release of the 'Vladivideos', videos showing Vladimiro Montesinos bribing key members of Peru's political, media and economic elites, however, changed this dynamic, and led to the rapid unravelling of the regime.

In explaining the rise and persistence of authoritarianism in Peru during the 1990s, Conaghan suggests that the authoritarian bent of Fujimori's followers found a receptive audience. The Peruvian public was exhausted by the violence of Sendero Luminoso and the economic chaos of the 1980s, while the traditional 'venality' of the country's elites (p. 254) made them cooperative with a regime that served their economic interests. Meanwhile, the USA was more concerned with continued free market reforms and anti-drug cooperation than real democracy. Conaghan correctly points out that 'everyone knew' about both the authoritarian character of the regime and its corruption, but for much of the decade was willing to look the other way. If there is a shortcoming to the book, it is the lack of a deeper exploration of the reasons behind this situation. The fact that a small but determined band of Fujimori loyalists could so easily manipulate and co-opt state institutions and the legal framework of the country speaks volumes to the lack of democratic institutionalisation in Peru. Beyond short-term interests, the receptivity of both masses and elites to Fujimori's authoritarianism raises important questions about Peru's political culture, the economic and ethnic fissures that historically have shaped the country's politics, and the impact of global capitalism that has reshaped the expectations of both elites and masses. These are questions that have been and will continue to be debated in the literature, and whose impact continues to affect Peru's politics. What Conaghan has offered is a powerful explanatory narrative that should serve as a starting point for students, policy makers and scholars trying to answer these questions.

*University of Northern Iowa* PHILIP MAUCERI

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06411500

Carlos H. Waisman and Raanan Rein (eds.), *Spanish and Latin American Transitions to Democracy* (Brighton, and Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), pp. x+246, £55.00, hb.

Three decades after the start of the third wave of democratisation we no longer come across as many studies as in the 1980s, which was a decade of fertile intellectual production on the phenomenon. The bibliographical accumulation of a 'transitions' literature acquired the status of an entire sub-field of study within political science. Currently, as underlined in this book, transitions to democracy in Spain and Latin America are an area of study for historians.

The first processes of political change of the third wave opened up new terrain for analysis in the social sciences, later incorporating the experiences of central and Eastern Europe. The transitions to democracy from socialism eclipsed for a while the attention on development in Latin America. Here, the political and academic agenda had moved on to give priority to the question of democratic governability.

The volume by Waisman and Rein revisits this process, and does so from three perspectives. It takes on a comparative view, it adds to the analysis of the lessons learnt from Europe in decade starting from 1989, and it has the benefit of hindsight in terms of knowing that there was no turning back following the transitions in Spain and Latin America and that these processes evolved with considerable political success.

No doubt this historical perspective contributes to the lucidity with which the book discusses the evolution of democratic process. Waisman, in this sense, introduces an innovative explanatory factor in the analysis which is undoubtedly significant in understanding the enormous differences between the Spanish and Latin American experiences. After engaging with the many similarities and the demonstration effect which the Spanish case had over the latter, so often defended as a model at the time, the author identifies the degree of state effectiveness as the key differentiating factor. The question of effective state presence and capacity, an issue which to date has not been sufficiently treated in the literature, is developed in the analysis. The line of argument emphasises the need to consider the effectiveness of the process by which public policy is generated and implemented, together with the state and characteristics of fiscal policy. Frozen by populist politics, many Latin American countries had created cumbersome and large, yet also weak and ineffective, state apparatuses, which moreover rested on a precarious fiscal base in many cases highly dependent on customs revenue. This has not changed significantly to date.

The volume also gives history a privileged place in its framework of analysis in terms of the relative weight it attributes to memory. This is very evident in the chapter by Ucelay-Da Cal for the Spanish case, and the chapter by Sheinin on Argentina. The former looks at the five transitions which Spain underwent during the course of the last century, and the latter underscores the legacy of the scorn heaped on the armed forces in terms of the history of human rights violations, which have tended to be treated less from a conceptual perspective and more from ideological and politically charged viewpoints.

The book gives considerable and innovative weight, at least in contrast to the mainstream approaches in transition literature, to issues related to education reforms carried out throughout the processes of democratisation. The matter is treated comparatively from two perspectives. On the one hand Groves develops the comparison in the Spanish case at the provincial level; on the other hand Siebzehner examines the cases of Chile, Argentina and Paraguay. This novel and timely consideration of questions of culture, through an examination of the relevance of curricula and school text books, points to the concern in the new democracies with broadening the base of social legitimation through the development of cultural politics based on promoting the values of pluralism, debate and tolerance in society.

The book, which brings together papers presented at an international seminar in Tel Aviv in May 2003, is weighted towards the study of the case of Spain, which occupies more than half of the volume. Such important issues as peripheral nationalism (Núñez and Gurrutxaga) and the role of terrorism (Avilés) are treated in detail, in as much as they are the two most critical issues of Spanish politics in the last quarter of a century. Brazil, in the chapter by Kinoshita, Peru by Roncagliolo, and Argentina by Sheinin are the country case studies drawn from Latin America, and these are in turn reflected on by Roniger in one of the analytical introductory chapters. The other analytical introduction is written by Marín Arce with reference to Spain. Thus, the book contains a limited selection of cases which nonetheless provide the basis for a clear treatment of the transitions processes at issue, in part because the cases are sufficiently different. The reader might have benefited from a concluding chapter drawing together the findings of the different approaches, and reflecting on areas for future research.

*Universidad de Salamanca* MANUEL ALCÁNTARA

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06421507

Craig Arceneaux and David Pion-Berlin, *Transforming Latin America: The International and Domestic Origins of Change* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), pp. x + 267, $27.95, pb.

When governments in Latin America make policy, how important is foreign influence, especially that of the United States, in determining what is decided? This is the question asked by Craig Arceneaux and David Pion-Berlin in *Transforming Latin America.* Their answer is clear: it depends on the policy issue. Thus, they argue, if the point is to understand the motivation of international actors to affect the behaviour of sovereign states, it is important to begin with the issue, not with the relative power of the domestic and international actors more generally. 'It is not the *whether* or *how* of international influence but the *when* and *why*', they maintain.

The authors of this book pose a general puzzle for analysis: the USA is clearly hegemonic in Latin America, yet its efforts to influence domestic policy are not uniform nor are its efforts universally successful, even given the great disparities in power between the USA and its southern neighbours. Moreover, other international actors – the Organization of American States, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, other nations – vary among themselves and over time in their influence on domestic policy. The purpose of the book is to provide a framework that can bridge the gap between the tendency of those who study international relations to find that change is primarily responsive to international power relations and comparativists who tend more frequently to find the sources of change in domestic political interactions.

