Book Review Essay

A Geography of Maps and Texts

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Maps and texts have many geographies. They are often produced in one place with information from elsewhere, circulate to other places, and have effects in yet more places. Maps made in one place, for example in France, can have important consequences in the spaces they depict and co-create, for example in South America as Júnia Furtado explores in her impressive new book The Map that Invented Brazil. Other maps are drawn to enact change in the place they are drawn, for example in Belize, but to do so they must first travel somewhere else, specifically London, as Odile Hoffmann explains in her laconic new book British Honduras. Other documents of great historical and national value also circulate, and many do so through clandestine and extralegal means as Wendy Kramer, George Lovell, and Christopher Lutz detail in their provocative Guatemalan tragedy Saqueo en el archivo. The production and then movement in time and space of graphic and non-graphic texts, as well as the social and material consequences of these movements, is one of the commonalities that unites the works under review here.

But these books are tied together in other ways as well. As most Latin Americanists know, the North American and European model of university press publishing is
not the norm in Latin America. It is true that North America and Western Europe have for-profit publishers such as Guilford and Routledge, but the vast majority of scholarly monographs and edited volumes published in the global north and dealing with Latin America come from university presses. Although there are university presses in Latin America, books tend to be published by private editorial firms, NGOs, government ministries, non-profit research centers – often with financial support of bi-lateral aid organizations – small presses, and sometimes the philanthropical arms of private corporations. This describes the three books reviewed here. Unfortunately few of these publications will see much light in the global north. According to WorldCat, no libraries outside France and Mexico hold Hoffmann’s book, only the Newberry and John Carter Brown libraries hold Furtado’s book, and *Saqueo en el archivo* is found in less than a dozen libraries – no doubt reflecting the authors’ diligence in mailing copies at their personal expense.

Books published in Latin America deserve wider attention outside the region. A case in point is most certainly Júnia Ferreira Furtado’s massive *The Map that Invented Brazil*. Published simultaneously in Portuguese as *O Mapa que inventou o Brasil* and in Spanish as *El mapa que inventó Brasil*, the book won the 2011 Odebrecht Historical Research Award, Clarival do Prado Valladares, which gave the author time and financial support to publish a phenomenally well-illustrated and meticulous study of the 1748 French map *Carte de l’Amérique méridionale*, and its role in creating the territorial configuration of Brazil as recognized in the 1750 Treaty of Madrid. At 26 x 32 cm., 454 pages, over three kilos in heft, and containing 310 full-color images – some spread across two pages and at least 20 percent of the images taking a whole page, exclusive of the black and white fold out map tucked into the back – the book is a marvel to behold. Although I’ve not seen the Portuguese or Spanish editions, it boggles the mind to consider that the production team had to design three separate layouts. The English-language production is meticulous: colors jump off the page, maps are legible, and captions are informative. I found only a few typos throughout the entire book, a testament to a wonderful translation by Norma Luz Arteaga de Medina, whose name was buried in the acknowledgements along with the many cast members of the production team that put this visual feast together. The book is like a museum of the Enlightenment and was a delight to read.

Of course the book is about a map, the first to show the Portuguese colony in a triangular form, roughly similar to Brazil’s current shape. If anyone ever wondered how they too could write a book-length manuscript about a single map this is the model they should aspire to. The narrative had the added benefit of being a work of discovery, a chance encounter with a set of poorly-known documents (held privately by the Bosch Company in Stuttgart, Germany), and a depth of erudition that few historians of cartography could hope to achieve.

The book’s focus is not just the creation of *Carte de l’Amérique méridionale* by Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d’Anville (1697-1782) – the French cartographer of humble means who relied on quality map making to become (at age 22!) the Royal geographer to Louis XV and Louis XVI – but the shrewd geopolitical vision of Portugal’s overseas empire held by the Portuguese diplomat D. Luis da Cunha (1662-1749), and the relationship between the two men. Neither man traveled outside of Europe, and d’Anville never even left Paris! He was one of the last great armchair geographers and study-bound cartog-
raphers, relying on maps, reports, traveler accounts and direct interviews, and above all privileged information fed to him by da Cunha. Indeed, I came away from this book with a profound sense of awe about how Enlightenment cartographers used mathematics, complex longitudinal measurements from dubious sources, and reason – what Furtado calls “geographic critique” – to represent geographic information. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, study-bound cartographers frequently plagiarized the work of others and made a lot of stuff up but by the mid-eighteenth century this was no longer acceptable. As a case in point d’Anville often published lengthy memoirs describing the sources he used to make specific maps, including for his *Carte de l’Amérique méridionale*, which Furtado found among the Bosch documents mentioned above.