Arceneaux and Pion-Berlin make use of the distinction between 'high politics' and 'low politics' drawn by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye almost three decades ago. High and low politics are defined by the extent to which states believe their interests are vitally affected by the decisions of other states. In issues identified with high politics, states are strongly motivated to assert influence on the domestic decision- making of others; issues defining low politics are much less likely to encourage such efforts. The authors assert that security and broad economic policy decisions stimulate states to become engaged in domestic political arenas of other states, while decisions related to human rights, democratic deepening, the environment, immigration and drugs tend to encourage only sporadic initiatives to influence domestic decision makers. Thus, even though these latter policy decisions have international ramifications, sovereignty is more likely to be a barrier to external influence than in the case of the security and economic policy. Similarly, the authors propose that the impact of institutions and ideas is greater in situations characterised by low politics than in policy areas in which international actors 'willfully contain, manipulate, or push them aside' (p. 38).

Motivation is thus a central part of the framework for understanding the influence of international actors in domestic policy – it helps respond to the question of *when* and *why* international actors will seek to influence the decisions of sovereign states. And, to allow for variations among cases in the same issue area, the authors demonstrate that international actors not only have varying degrees of motivation to influence outcomes but also that their motivations can alter over time – a high politics issue may become less so at distinct moments in time and low politics issues can shift into high politics concerns.

A second part of the framework is capacity; the extent to which international actors can effectively influence domestic politics. This helps the authors predict whether external actors will be more or less successful in their efforts to exert influence and helps disclose differences in a determined USA and an equally determined but less powerful actor such as the Organization of American States or non-governmental organisations.

The framework is given life – and nuance – through a series of case studies that illustrate variations in the motivations and capabilities of external actors to influence policy outcomes. The role of external actors in neoliberal economic reforms is explored in Argentina, Brazil and Chile; the defence of democratic processes and regimes discussed in the context of President Fujimori's autogolpe in Peru and the coup against President Jamil Mahuad in Ecuador; in Chile human rights issues engaged international actors, but variations in motivation and capacity limited their influence; in Central America, regional security issues were affected by the waxing and waning of US interest in the region. Shorter cases of environmental policy decision making in Brazil, drug trafficking in Colombia and immigration policy in Mexico also demonstrate how the framework can explain variations among cases.

This book provides a consistent perspective that makes it possible to understand why international actors vary in their efforts to influence domestic policy and politics, and when their capacity to exert influence is likely to be stronger or weaker. The authors have extensive command of the literature in international relations; their use of the literature on policy decision-making and policy processes is less in evidence, however. Above all, Arceneaux and Pion-Berlin have set out a noble objective for this study – to provide a way for international relations specialists and comparativists to come to greater consensus on how to weigh the relative power of external and domestic actors in political and policy decision-making. Students of policy and politics can benefit from reading this book.

*Harvard University* MERILEE S. GRINDLE

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06431503

Stephan Hollensteiner, *Aufstieg und Randlage: Linksintellektuelle, demokratische Wende und Politik in Argentinien und Brasilien* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana, 2005), pp. 462, €48.00, pb.

In this study, originally submitted in an even longer version and with a slightly different title as a doctoral dissertation at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University Frankfort on the Main in 2001, Stephan Hollensteiner discusses left-wing intellectuals, democratic change and politics in Argentina and Brazil during the last three decades or so of the twentieth century. The focus of this dissertation-cum-book is on the Club de Cultura Socialista (CCS) in the case of Argentina and the São Paulo-based Centro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP) as well as the Centro de Estudos da Cultura Contemporânea (CEDEC) in the case of Brazil. Hollensteiner chose these 'groups from the generation of Critical Sociology' because, he argues, they 'stayed together for two to three decades despite suppression and exile and', presumably even more importantly, their changing attitudes towards democracy, both in their 'thinking and action', were 'paradigmatic' (p. 13). The emphasis is as much on intellectual discussions as it is on political involvement, how and why they changed over time, and the extent to which the trajectories of the Argentine intellectuals differed from their Brazilian counterparts.

Before Hollensteiner actually turns to discussion of the overwhelmingly male intellectuals, he provides an exceedingly long introduction (around 100 pages, or slightly less than one quarter of the entire text). This is certainly the least exciting and illuminating part of a generally well-written and accessible study. In the first section of this chapter, entitled 'Historical Constellations', he dwells on theories and methods, especially various concepts of intellectuals as well as the differences between generations and groups. In the second, equally lengthy section he provides an historical survey, starting with the Argentine 'Generation of 1837' and the Brazilian 'Generation of 1870' respectively and ending in the early 1960s. Some of the characterisations are, moreover, problematic. Describing the Estado Novo under Getúlio Vargas (1937–1945) and Juan Domingo Perón's first two administrations (1946–1955) as 'populist development dictatorships' (p. 47), for instance, will not go unchallenged.

Only on page 107 does Hollensteiner start dealing with the left-wing intellectuals. In 'Intellectuals Between Authoritarianism and Democracy' (chap. II) he reconstructs 'the development paths of the intellectual groups in their partly similar, partly different historical-political context' (p. 53). Following this monographic section, which nicely interweaves information about the intellectuals with the broader historical setting, Hollensteiner compares the groups according to their ideas (chap. IV), their organisation (chap. V) as well as their political involvement (or lack thereof) (chap. VI). Although in view of the chosen approach repetitions and overlaps between the chapters are unavoidable, they are not too numerous. Based on a wide range of primary sources and more than forty personal interviews, Hollensteiner convincingly explains the identical changes the Argentine and Brazilian intellectuals underwent between the 1960s and mid-1990s, from oppositional critics of capitalism to 'defenders and protagonists of a liberal-democratic public' (p. 402). At the same time, he also brings out their different trajectories (as well as, in the case of Brazil, the differences between CEBRAP and CEDES), and the various reasons for the contrasting developments.

That the political fortunes of leftwing intellectuals in the two neighbouring countries were dissimilar, despite the ideological and programmatic congruence between them, is undeniable. As for the CCS, only some of its members had very limited influence in the early years of the administration of Radical President Raúl Alfonsín (1983–1989) and were subsequently marginally involved in the doomed project of the Alianza, the co-operation between Radicals and dissident Peronists that brought Fernando de la Rúa to the Casa Rosada in 1999. The Argentine leftwing intellectuals, as Hollensteiner points out, primarily saw themselves as critics of the political establishment who wanted to exercise influence from the outside by means of ideas and arguments. Their Brazilian counterparts, on the other hand, assumed increasingly broader and more political roles. They turned from a 'democratic counter-elite (*Gegenelite*)' (p. 410) under the military dictatorship (1964–1985) to largely pragmatic and centrist political activists during the prolonged transition to democracy and democracy itself. Nobody embodies these changes better than Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the critical sociologist who became an opposition politician and finally Brazil's president, ruling courtesy of the country's traditional elite and former collaborators of the armed forces.

Overall, a more succinct introduction would have been very welcome. Longer quotes, especially in the chapter on ideas and ideology, would have helped to make the text more lively; as it is, all too often we are told what the intellectuals thought and wrote but are not given the opportunity to actually see for ourselves. Finally, yet importantly, readability would have been greatly improved if Hollensteiner had translated the shorter quotes in the text. As it happens, a sentence may start in German, continue in Spanish (or Portuguese), only to end in German again. Despite these minor quibbles, Hollensteiner can be congratulated on a fine, well-researched study, which places the leftwing intellectuals he examines in a broader context; hopefully it will find the readership it deserves.

*Bonn* MARCUS KLEIN

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X0644150X

Cynthia Sanborn and Felipe Portocarrero (eds.), *Philanthropy and Social Change in Latin America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2005), pp. xxvi + 453, $24.95; £15.95; €23.00, pb.

This collection of esays addresses an aspect of philanthropy that is often ignored; namely, the extent to which 'non-state social interventions' may help to reduce poverty and to promote social change. A related secondary question concerns the capabilities of private groups and individuals: to what extent are private initiatives a substitute for state neglect? A third derives from the second, and concerns state capacity: why were governments across Latin America slow to respond to the social deficit? The contributors underscore the fact that several Latin American countries exhibit the highest rates of income and asset inequality in the world. Many also acknowledge the deep-seated historical nature of the problem. Existing ethnic, social and regional inequalities were intensified by economic growth in the late nineteenth century, and – in common with most other parts of the world – hardly reversed by government policy in the twentieth. Drawing on historical and contemporary case-studies, and accepting that private philanthropy can rarely play more than a qualitative role while at the same time acknowledging continuing constraints on government, the solutions to high levels of posited inequality have a voguish, almost Washington Consensus, tone. They applaud the virtue and vitality of private–public partnerships, and their facility to extend the scope of social services to marginalised groups, improve the quality of social investments, and ensure the effectiveness of resource delivery. There many be no real substitute for the state, but, capitalising on the profound philanthropic and associational traditions of Latin Americans, it is argued that private organisations can inform, mobilise, publicise and promote best practice – and contribute to the consolidation of civil society and social capital.

The volume consists of several sections. The opening part includes pieces that refer to the history of religious and secular associations – colonial social assistance foundations, faith-based brotherhoods, mutual aid societies and trade union and professional bodies formed by immigrants, and more recent civil organisations and international foundations. Another section explores models and concepts of corporate social responsibility. Others chapters examine modes of giving, and yet others reflect on organisational change in the philanthropic sector – not least, processes of learning-by-doing and borrowing from international best practice. Historians will reflect on Sanborn's stylised summary and classification of organisations, ideas and areas of action, and on Arrom's professional, archive-based examination of the Mexico chapter of the nineteenth-century Société de Saint Vincent de Paul, founded in France. The volume also offers much to analysts of public policy and corporate practice. For example, Portocarrero and Landim consider the domestic dimension of the 'modern culture of volunteering' in Peru and Brazil respectively, emphasising the importance of solidarity and the representational roles of diverse agencies, as well as their financial contributions. Multifaceted forms of corporate social responsibility are examined in Part II, where chapters by Agüero, Durand, Fischer, Roitter and Camerlo, and Rojas and Morales analyse motives underlying the rise in giving by business in the 1990s, and their subsequent outcomes. Is the phenomenon a recognition of inequalities associated with the neo-liberal New Economic Model – enlightened self-interest or an 'apology for profit', a function of the internationalisation of business practice? Such a reading would have firms in Latin America replicating new strategies of social intervention adopted by the corporate sector elsewhere in the world, driven by efforts to forge alliances between corporations and civil organisations – and to bolster the state, designed to flag the social responsibility of 'new, post-populist national capitalism'. Part III reflects on the extent to which modern forms of philanthropy signal the strength of civil society, and a new relationship between different actors and the state. Turitz and Winder look at the public responsiveness of private grant-makers holders, while Irarrázaval and Guzmán, Szazi, de la Manza and Villar appraise the effectiveness of 'enabling' action and regulation by government. Part IV offers an international perspective, with comparative chapters by Letts, Brown and Grindle.

*Philanthropy and Social Change* is ambitious in its objectives. The editors are to be commended for bringing together a set of essays by academic researchers, policy practitioners and administrators – an exercise that generates its own challenges. The book makes a distinct contribution to understanding novel socially responsive philanthropic initiatives that arose from the 1980s to the 2000. It details how agendas were set, how policies were designed, negotiated and implemented, and suggests – tentatively – how some reform coalitions sought to sustain the neo-liberal agenda through philanthropy. The book also shows how concepts and practices of private philanthropy, corporate social responsibility, and the role of the non-profit sector grew with the onset of the New Economic Model. It also illustrates how responses to problems of the period – confronting relative and absolute poverty, reducing inequality, and fostering democratic consolidation – have been decidedly uneven. Perhaps the final word should be left to Grindle (p. 415): 'Good ideas and good research are essential to the promotion of philanthropy and the strengthening of civil society in Latin America. Just as important, however, is the ability to turn good ideas and the recommendations that stem from good research into practice. When such action means introducing new or improved public policies, knowledge of the policy process is a valuable tool for moving from ideas about what "ought to be" towards practice for the real world.' Private philanthropy, and its explicit promotion, can strengthen civil society and help build systems that are more responsive and democratic.

*London School of Economics* COLIN M. LEWIS

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06451506

Rubén Gallo (ed.), *The Mexico City Reader* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), pp. xvii + 335, $65.00, $19.95 pb.

For readers familiar with Mexico City this edited collection of literary essays and journalistic commentaries will serve as a functional equivalent to the city's infamous Thieves Market: a source of magnificent surprises and hidden treasures nestled alongside bits of scrap. Think of heaped piles of broken doorknobs and rusted plumbers' wrenches, with a tantalising *beaux arts* candelabra protruding out of the cluttered mix; or a hand-painted miniature of Cantinflas buried in a cardboard box filled with plastic key chains, wadded balls of rubber bands and a jumbled array of nails and screws. Each of these items, not to mention the quixotic juxtaposition of their display, evokes the multi-faceted urban culture that makes Mexico City the fascinating culturally-hybrid metropolis that it is. As with the renowned market itself, many of the items encountered in this hefty reader are iconic in their capacity to represent the city, its people, and the nation's history and politics. This is especially so in the volume's treatment of certain quintessentially *chilango* institutions and themes – ranging from *ambulantes* and the Metro to certain monuments (La Diana) and streets (Avenida Insurgentes). Still, only some of the entries in this volume will truly dazzle the imagination enough to leave one feeling that the scavenging time was entirely well spent. Others will generate questions about why these particular items were selected, and whether the same bits and pieces of everyday urban culture and commentary, if repackaged with somewhat less cynicism and measurably more compassion, could still offer a gripping depiction of Mexico City urban life.