Through the happenstance meeting with the Bosch documents and the unforeseen path that they led down, the book seeks to resurrect the importance of da Cunha’s geopolitical vision, as represented in the *Carte de l’Amérique méridionale*, in helping Portugal extend its territory to the west of the Tordesillas meridian in the 1750 Treaty of Madrid. This might seem a straightforward task, but d’Anville’s map is generally not associated with the Portugal’s position in the negotiations, instead the more famous (and less accurate) *Mapa das Cortes*, as it is now known, was used to articulate Portugal’s claims in America. Meanwhile, since da Cunha died the year before the treaty was signed, and he was not part of the negotiation team, he too is not associated with the territorial position represented by the treaty. Some of this is arcane and unique to Brazilian history, but the work’s larger point about how geography gets made (not becomes known!) through specific political and commercial imaginations and becomes manifest on maps that inform geopolitical decision-making that have very real impacts on the ground is a universal story that should appeal to all geographers.

D’Anville’s 1748 *Carte de l’Amérique méridionale* was the third version of a map he first drew crudely in 1737 and again with improvements c. 1742 – the map was subsequently reprinted six times with minor modifications reflecting new backcountry information from da Cunha over the course of the eighteenth century. One of the intriguing and argumentative parts of the book is how the progression of d’Anville’s map reflected da Cunha’s imperial vision. The two men worked closely on and off since 1724 and Furtado does a great job contextualizing how specific geographies (i.e., the mouth and inland course of the Amazon River, Portuguese territorial claims in what is today Uruguay, and lands around Minas Gerais) evolved on d’Anville’s maps, and how da Cunha and his sources were responsible. D’Anville’s library holds 462 maps covering parts of South America, a vast sum, but only 4.5 percent of his total collection (p. 150). Although Portugal did not send d’Anville’s 1748 map to Madrid to bolster its border negotiations with Spain, Furtado shows how it informed Portuguese territorial conceptions, and the negotiating tactics of D. Tomás da Silva, Portugal’s key negotiator.

Space precludes a fuller account of the broad intellectual context in which Furtado places her study, including the Republic of letters d’Anville and da Cunha were connected to, the new longitudinal measurements by the French cartographer Claude Delisle in the 1720s, the importance of Jewish (i.e., New Christian) trader networks in Brazil’s backcountry, how blank spaces on maps were considered a “cartographic refinement” by the mid-eighteenth century, the importance of the Portuguese Colônia do Sacramento
– across the Rio de la Plata from Buenos Aires – as a territorial bargaining chip, among many other things. If the book has a shortcoming it is the almost complete absence of Brazilian-born and female protagonists from the narrative. I found this aspect of the book particularly striking given that Furtado’s best known work remains *Chica da Silva: A Brazilian Slave of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), a study that details the social world of a woman of color who acquired her freedom in a small Brazilian town. Although this shortcoming is not insignificant it cannot take away from an incredible scholarly accomplishment.

Odile Hoffmann’s book also considers the role of maps in creating a colonial territory, in this case British Honduras. The small but ambitious study analyzes maps from 1783, when Spain recognized the woodcutting rights of British “Baymen” in the Treaty of Versailles, to the beginning of the twentieth century. Over the 120-year span Hoffmann finds that “space transforms the political sphere even as it is shaped by it, and cartographic expressions are a reflection of these interactions” (pp. 72-73). For Hoffmann the history of spatiality opens up new ways to think about how social processes construct political territories, citizenship, and race.

Hoffmann is a prolific French geographer at the University of Paris Diderot and a researcher at the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD). In over a dozen books, she has explored the racialization of space in Colombia, Mexico, Costa Rica and, now, Belize. The book investigates and reproduces 20 maps held at The National Archives, Kew, London, and, secondarily, from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. As the book points out, these same maps were also examined in Michel Antochiw and Alain Breton’s bilingual *Catálogo cartográfico de Belice: Cartographic catalog of Belize, 1511-1880* (D.F., México: Centre d’Etudes Mexicaines et Centramericaines, 1992), but this book is out-of-print and was never widely available in Belize. In contrast, Hoffmann’s large-format, locally published, and full-color text seeks to bring a range of important maps to greater attention in Belize, and to show how they ought to be read to better understand their entangled relationship with Belizean history.