The challenge of presenting an 'anthology of literary texts about life in Mexico City over the past thirty years' (p. 3) is daunting, and Rubén Gallo should be applauded for his efforts. He has compiled a volume with some of the city's best-known chroniclers, and as a compendium of commentaries from key journalists and public intellectuals writing on the city over the last three decades this volume has no equal. It contains 37 different essays of varying length (from two pages to 20) from such stellar essayists as Elena Poniatowska, Carlos Monsiváis, José Joaquín Blanco and Guadalupe Loaeza, among others, as well as an introductory essay by Gallo that frames the volume in the context of the city's infrastructural, demographic, and urban planning history. Gallo's grasp of planning theory and history, especially as it links to questions of the relationship between urbanism and modernity, remains somewhat superficial; and his understanding of where the past three decades of Mexico City's industrialisation and urban policy-making fit into these larger urban debates also seems strangely deficient, at least when juxtaposed against conventional social science scholarship on these issues (surprisingly few of which are cited or acknowledged). But these are not Gallo's academic strengths, and, more to the point, this is not the volume's aim. *The Mexico City Reader* is obviously cast with a different audience in mind: literary critics and interpreters of popular culture whose preferences will lean towards rich and artfully crafted narratives built around the occasional urban oddity rather than dry factual expositions or rigorous explanatory accounts of familiar urban phenomena.

It is for precisely these reasons, however, that Gallo's anthology will inspire a larger audience of humanities and social science scholars interested in this fascinating metropolis. His lengthy and thought-provoking introduction also succeeds in laying out a picture of Mexico's capital as a city suffering under the weight of population, urban sprawl, environmental and infrastructural degradation and, at the same time, flowering as a site of cultural assets, innovation, and dynamism. It is somewhere between these two poles of gravitational pull, aptly sketched out in Gallo's introductory essay 'Delicious Mexico City', that most of the invited essayists find their voice. And it is the relationship between these two inter-connected orbits that undoubted will capture most scholarly interest.

To impose some order on the variety of observations contained within, the volume is divided into separate subsections with titles such 'Places', 'The Metro', 'Monuments', 'Eating and Drinking', 'Urban Renewal/Urban Disasters', 'The Earthquake', 'Maids', 'Corruption and Bureaucracy' and 'The Margins.' At first glance these themes make inherent sense; but as the volume unfolds they raise more questions than they answer. This owes to the fact that the analytic thread within the sections is not well articulated by Gallo; it also owes to the fact that more than a few of the entries seem categorically misplaced. Why is the essay on the earthquake presented in a stand-alone section, separate from the section on urban renewal and disaster? Why is the discussion of rubbish in the section on 'margins' rather than in the treatment of corruption and bureaucracy, given that the essay exposes both? And why are essays on rubbish and the morgue included in the section on margins, but not Monsiváis's account of the city's hyper-sexualised nightlife? What constitutes 'the margins', anyway?

Additional frustration stems from the fact that the commentaries jump around in time and place without much of an editorial direction, giving the reader an uncharted and dizzying sense of Mexico City as no more than an abstract urban reality. [An editorial quibble: why is there no map and why are the dates of the essays hidden in the permissions section?] A more grounded spatial and temporal framing might have ensured that individual commentaries would serve as portals to more deeply grounded knowledge of the city's urban dynamics, and not solely as rich literary texts. It also would have allowed the categorical claims about citizens and politicians and the city's main challenges presented within each essay to be placed in a spectrum of real time as much as in the never-never-land of textual criticism. Knowledge of temporal context, after all, should not be seen as entirely unrelated to literary content. The dramatic shifting in tone and affection for the city and its residents even by the same author, as reflected in a comparison of José Joaquín Blanco's 1979 and 2002 essays, lends testimony to this proposition and thus demands further reflection.

These criticisms aside, the volume does present a large number of pieces that make even uncharted navigation well worth the effort. The reader's most luminous contribution is Alma Guillermoprieto's extended essay on rubbish, which brilliantly captures the complexities of class and social distinction, party politics, cacique power, social change, and how they together create (and result from) the stark urban reality of one of the world's fastest-growing and most under-serviced metropolises. Her neatly woven account begins and ends with a snapshot of the *pepenadores* who earn their living by scavenging in Mexico City rubbish dumps, and the story she tells will help readers cultivate a deep appreciation for the struggle of everyday urban life and for a people who seem unabashedly resilient in the face of the city's (and the system's) worst excesses. Guillermoprieto's engaging prose floats as loftily as the ubiquitous plastic bags that dot the city's rubbish pits, but it also is as powerful as the ten-ton dump truck that shovels deep into landfill. Several other essays also hit the mark with humour, compassion and skilful ethnographic observation. I was especially taken by a number of pieces: the photo essay of street vendors by Francis Alys; an amusing commentary on the use (and abuse) of car horns by Jorge Ibargüengoitia; the insightful account of class and urban destruction in late 1970s Tacubaya; and a short but sweet snapshot of maids in Chapultepec Park on their Sundays off – both by José Joaquín Blanco. A wrenchingly graphic essay on the 1985 Mexico City earthquake by Elena Poniatowska also hits unforgettably hard.

Unfortunately, the magnificence of these and other chapters is partially marred by the snide and condescending tone that colours a handful of other essays. Whether coming in the form of an indictment of the city's economic or political elite (as seen in a crudely unsympathetic description of the city's richest neighbourhood by Blanco or the caricatured, if not preposterous, visual portrayals of the daughters of the city's elite by Daniela Rossell), or in the vaguely contemptuous renderings of middle- and lower-class culture (as in the essay on the Plaza Satélite by Blanco and in Julieta García González's veiled condemnation of the less than orthodox advertising techniques of small commerce on División del Norte), a surprisingly broad array of the city's residents seem 'othered' by their chroniclers. The effect is exactly the opposite of that produced in the Guillermoprieto and Poniatowska essays, where *Verstehen* (understanding, in the Weberian sense) is the successfully realised aim. One might suppose that this is attributable to the political proclivities of the authors, many of whom share a left-critical position in the political spectrum and who seem genuinely flabbergasted by the fact that so many of Mexico City's residents have accommodated rather than repudiated or revolted against the political and economic system that makes everyday urban life so wrenchingly difficult. The political lens through which many of the commentators see the city might also explain why they view the state's Machiavellian approach and authoritarian motives as routinely written into practically every street, consumptive act or monument that comprises the urban fabric.

But the embeddedness of political and urban critique that colours many of the essays does serve its purpose. Even as it may overly narrow the terrain for a genuinely sympathetic representation of the city, and by so doing highlight the interpretive and political distance between some of the chroniclers and the chronicled, it also helps us to understand the larger aims of most of the essayists and why they have chosen certain subjects for commentary. In this sense, *The Mexico City Reader* further fulfils its ambition: to showcase leading literary voices of the city while also giving us a clue as to what captures their imagination and why.

*Massachusetts Institute of Technology* DIANE E. DAVIS

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06461502

Laura Podalsky, *Specular City. Transforming Culture, Consumption, and Space in Buenos Aires, 1955–1973* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004), pp. xvi + 287, $55.00, $22.95 pb.

This wonderful book presents a comprehensive and innovative view of Argentine culture between 1955 and 1973. After the fall of Perón middle-class anxieties about the loss of control of the urban space led to the production of multiple representations that entailed new visions of the social, political and economic order. Most of these representations, argues Podalsky, used the city, Buenos Aires, as the site to 'resolve' the tensions of the recent past and as the space to imagine a new hegemonic project, based on notions of urban and consumer modernity, artistic internationalism, and sexual liberation. Writers, film-makers, intellectuals, publicists, magazine editors and architects tried to reconceptualise the city in order to achieve in the cultural sphere a consensus that had been denied or disrupted at the social and political level. The new representations made visible the marks of modernity (skyscrapers, advertising, mass consumer habits, and innovations in theatre, film, fiction and the plastic arts) as well as its drawbacks (city slums, social inequality, poverty, violence, urban confusion and alienation).

Raymond Williams' dynamic concept of hegemony helps to structure Podalsky's argument. For Williams 'residual' and 'emergent' elements of culture merge to constitute a new hegemonic process. But there are situations when the ruling classes attempt to build hegemony in the cultural sphere without attaining success. This seems to have been the case of Buenos Aires after the fall of Perón. The failure to generate a workable social and political consensus made 'culture' a privileged terrain of contestation where the new visions of development and modernisation had to confront and overcome the nationalist, populist past. As we well know, the project of economic and cultural modernisation promoted by Frondizi, the Di Tella Institute, the multinational corporations and a multiplicity of textual producers did not win the day. By 1973 national populism was alive and well, in a more radical-liberationist version than that originally imagined by Perón.

Hence, Podalsky cannot argue that the new hegemonic project was successful. She can only claim that in this contestation of visions between residual and emergent forces, Buenos Aires (as a 'weave' of physical environment, human practices and representations) was radically redefined. Read in this way, the argument is quite persuasive. The book shows how modern metal-and-glass high-rises modified the city's skyline, how advertising covered the avenues with billboards, how consumers strove to show their modern possessions (cars, refrigerators, washing machines, TVs) as signs of social achievement, how a mass reading public created new opportunities for popular magazines and new writers, how aesthetic challenges (such as Di Tella's 'happenings') became a focus of public attention. In this context, a new generation of novelists, scriptwriters and film-makers produced fragmented and sombre representations of the city, some trying to convey both the new realities of poverty, social inequality, and industrial pollution, others attempting to understand the alienation and confusion of middle-class heroes.

Through the pages of this book, the reader finds manifestations of the unresolved tension between residual and emerging forces, a contestation that involved multiple producers of representations. Some project their nostalgia for a past socio-political formation; others enthusiastically endorse the new visions of economic progress and cultural modernity; while still others reveal the fissures of modernity's promises. This contestation, the author argues, took place in and about the urban space. The producers of representations tried to imagine the new Argentina and to reckon with the old (Peronist Argentina) in the scenario of the changing metropolis. It was there that literary writers, political essayists, advertising executives, film-makers, magazine editors and publishers dealt with the question of modernity; with its promises, drawbacks and uncertainties.

The book is organised in eight chapters. Four of them offer panoramic views ('cityscapes') of cultural production, and four contain in-depth analysis of particular representations or genres ('snapshots'). The panoramic views deal with fiction after Perón's fall, architectural modernity, the new reading public (editorial policies and magazines), and new sexual attitudes under censorship. The 'snapshots' examine: (a) how Peronists and anti-Peronists used the city, Plaza de Mayo in particular, as a stage on which to represent distinct national imaginaries (photographs of public demonstrations are the starting point of the analysis); (b) Antonio Berni's collages of life in the slums (*villas miserias*) as a critique of urban modernisation (with discarded materials Berni rebuilds the world of Juanito Laguna, focusing our attention on the heart of underdevelopment); (c) how the Di Tella Institute redefined the boundaries of art, in an effort to bring the city and the country up to the standards of international 'modern art'; (d) the traces of the 'advertising boom' in the film *La hora de los hornos*, a linear narrative that locates the Peronist resistance within Third World struggles of national liberation.

*Specular City* is an ambitious book. It tries to examine a variety of representations: from the magazine *Primera Plana* to the editorial policies of *Eudeba*, from the works of the *Nuevo Cine* to the design of skyscrapers and shopping *galerías*, from Berni's paintings to the 'happenings' of Di Tella's *manzana loca*. Placing these different types of representations into a comprehensive whole is a gargantuan task. Podalsky needs to be congratulated for such an effort. However, it is my suspicion that these different representations do not belong to the same totality called 'hegemonic project', that at least some of them were not meant to represent the moment of transition or the tension between residual and emerging forces. While Berni's paintings of 'Juanito Laguna' carried a definite message about growing poverty and marginality in the midst of urban modernity, it is too far-fetched to attribute to sex-entertainment movies any further motive than moneymaking.

One of the great accomplishments of this book is to connect different representations of a similar phenomenon. The 'snapshot' chapters are in this regard the best. The author puts in conversation Berni's collage paintings of *villas miserias* with a critical novel by socialist Bernardo Verbitsky. While the collages present the environment of young Juanito littered with industrial waste, Verbitsky's novel presents the city as the real danger confronting *villeros*, many of them migrants from the interior. Podalsky later relates these representations with David Kohon's short film 'Buenos Aires', to suggest that the critique of urban modernity was widespread. Perhaps the most remarkable impression that the reader gets out of this book is that of simultaneity: a whole set of processes appear at almost the same time: sex movies, anti-Peronist short stories, neo-realist paintings, Eudeba's publishing success, the scandal of Di Tella's *manzana loca*, Rodolfo Walsh's denunciation of illegal executions, and many other events.

What to make of these interconnections and this simultaneity? Do they foreground efforts to build a new consensus? If the proposition is that, given a process of urban modernisation and economic development, producers of representations will generate distinct understandings of the effects of modernisation and extract from them meanings that are amenable to their aesthetic and political visions, then I agree; this is generally the case. But to conclude from this that they belong to an effort to generate a new consensus about economic, social and cultural progress – that they belong to a single 'hegemonic project' – is to tinker too much with the evidence. For it was precisely the failure to build consensus that characterised the transition from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, and this failure of hegemony is an important factor in explaining the events that took place after 1968.

Podalsky does not take seriously the cultural complexity and radical diversity of these representations. Do the films featuring naked Isabel Sarli belong to the same universe as the 'happenings' organised by the vanguard artists of the Di Tella Institute? Probably not. Where do Beatriz Guido's novels intersect with the film *La hora de los hornos*? Probably, only in the procrustean bed of high theory. Only by classifying some elements of these representations as 'residual' and others as 'emergent', is the author able to undermine the radical heterogeneity of these representations. Produced in different contexts by people who embraced quite different visions of Argentina's past, present and future, these representations were carriers of distinct subjectivities and political and cultural projects. While it is legitimate to notice their similarities, their overlapping motives and their common location, it needs to be acknowledged that these representations also contained irreconcilable differences.