One of the key threads throughout the book is race, and how the colony’s founding narrative – the 1798 defeat of the Spanish at St. George’s Cay and the permanent, Spanish recognition of British Honduras – works to discursively represent indigenous Mayas, Afrodescendants, Garifuna, Mestizos, East Indians, and others as “foreigners” in ways that racialize space and restrict their citizenship. It is, thus, not surprising that the maps Hoffmann analyzes both shape and reflect this point. This mythical yet dominant narrative posits that heroic Baymen and white settlers created an imperial foothold on the Spanish Main, and in the nineteenth century land owners, merchants and a Creole elite modernized the colony. Hoffmann shows how maps both illustrate and uphold this influential and exclusionary story. The book, thus, plays a supporting role in the new Belizean history written by Belizeans that locates the origins of Belize “at the heart of a vast Maya Empire” (p. 14), and that reinserts African peoples as key architects of national development. The book does this by showing how maps highlight imperial boundaries and, then, individual colonial properties, excluding Afrodescendants and Mayas from their own historical geography.
Her chapter on Mapping and Property is among the strongest. Here Hoffmann shows the evolution of property mapping from a personalized style in the early nineteenth century to a more systematic and cadastral approach by 1859. In between these dates Belize experiences the end of the slave trade (1807), the end of slavery (1833) and the actual liberation of slaves (1838), making land, not enslaved humans, the new basis of property and wealth for the Belizean elite. Maps dutifully came to serve the needs of elite settlers by graphically registering their landed wealth. The British colonial view of the territory also shifted from being “an immense trading post for wood” (p. 36) to one involving crops, cattle, and trade with Spanish America. The redrawing and transcriptions of the maps used in this section (and others) are valuable scholarly achievements in their own right. Being a relative newcomer to Bay history, however, means that many of the names Hoffmann mentions, either as settlers or surveyors, are not examined closely for what they might reveal about race. For example, landed family names appearing on an 1814 map that match signatures on a 1765 document are almost certainly the sons of those signatories (not the same men as Hoffmann speculates), and in at least some cases their illegitimate sons, as is the likely case for the surveyors Robert Hume and Eduard Usher – Hume and Usher were large slave holders on the Mosquito Shore before their evacuation to Belize in 1787 and the probability that these two surveyors were mixed race creoles is high.

Chapters on the development of colonial space, maps, and war round out the strongest parts of the book. Here Hoffmann notes the tension between colonial administrators and their superiors in London. For example, the first map drawn by a Crown surveyor, after the colony was so designated in 1862, was not useful for local governance so administrators asked London to foot the bill for a more rigorous survey to shore up property ownership. Officials in London, however, declined the invitation. During the Caste War (1847-1901) the border with Mexico was still undefined and colonial officials attempted to strengthen their perimeter defense in 1886. Two different maps drawn in this year are analyzed by Hoffmann to show settlers had a proactive border defense strategy (which London also declined to fund), but also to show how mapped Indian groups raised the specter of a territorial threat among the Belizean elite. Drawn in the context of once vibrant but now disrupted merchant trails to Guatemala and Yucatán, these maps showed Mayan spaces within and bordering the colonial territory. Given that Mayan peoples had no legal land rights within the colony the maps made officials realize that Mayan political exclusion could pose a security problem. As Hoffmann points out, “[T]he balance of power between different Maya groups, the Mexican government, the British authority and merchants of all kinds was extremely complex” and changed in unpredictable ways during the fifty years of the [Caste] war” (p. 58).

The book does not intend to be exhaustive and is rather a primer to encourage Belizeans to think more spatially about their history, to get readers to think about the ways space gets racialized and how this works politically, and, of course, the role maps play in these processes. In this sense the book succeeds yet could have done a better job highlighting how other scholars have approached the cartographic history of Belize, the Yucatán, and the Bay of Honduras. I refer not only to Bill Davidson’s wonderful Atlas de mapas históricas de Honduras (Managua: Fundación Uno, 2006) or the more obscure work by Daniel Finamore – showing property demarcations before 1800 – but specifically to
the large corpus of work by the Spanish historian José Antonio Calderón Quijano. His publications are too numerous to list here but one of his books is titled *Cartografía de Belice y Yucatán* (Seville, 1978). This is a minor shortcoming but I suspect a longer bibliography could have strengthened the long-term and beneficial impact of the book in Belize.