Solanas' and Pueyrredon's views of advertising were radically different. The former considered it to be the instrument of neo-colonial dependency. The latter promoted it as formative of value and good life in modern society. These differences contributed to the formation of a great ideological divide that admitted no compromise, and that soon generated a spiral of political violence. Those who condemned advertising and consumer society came to support the formation of armed groups that would kidnap executives of the car industry in their attempt to establish socialism. Those who promoted the internationalisation of advertising, motorways, automobile production and oil refineries would soon find themselves on the other side of the trench, many of them supporting, openly or not, the violent repression of 'subversives'. The irreducibility of these two positions was already implicit in their cultural representations.

The other chief proposition of the book – the centrality of Buenos Aires in the cultural representations of the period – seems quite reasonable in the light of the evidence presented. Writers, film-makers, intellectuals, publicists, magazine editors and architects found in the city-in-transition a storehouse of motifs to extract meanings about consumer modernity, poverty, underdevelopment or industrial waste. At times, however, Podalsky tells us that the city was often counter-posed against elements from the countryside or the interior. In fact, it was the presence of migrants from the interior as supporters of Peronism and later as inhabitants of *villas miserias* that inspired some of the most revealing works of criticism in film, literature and painting. This might indicate that producers of cultural representations could hardly escape the gridlock of Sarmiento's founding polarities or that the middle-class fear of Peronism still collared much of the innovative efforts in film, literature and plastic arts. Asserting the primacy of the city in the transformation of culture, these writers, film-makers and critics were only asserting the importance of the other side of Argentina: the interior, the rural, the poor.

A valiant and bold attempt to understand the transformation of culture in Argentina in the 18 years after the fall of Perón, *Specular City* is a book that should be read by anyone interested in the cultural history of Argentina. I assume that Podalsky's propositions about the formation of a consumer culture, about the primacy of Buenos Aires in cultural representations of modernity, and about the existence of a hegemonic project will be remain tentative and contested. And this will probably make this book a source of reference and reflection for some time to come.

*Universidad Torcuato Di Tella* RICARDO D. SALVATORE

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06471509

Joseph L. Scarpaci, *Plazas and Barrios: Heritage Tourism and Globalization in the Latin American 'Centro Histórico'* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2004), pp. xix + 267, $45.00, hb.

In contemporary Latin America urban development, heritage and tourism meet in the historic city centre. Framed by the interconnected economic, political, social and cultural processes grouped under the rubric of 'globalisation', this encounter more aptly constitutes a conflict zone in which local governments' needs for tourist revenues are pitted against residents' desires for better public services and the preservation of 'the commons', an open and multi-class public space. This book addresses the ways in which heritage-oriented urban development projects have been conceived, planned, funded, implemented and sustained on this difficult terrain.

Joseph Scarpacci has a wealth of experience working in Latin American cities. Although his home ground is in human geography, he moves comfortably in the sister disciplines of urban sociology and anthropology and economics, always taking care to set the stage historically for the discussion that follows. The result is an exhaustive consideration of the multiple arenas in which the Latin American historic city centre, recuperated as heritage and promoted as tourist spectacle, comes into being in disparate local contexts of land use patterns, governmental planning structures, administrative agencies, economic policies and practices, urban design, and social class structures and relations, particularly with respect to political participation.

Scarpacci notes the importance of the *Carta Quito*, issued by the Organization of American States in 1967 in order to call attention to the urgent need to protect historic districts in Latin American cities experiencing accelerated and unregulated growth. By the 1980s UNESCO's world heritage programme had helped slow the destruction of the fragile architecture in the embattled historic districts of many metropolitan areas. But uneven economic development, paired with a slimmer, trimmer neoliberal state, left few options for funding and administration of recovery efforts. Scarpacci treats the problems and possibilities confronted by local proposals in nine cities in six countries. The result is an excellent introductory text, useful to students in a wide variety of academic programmes, including urban planning, public administration, architecture and design, and urban geography, sociology and anthropology.

In the early chapters the author moves the reader through the contemporary debates on globalisation, heritage tourism and the social construction of historic memory, all of which are necessary to analyse the empirical data treated in later chapters. Chapter three compares the nine cities in terms of land use, building quality and 'skyline', or variations in the height of historic district structures, and chapter four sketches the process of what Scarpacci calls 'the social construction of the historic district' for each of the nine urban centres, here including interesting data on local residents' perceptions of renovation efforts.

By far the most interesting chapters in the book are five, six and seven, wherein Scarpacci delves into the particular processes of historic district recuperation in Cartagena de Indias in Colombia and Habana Vieja and Trinidad in Cuba. In each of these three cases Scarpacci examines the local particularities of heritage recovery and tourist promotion through the lens of urban planning and administration, taking care to place each against the backdrop of the larger political and economic arena: in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia's interminable civil war and drug trafficking, and in Cuba, the socialist administration of dollar-based enclave development. Our intellectual voyage is guided by helpful maps and photographs that illustrate the befores and afters of heritage recuperation. It is here that Scarpacci takes up the critical questions posited in the first chapter, to wit, whose historic landscape and whose memory is represented in the renovated historic districts promoted to tourists? He responds with an intricate analysis involving the interrelated processes of class, hegemony and commodification, difficult to tease out in terms of cause-effect and agency, but all implicated in the often messy class politics of heritage-oriented urban development.

I would have enjoyed a longer book containing similar detailed discussions of the ways in which fragile and deteriorated historic infrastructures are recuperated as heritage and promoted as tourist spectacle, and the implications that this process has had for the daily lives of local populations in each of the nine cities that Scarpacci has studied. It is in the local arena that the struggle over both the material and symbolic value of heritage takes form. Still, as it stands, this text introduces all of the critical themes and issues in urban heritage tourist-oriented development, and can easily be paired with more detailed ethnographic treatments of the ways in which local struggles unfold on the uneven terrain of globalised urban development. Scarpacci's book challenges those of us who are working on heritage and tourism to do the kind of work that he has done in Cartagena de Indias, Habana Vieja and Trinidad, where the conduct of everyday life has hardened under the tourist gaze and in the commodified local cultures constituted by hegemonic historic memory.

*Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla* NANCY CHURCHILL

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06481505

E. Wyllys Andrews and William L. Fash (eds.), *Copán: The History of an Ancient Maya Kingdom* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, and Oxford: James Currey, 2005), pp. xvi+492, £19.95, pb.

Copán has been known, explored and debated longer than almost any other Maya city. Named by Diego García de Palacios in 1576, it was brought to public attention by John Lloyd Stephens's *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1841), with Frederick Catherwood's accurate yet atmospheric illustrations. High in a Honduran valley rather than deep in the lowland rainforest of Guatemala or exposed on the scrubby plateau of Yucatán, Copán was notable not only for its unusual location, but for its elaborately carved stelae, which to Stephens were 'in workmanship equal to the finest monuments of the Egyptians' and 'works of art proving … that the people who once occupied the Continent of America were not savages' (1841, I: pp. 102–3).

Alfred Maudslay included detailed drawings and superb photographs of Copán in his *Biologia Centrali-Americana: Archaeology*, and helped Harvard's Peabody Museum to launch its own programme of excavations in the 1890s. This, with Carnegie Institution work in the 1930s, resulted in many consolidated buildings, including the famous Hieroglyphic Stairway, the longest surviving prehispanic native text (and a partial history of the Copán dynasty, AD 435–750). The Peabody returned under Gordon R. Willey in the 1970s, when a broad study of the valley, its topography, resources, ancient settlement patterns and social structure got under way: numerous residential buildings were uncovered, a Preclassic history extending back to 1200 BC established, and the ambitious listing of hieroglyphic texts by Morley in 1920 complemented by increasing decipherment.

The revolution in Maya epigraphy after 1975 used many Copán texts, and the work of Berthold Riese, Linda Schele and David Stuart elucidated a dynasty whose sixteen kings were portrayed on Altar Q: long ago, Stephens had assumed that its 'hieroglyphics beyond doubt record some event in the history of the mysterious people who once inhabited the city' (1841, I: pp. 140–1). That event proved to be the arrival of the dynastic founder, K'inich Yax K'uk Mo', in AD 426, probably from the Petén, perhaps Tikal.

The reality of this dynastic origin, and of most of the kings portrayed on Altar Q, was vociferously doubted, notably by non-Mayanists who thought it all political hype: excavations over the past two decades, some of them described here, have shown the surprising extent to which the Maya told the truth. The book results from a 1994 seminar when the principal contenders thrashed out their differences: much of the material is thus already available in summary form in the 2001 revision of

William L. Fash's *Scribes, Warriors and Kings: The City of Copán and the Ancient Maya*, and more in the 2004 *Understanding Early Classic Copán* (eds. Ellen E. Bell et al.), but even now the range of viewpoints is a valuable complement and a scholarly resource, as is the extensive bibliography.

Fash and Ricardo Agurcia (who directed the excavation of Structure 10L-16 and found enshrined within it the wonderfully-preserved sixth-century 'Rosalila' temple), give a compact history of work at Copán and the cooperation that has yielded so much new information. David Webster, from the Penn State project investigating settlement outside the site core, deals with demography and resource allocation, using Wingard's soil data and population projections to reiterate a slow-decline model based on obsidian hydration dating, that conflicts with the 'élite collapse' model of the Harvard-Penn projects working in the site core. This debate has been going on for years, and Webster's opinions remain unchanged.

William Fash outlines 'a social history of the Copán valley' in which he discusses the competition among emergent elite families, and how this manifests itself in elaboration of their residences. Barbara Fash discusses the role of water-management in the Copán valley, and suggests a distinct iconography associated with water, including the *cauac/tun* sign representing dripstone, the quatrefoil marking caves, wells and other entrances into the earth, and the water lily that forms the interface between the worlds of air and water. She suggests that some nobles were 'water masters', and that the *sian otot* residence groups were centred on water sources in the manner of the *sna* groups of Vogt's Zinacantan study.

Robert Sharer and others deal with the complex tunnelling excavations within the acropolis which have uncovered its beginnings, with the discovery below the tallest temple, Str. 10L-16, of a sequence of older structures, notably the tomb of the dynastic founder, Yax K'uk. Mo', and the Rosalila temple above, embalmed in all its polychrome glory. Detailed descriptions of Rosalila and Temple 16 by Ricardo Agurcia and Barbara Fash form a complementary chapter. Three separate loci, below the present Hieroglyphic Stairway, East Court, and Temple 16, had been occupied by adobe, and later masonry, buildings that were enlarged laterally and vertically through four centuries and eventually fused into the base of the massive eighth century acropolis. Its final state was due to Yax Pasaj, last of the dynasty (763–822), whose dwelling south of the acropolis is described by Andrews and Cassandra Bill. Three impressive courtyards survive, a manorial complex built up over a period of 170 years by Yax Pasaj's noble ancestors, and used as his private as well as official residence. This excellent summary updates that by Andrews and Fash in 1992, in advance of the full excavation report.

Rebecca Storey describes the 'honoured dead' of the Acropolis burials, some of them rulers, some sacrificed to rulers' needs. These elite individuals shared many characteristics with the suburban elite living in Group 9N-8, and both were strikingly taller and better nourished than lower-class individuals. Storey makes one interesting suggestion – that the seated burial in a cylindrical cist beneath the Motmot Stone, dedicated by Yax K'uk Mo's son, is neither female nor male, but a transgendered person who may have functioned at Copán like the sexually ambiguous *berdache* of North America. Two papers on epigraphy include Linda Schele and Matthew Looper on the glyphic terms for 'seats of power', and David Stuart examining the Hieroglyphic Stairway and Temple 10L-26 at its top. These seems to have been built in two stages, the first commemorating the long-lived Ruler 12 (pp. 628–95), whose tomb lies beneath, the second commissioned by

Ruler 15 to elide over the capture by Quirigua of Waxaklajun Ub'ah K'awil (pp. 695–738) and restate Copán's continuing history. The temple texts include one in the Copanec notion of a 'Teotihuacan font', and overall the idea seems to have been to invoke the prestige and former power of that distant Mexican metropolis, with which Yax K'uk Mo' and his successors had some important but unclear relationship.

The editors summarise the various themes, also speculating briefly that Preclassic Copán was peopled by Lenca speakers, that Yax K'uk Mo' could have been descended from Teotihuacan-linked intruders into Tikal a generation earlier, and that the origin of the Copán state was an Early, not a Late Classic phenomenon. They give fair exposure to Webster's model of a late apogee and extended decline after AD 900, but emphasise that the obsidian hydration dates on which it is based seem, from others in earlier and datable contexts, to be unreliable: Copán seems, like most other Maya cities, to have gone rapidly downhill in the ninth century, in this case propelled by environmental exhaustion as the kingdom's population overstretched the economic base.

*Boston University* NORMAN HAMMOND

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06491501

Leonardo López Luján, *The Offerings of the Templo Mayor at Tenochtitlan* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, revised ed. 2005), pp. xxvii + 421, $29.95, pb.

Leonardo López Luján, an experienced archaeologist, writes for the specialist as well as for the general public in his book *The Offerings of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan*. The book is a major contribution in more ways than one: it allows the reader to see the location of the offerings within the Great Temple of Tenochtitlan, the orientation as well as its relationship either to the temple of Huitzilopochtli or to the Temple of Tlaloc. The impressive wealth of material has given us the opportunity to understand not only the cosmovision of the Mexica but also very important aspects of their economy, such as tribute.

López Luján also reflects on the growth of the sacred precinct of Tenochtitlan, as signalled by the offerings themselves: 'I believe it is possible to work out a plan that will permit researchers to decipher the language of the offerings by utilising a systematic correlation of the archaeological record and documental sources. In my judgement the key to understanding the meaning of the Mexica offerings, which is the object of this study, rests upon comparing [the offerings] with the ritual ceremonies that gave them birth … (p. 39).