The subtitle of *Saqueo en el Archivo – El paradero de los Tesoros Documentales Guatemaltecos* (The whereabouts of Guatemalan Documentary Treasures) – provides the hook for detailing the authors’ chance encounter with the Libros Segundo y Tercero del Cabildo de Guatemala (covering minutes of city council meetings of Santiago de Guatemala from 1530-1553) at the Hispanic Society of America in New York City. Serendipity, thus, led the authors to pose two questions: how did these extraordinary records end up in there, and why is it that these and many other invaluable treasures of national patrimony of Guatemala (and by extension of other Latin American countries) are found outside the countries of their origination, but instead are found in the United States and Europe? They answer these questions in four short chapters that serve as a preliminary foray into a topic that should receive more attention.

The authors are long-time collaborators and have worked diligently over the years to both document and publish (in Spanish and English) Guatemalan history and geography. Through the Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamerica (CIRMA) in Antigua, Guatemala – co-founded by Christopher Lutz – the authors have collected (and in some cases rescued) books, historical documents, and photographs to be preserved and made available to scholars in Guatemala. In short, the topics they discuss are both personal and something they know a great deal about.

The volume starts by summarizing the status of archives in Guatemala. Careful not to step on too many toes, the authors use other studies to strongly suggest that many documents have walked out of institutions in the hands of those charged with their care. Whether intentional or not (and many removals seem inadvertent if careless) some of these documents have made their way to the international market. It takes two to tango, of course, and without the demand the supply would dry up. That said, most missing documents and artifacts were pillaged from the region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To overview this tale the authors’ make good use of an important book by Robert Aguirre, *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture* (Minneapolis, 2005). Although difficult for us to imagine today, many scholars such as John Lloyd Stephens thought nothing of removing entire Mesoamerican ruins to the United States or Europe. These were the mores of the times and reflect both racialized paternalism and scientific chauvinism, but theft it was and theft it remains and it is in this context that the authors touch upon the larger cultural repatriation movement – a topic that deserved wider coverage in this study. Chapter three uses a Smithsonian report by German collector and explorer Karl Hermann Berendt in 1877 to provide a benchmark inventory for archival holdings in Guatemala. Berendt’s study is conveniently translated into Spanish *in toto* in appendix 1. It is from this work and others that scholars of Guatemala have learned that many formerly existing documents have gone missing.

The heart of the study is chapter 4, the relationship between German book seller Karl W. Hiersemann, collector Archer Milton Huntington – younger cousin of Henry Edwards Huntington, of The Huntington Library fame – and the Hispanic Society of
America (see also the article by Pearson and Heffernan in this volume). The Hispanic Society was founded by Archer M. Huntington in 1904. Of the 600,000 books held at the Society today approximately one-third came from Hiersemann. In their sleuthing, the authors find that the last time the Libros Segundo y Tercero were known to be viewed in Guatemala was 1880 but that in 1892 the treasures were sent to Spain to be photographed. They next appear together as Item 239 in Hiersemann’s Catalogue 418 in 1913. He was selling the books for 80,000 marks, far higher than anything else in the Catalogue, suggesting he knew their value. The authors cite Hiersemann as describing the works as “De importancia excepcional y de valor histórico inestimable” (p. 19). Huntington ended up (as he often did) purchasing the entire lot of Catalogue 418, in this case at an 85 percent discount. What I found interesting about this section is that Hiersemann’s erudite descriptions of the works he acquired and sold remained the description of the works at the Hispanic Society of America as well.

In a second appendix the authors present a reproduction of the 83 items related to Central America from Hiersemann’s Catalogue 418 in its original format, including typos and prices – the catalog also contained numerous works from South America as well as the Caribbean and Spanish Philippines but these were not included in the appendix. Of particular interest is item 242, containing 69 maps of various provinces of Guatemala drawn with pen and ink and accompanied with short explanations. Hiersemann assumed that there were drawn in the early nineteenth century. As the catalog puts it:

Estos maps, formados sin triangulacion, demuestran la configuracion general del terreno, el sitio de los pueblos, haciendadas, trapiches, ganados, etc., ríos y caminos. Las explicaciones, escritas de puño muy bien legible, contienen detalles estadísticos, las distancias de un lugar á otro, noticias sobre los productos, minerales, ganados etc. Parece que los mapas fueron ejecutados con el motivo de hacer investigaciones acerca de la riqueza del país, y la posibilidad de su augmento. (p. 44; grammar and typos in original)

Upon inspection of the maps the authors learned that they are sophisticated drafts of the watercolor cartography found in Archbishop Pedro Cortés y Larraz’s Descripción geográfico-moral de la Diócesis de Guatemala … (1768-70), and surely worth more than the paltry 600 marks Hiersemann sought.

So how did Hiersemann end up with these all these treasures? The authors explore the various possibilities and point toward German residents in Guatemala, men like Gustav Kanter and Erwin Paul Diseldorff, both collectors and bibliophiles. German middlemen, particularly the Mesoamerican scholar Eduard Seler – who is known to have consulted for Hiersemann and worked in Guatemala – likely connected the book collector with such German residents who acquired things for him. But these speculations are just the tip of the iceberg, presumably, and don’t even begin to address the larger networks that Hiersemann must have had in South America – to say nothing of those networks by other book sellers of the global north.

The authors leave their story open-ended, clearly hoping that other scholars will pick up the scent. They do end, however, on an upbeat note, by explaining that the Libros de Cabildo are being transcribed and will be published with full cooperation from the
Hispanic Society, and under the guidance of Jorge Luján Muñoz of the Universidad del Valle in Guatemala and several others in conjunction with various institutions, including CIRMA.

This brings my review full circle. Not only do maps and texts concerning Latin America get created with information from geographical networks that span the globe, but they circulate through still other networks and have impacts upon others still, and far into the future. That some of these maps and documents can come home to roost — albeit as high quality reproductions as the three books here seek to do — suggests that some good can from historical recovery, critical analysis, studious publication, and making such works accessible to residents of Latin America.
This edited collection of sixteen essays innovatively explores the ways in which geography and visual cultures intersected in modern Argentina. The editors embarked upon an ambitious, interdisciplinary, and theoretically sophisticated project. The authors deliver a broad panorama of case studies, laying before our eyes an array of printed and manuscript maps, charts, scientific travel narrative illustrations, photographs, post cards, exhibitions, cinema, meteorological prognostications, plans for telegraph lines, and, perhaps most significantly, their common effort to make the printed word hold, interpret, and convey space. The volume weaves together the apparent heterogeneity of the sources into four overarching themes: geographic education and visual instruction; imagined geographical contours of the nation; the consumption of geography through entertainment and cultures of consumption; and the role images can play as scientific records of geographic explorations.

Although focused on cases relating to Argentina, the volume speaks to a common modern anxiety: the need to make one person’s individual and evanescent experience seeing the world shareable, transcending the spatial and temporal boundaries that separate us as humans – a need that is necessarily a modern cultural phenomenon. The spaces of Argentine schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were themselves frozen into idealized European-like spaces of modernity through photographs intended for universal exhibitions. The geography lessons Argentine students learned in the classroom from 1880-2006 turned to visual materials in ways that allowed for evolving techniques of visual discipline, teaching eyes to see universally, as global citizens of a fragile ecological world with a moveable geographic center. Moving images in film became a key part of this classroom process.

From the Argentine education system’s contained space, the essays trace the forging of the Argentine nation as a country of regions within the space of individual minds. National census statistics tables, maps and photographs from 1869 to 2001 reveal the continuing governmental effort to order and control the regions it actively produced. Early twentieth-century directors of Argentine museums debated how to categorize anthropological collections, and geo-ethnic regional categories most prominently configured how Argentine audiences encountered their human past. Late nineteenth-century Welsh
agricultural colonization of Patagonia left clear traces in photographs, maps, and poems, materials that reveal very different ways of imagining a region integral yet indomitable in the eyes of urban Buenos Aires elites. Despite regional variations, and disparate colonizing cultures, by 1901 industrialists sought to display the growing wealth of a united nation through photographs and statistics at the Universal Exhibition held in Buffalo in 1901, further attracting US investors. Carla Lois’s innovative study, involving hundreds of interviews with Argentines who were asked to draw a map of the country, demonstrates that despite all the political and institutional capital that went in to instilling stable national and regional imaginaries, the national silhouette—much like telenovelas and other cultural productions—is consumed differently with respect to an individual’s age, education, and relative engagement with political processes, challenging ideas about the stability of ‘the map as logo.’

By reconstructing how images of places are produced, reproduced, circulated, and consumed, the third section helps bring that which is distant closer to the reader’s eyes. Stitching together variations in copies of hand-drawn maps during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries make visible a palimpsest of spatial knowledge, including how it was reworked and re-inscribed on printed maps. Contemporary meteorological maps, on the other hand, make larger-scale natural processes invisible to the human eye visible, a tangible transformation that informs the decisions we make about the experience we chose to have in a particular place. Production and consumption of images could also silence and erase, as was the case with the silent film El último malón (1917) which brought to viewers’ eyes the indigenous Mocoví rebellion in San Javier (Santa Fe Province) as an isolated moment, eliding a long history of forced displacements from the Chaco suffered by this indigenous group. Consumption of space not only transformed how it was remembered, it could also change its physical layout, as was the case with the growing numbers of tourists who sent postcards from the Quebrada de Humahuaca, located in Argentina’s Andean northeastern interior, shaping expectations of future travelers and designs of developers.