The complexity of the offerings – over 130 – makes them the most representative and complete example within the Mexica case. López Luján insists that three factors play a crucial role: the offerings themselves; the religious architecture; and the ritual ceremony. These three factors and particularly the first, reflect a mosaic of cultures, materials and techniques of the objects found in the offerings, and which stretches from the Olmec culture in the Preclassic Period right through to the Postclassic with the Aztec culture and beyond. The sample of offerings in the Templo Mayor ranges from thorns, animals and metals to chambers with skeletal remains of children and adults.

The systematic excavations carried out at the Templo Mayor by Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and his team have allowed not only a better understanding of the three aspects signalled by López Luján, but have given us additional insights. For example, using the first Spanish publication of López Luján's *Las ofrendas del Templo Mayor*, I was able to study the importance of gold among the Mexica. The role of gold in controlled and systematic excavations was practically unknown until the Templo Mayor excavations began. Vestiges of material culture and the written texts complement and enrich each other. López Luján's work has helped me to understand the importance of gold in funerary contexts. Hence I have observed that gold was significant in several offerings of the Templo Mayor, especially as it was placed in funerary urns and found on the side dedicated to Huitzilopochtli. On the other hand, this metal is scarce on the side dedicated to the god of rain Tlaloc. Gold seems to be associated with the sun and also with war, but there are other gods that display gold ornaments too. This is just one example where López Luján's work has helped scholars understand areas that were almost unknown before in archaeological contexts.

This very welcome publication is a must for Mesoamerican scholars. It has revealed knowledge that was hidden for over 500 years and as López Luján was involved in the excavations of the Templo Mayor, he is not only thoroughly familiar with the Templo Mayor, but has a deep understanding of Aztec culture.

*Birkbeck College, University of London* ELIZABETH BAQUEDANO

---

*J. Lat. Amer. Stud.* **38** (2006). doi:10.1017/S0022216X06501506

James E. Brady and Keith M. Prufer (eds.), *In the Maw of the Earth Monster: Mesoamerican Ritual Cave Use* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005), pp. viii + 438, $60.00, hb.

This volume on Mesoamerican ritual cave use is a significant achievement on the editors' part and a major contribution to cave research. It is also a landmark in research on religion, ritual and worldview in Maya studies as a whole. Following Brady and Prufer's introduction, in which theoretical approaches to cave research are summarised and evaluated, Heyden reviews the use of caves in the Valley of Mexico by exploring both early colonial documents and modern ethnography. Still in Mexico, Sandstrom examines earth symbolism and cave rituals of the contemporary Nahua of northern Veracruz. Aguilar and colleagues report on the result of the excavation of a series of caves located at the edge of the site of Acatzingo Viejo in Puebla. The six caves are artificially constructed, and the fact that there were originally seven ties Acatzingo Viejo to the concept of Chicomoztoc, the cave from which humans emerged in Aztec myth.

Much less is known about caves in Oaxaca. Fitzsimmons reports on the excavation of a cave in the Sierra Mazateca, where the artefact inventory shows close ties with cave artefacts from the Maya area. Rincon reports on cave sites in the northern Mixteca Alta, where ancient ritual cave use is associated with a rich cultural tradition of considerable time depth.

Vogt and Stuart combine ethnographic and epigraphic data to show how modern ritual and ancient glyphic evidence taken together reveal continuity in the meaning and use of caves in Maya traditions of Highland Chiapas. Prufer draws on archaeological data from sites and caves in the Maya Mountains of Belize, as well as on cross-cultural data, to discuss the role of ritual specialists and caves in Maya society. Awe and colleagues report on three caves in western Belize that contain standing megalithic monuments. Stone discusses more broadly the ordering of spaces in caves as a critical element in structuring ritual activities. She calls attention to the vertical as well as horizontal ordering of space, and she discusses the cognitive models which motivated the placement of artefacts in caves as well the problems inherent in verifying such models. Returning to Belize, Moyes analyses the spatial patterning of artefacts in the main chamber of a cave in western Belize. In comparing results to models of use of ritual space, she found a parallel in spatial models of foundation rites. This enabled her to propose that linear scatters of artefacts represent ritual pathways, and that some artefacts functioned as ritual boundary markers.

Turning to ethnography, Adams and Brady discuss modern Q'eqchi' Maya cave pilgrimages. Their study emphasises that Maya sacred geography was regional in scope, so that individual sites gained importance as parts of a complex whole. This calls into question the practice of investigating single caves as independent entities. Their chapter also highlights the importance of gendered space in cave ritual. Ethnographically, the non-Christianised Lacandon of Chiapas have been the source of a great deal of information, except in the case of cave use. Colas seeks to correct this imbalance by translating an article by Jaroslaw Petryshyn on a Lacandon religious ritual held in a cave.

Rissolo's investigation of patterns of ancient Maya ritual cave use in the Yalahau region of northern Quintana Roo follows Adams and Brady's approach by employing a regional or landscape approach. He looked beyond a single cave to 'a range of natural and cultural features both within caves and across the landscape' in order to detect patterns, one of which is that the presence of water in a cave is critical to the cave's ritual significance. Archaeological data are further explored by Brown, who focuses on Mayapan and emphasises through a number of examples the important connection between settlements and their cenotes or wells in northern Yucatán. Although many scholars have connected cave rituals in northern Yucatán to rain-bringing, Brown provides evidence that caves are associated with lineages and veneration of ancestors (p. 387).

Prufer and Brady offer concluding comments and neatly summarise the significance of the book's contributions, not least of which is that the research is empirically grounded. The book is also enriched by the fact that data and approaches to interpretation are drawn from a number of disciplines. What does not emerge from the volume is a sense that caves subsume a specific set of meanings. Instead, caves seem to be many things: constructive and life-giving; destructive and dangerous to life; associated with rain and water; associated with agriculture and the earth; places of mythical origin; liminal places between the natural and supernatural world; portals; and/or places where the spirit world of ancestors can be accessed. Prufer and Brady state that the most important new direction in cave research represented by their edited volume is the 'emerging recognition of the importance of *Earth* as a sacred and animate entity in indigenous cosmology', and that David Stuart's decipherment of the ch'een glyph as 'cave' confirms such an importance. This is interesting, because after reading the book, this thought did not occur to me. In fact, the new data seem to complicate such an interpretation and suggest instead that our concept of 'earth' is not paralleled in Maya cosmology and worldview. Another feature of the volume that left me cold was the reliance of several authors on Mircea Eliade, whose ideas on religion always seem to me to be more like explanations waiting for a place to happen. In fact, they approach the generic. However, these are minor points. The volume's geographic and inter-disciplinary scope, as well as the varied approaches and interpretations, are innovative and highly informative. The book will be mined for ideas and information for many years to come.

*Institute of Archaeology, University College London* ELIZABETH GRAHAM