The last section’s focus on scientific illustrations opens up new ways of appreciating the significance of landscape and geography. Tierra del Fuego, as seen from the deck of Darwin’s Beagle Expedition (1826-1836), is revealed as a wild space that could nevertheless be brought under scientific and aesthetic control. The ways topographers and cartographers merged aerial photographs with their map designs also reveal their aesthetic creativity and sensibility, one that ambitiously aims to convey a direct, transparent relationship between map viewer and the area mapped. The planned unity that telegraphs would bring during the nineteenth century ran up against the material reality of a difficult terrain. The final chapter by Graciela Silvestri recounts her personal experiences down the Paraná and Paraguay rivers as part of a cultural-scientific expedition in 2008, a narrative that reminds us that although maps and related images may seek to convey the fluidity and expansiveness of our surroundings, they inevitably freeze both time and space.

This volume as a whole contributes to a burgeoning field of scholarship, pioneered by J.B. Harley and David Woodward that redefined the kinds of graphic representations we should ‘see’ as maps. Drawing on theoreticians who have worked with visual culture, space and nationalism, these chapters effectively examine how visual representations
work to freeze time and space as part of their effort to convey the fluidity and mobility of a tourist’s gaze, the memories of lived events that can be stored in our mental maps, and how images can themselves bring the previously invisible and ineffable into being.

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This book begins with a promising goal: to expose readers to new art historical theories that investigate how Maya imagery and urban planning expressed and constructed cultural and cognitive conceptions of space. The compiled essays, previously presented as conference sessions, consider these issues in diverse media, including ceramics, architecture, sculpture, and ritual performance. While this theoretical focus is a welcomed addition to the study of Maya art history—a field that in the past has only timidly embraced theory—the disparity in scope and quality of the contributions prevents the volume from effectively fulfilling its goal.

In place of an introduction, editors Maline D. Werness-Rude and Kaylee R. Spencer open the book in Chapter 1 with a survey of basic principles of Maya art such as writing, artistry, patronage, media, visuality, and reception. In a book that focuses on theoretical perspectives of space, readers will miss a more thorough discussion of the spatial theories that have dominated the scholarly literature in recent years, especially of those that underline the essays as a whole. The selection of a thematic bibliography for this chapter, instead of an alphabetic list of sources, leaves much of the information presented unverifiable. The rest of the chapters are grouped by themes, beginning with those that explore iconography (Chapters 2-4), followed by a section on architecture and urbanism (Chapters 5-8), one contribution on contemporary Maya ritual (Chapter 9), and closing with an epilogue.

Chapter 2, by Penny Steinbach, analyzes the iconography of the Jester God, examining the correspondences between three of its visual manifestations—anthropomorphic, piscine, and avian—and three realms of the Maya cosmos. The result is a catalog of motifs that addresses only superficially the spatial implications of the artifacts discussed. In Chapter 3 Michelle M. Bernatz contextualizes another common motif, God L, within the larger topic of Maya religion. The author rejects traditional interpretations of God L as a strictly underworld deity, to identify it instead as an Earth Lord, who had connections with all three levels of the cosmos and authority over natural resources.

Focusing on Chocholá ceramics, Chapter 4 by Werness-Rude attempts to decode this group’s spatial references by exploring the artists’ compositional choices and the ways in which ancient Maya viewers could have understood them. The result is a long, at times repetitive, stylistic analysis that seeks to define the visual attributes of a sub-style within
the Chocholá group: pots bearing the Isolated Bust Scene. The chapter fails to convince that the decoration of this sub-style had such sophisticated spatial implications, or that the artists’ aesthetic choices offered more than the usual markers of political affiliations and geographic distribution. Readers might ask: who were the intended viewers, and under what circumstances did they interact with these vessels?

The chapters that deal with architecture prove a more fertile ground for theoretical discussions of Maya spatiality. Chapter 5 by Flora Simmons Clancy explores plazas in the ancient city, providing an account of their development across all Maya regions and time periods, and examining how issues of design, theatricality, access, and viewer-ship contributed to the creation and understanding of their meaning. The decoration of Maya plazas is the topic of Chapter 6, in which Kaylee R. Spencer considers the captive reliefs on the East Court of the Palace of Palenque. One achievement here is the focus on ancient viewers’ experience, and on how the reliefs elicited a way of looking that underscored Palenque’s political and military supremacy. However, Spencer does not address the problematic question of the specific viewing circumstances. Since spaces within the Palace became increasingly restrictive over time, it is difficult to imagine how the confined space of the East Court was an effective platform for grandiose political displays. Furthermore, if the reliefs were spolia, as has been accepted for some time, the author’s suggestion that they manipulated viewers to a calculated degree through scale and proportion is unconvincing.

Chapter 7 focuses on Temple I at Tikal, to consider how, through design and decoration, the superstructure shrine functioned as a mirror of the underground burial, and thus as a transformative space that reinforced the dynastic messages of Jasaw Chan K’awiil and his successor Yik’in Chan K’awiil. Referring to the work of Henri Lefebvre and Umberto Eco, Elizabeth Drake Olton engages in a phenomenological analysis of Temple I to illustrate how human activity both gave and derived meaning from the built environment. Her study, however, also glosses over issues of visitors’ identities and accessibility to the shrine. Chapter 8, by Linnea Wren, Travis Nygard, and Justine M. Shaw, offers a review of archaeological explorations at the site of Yo’okop, in the Cochuah region of central Yucatán, with sections on cosmology, economics, architecture, monumental art, and ritual.

Chapter 9, the sole contribution on modern phenomena, explores contemporary Maya constructions of space in present day Guatemala. In Rhonda Taube’s first-person ethnography, festivals in the K’iche’ community of Momostenango come to life through her vivid description of the movement of crowds, the visions, the smells, and noises involved. Her study successfully demonstrates how through various types of rituals—performed at specific shrines, or in the city during processions—urban and rural spaces merge, and physical space is routinely transformed into sacred space.

In the Epilogue Michael D. Carrasco expands some of the notions presented by previous authors, and comes back to Palenque to explore connections between architecture, iconography, and epigraphy at House E of the Palace. Through the common theme of coronation, he establishes how mythological and cosmological narratives were expressed simultaneously in pictorial space and in architectural design. Although at times cryptic, and generally overstating the originality of its methodology, this chapter illustrates
the type phenomenological analysis that can be most fruitful for the study of Maya art and architecture.

Despite its shortcomings, this volume represents a valuable contribution to the study of Maya art history. By focusing on theoretical issues, instead of the traditional evidence-based approaches, it moves closer to current discourses in art history, from which Maya studies have traditionally been isolated. Most authors introduce, if with varying degrees of success and/or acknowledgment, issues of theatricality, phenomenology, and reception, which are among the most relevant research directions in art history today. Readers seeking an update on the state of the field of Maya studies will find much to think about in these pages.

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This monograph is the eightieth entry into the UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology’s monograph series. More specifically, this archaeological site report is an overview of an excavation comprised of entries analyzing various aspects (faunal, lithic, ceramic, geochemical) of a site and how those entries contribute to a larger research question. In a typical site report, one can find an overarching narrative examining the “big picture,” but mostly these reports are very technical descriptions of field work, data collection and observation, and lab analyses. Oftentimes when cracking their covers after having had my interest piqued by a neat-looking artifact or site photograph, I would find my eyes glazed over and my mind awash in tables, graphs, and artifact counts, not to mention unfamiliar disciplinary debates. Then, I would most likely place it back in the pile. Yet, as someone who maintains a personal and teaching interest in Mesoamerica, if I were to do the same to Barbara Voorhies’ monograph, then my knowledge of the debates and discoveries in pre-historic Mexico would not be current. For cultural-historical geographers or cultural ecologists, especially those using geophysical proxies with archaeology data, An Archaic Mexican Shellmound is a relevant read to better conceptualize the long block of human prehistory known as the Archaic Period (8,000-2,000 BCE).

The archaeological site described within this volume is a shellmound, an anthropogenic heap composed of mollusk shells, sediment, and other debris. This shellmound formed over a period of 600-800 years in the late Archaic (approximately 3,000 BCE – 2,200 BCE) on the southern Pacific coast of what is today the Mexican state of Chiapas. The so-called Tlacuachero Site is as an island 125 meters wide and 7 meters high in a tidal mangrove forest. Of particular interest to the authors are floors within the shellmound, representing human occupations and thus windows into the lifeways of the late Archaic. This period in Mesoamerica is especially notable because of the massive
economic and social changes that occurred locally within the Chantuto culture and across the region represented by increasing sedentism, greater social complexity, and a transition from wild-based to domesticated foods.

The larger project of Voorhies and her colleagues is to provide a more nuanced depiction of this important transitional period in Mesoamerican prehistory. This research seeks to complicate the simplistic assessment of life before villages and cities as mere hunting and gathering. Additionally, this book contributes to a larger debate regarding the formation processes of shellmounds across the Americas, from the US southeast to northern California to southeastern Brazil. The highly detailed work on the stratigraphy, chronology, and artifact assemblages by the authors points out that determining how shellmounds formed is a more knowable and therefore more instructive research question than theorizing why they formed. Knowing the processes of how these shellmounds formed more precisely reflects the social changes that the late Chantuto people experienced.

To make these arguments, Voorhies and project archaeologists contribute 11 concise, well-written chapters. After a site introduction, an analysis of the stratigraphy and chronology locates the site and its formation in its appropriate temporal setting (Chapter 2). In the chapter that follows, the post-Archaic occupation is analyzed through ceramic artifact assemblages, indicating the use frequency of the site during times of more complex societies (Chapter 3). Chapters 4 through 7 focus on the buried floor features themselves, first by describing them and the sampling methodology used, followed by floor geochemistry and micro-artifact analyses. These floor features were clearly activity areas where food processing and consumption took place. One of the most intriguing discoveries was that the floors were not composed of clay as previously believed but of hydroxyapatite, which likely formed from the introduction of calcite from ash or shell (or both) transformed through reaction with phosphates deposited by human activities. Chapter 7 examines phytolith proxies from site excavations, providing insight into plant materials used at the site. The analysis of chipped stone in Chapter 8 highlights not only the resource procurement area of the people at Tlacuachero, but when combined with the previous chapter’s analysis and those of other similar sites in the area, suggests that late Archaic economies were perhaps more invested in plant cultivation than previously believed. The faunal analysis in Chapter 9 provides an especially interesting human ecology narrative on marine resource exploitation. The final two chapters are the “discussion” section for the project. Chapter 9 elaborates on the activities going on at Tlacuachero and how they relate to the shellmound’s formation. Chapter 10 situates the site formation along the Soconusco coast into broader theories regarding shellmound formation across the Americas. All of these chapters serve to flesh out what activities people were doing at Tlacuachero in the late Archaic. By the end of the monograph, An Archaic Mexican Shellmound reads like an anthropological narrative, which is a refreshingly literary approach to rather cumbersome, detailed archaeological research.

Besides being a compilation of thorough research, this monograph is also a well-designed, elegant paperback. The typesetting is nicely legible, organized, and hierarchical. The grayscale photographic figures are large and demonstrative. Color would
have been welcomed, but the images are crisp. As someone who appreciates cartographic and figure design, the graphics, site maps, and tables are clear and skillfully drawn. The maps could use a conical projection and better font sizing, but this limitation does not reduce their effectiveness.

My principal critique of Voorhies’ compilation is its narrow relevance to a much broader audience interested in the culture history of ancient Mesoamerica. While the content is clear and the research sound, I would have appreciated a more ample contextualization of the research and how its discoveries reflect on lifeways in the late Archaic. I realize that my desire for more general, relatable content was not likely the intent of the publication as it is fundamentally a site report, but another chapter about current research in the late Archaic would have made the text more relevant to a broader audience. Because Barbara Voorhies is one of the preeminent scholars on this understudied time period in Mesoamerica (and the region in general), another chapter that placed what was going on at Tlacuachero and other sites within the region’s prehistory would have left a more lasting impact on this reader. An example of a thorough but approachable model for doing this would be Annabeth Headrick’s *The Teotihuacan Trinity*. Perhaps, though, that is for another book in the future. For Latinamericanists with an interest in the Americas’ prehistory, the cutting-edge research in *An Archaic Mexican Shellmound*, from one of the region’s and time period’s best scholars, is a must-read.

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This is the best English-language book on Brazil’s MST, the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (Landless Rural Workers Movement), and its geographical, political, and social contexts. *Challenging Social Inequality* is an authoritative starting point for readers interested in multi-disciplinary views on the MST. The quality of editing is high (Miguel Carter also translated several chapters from Portuguese to English), the coverage is comprehensive, and the index and 40-page bibliography are valuable. As the title suggests, Carter’s position is that the MST’s strategy of land occupation and redistribution for peasant agriculture is a viable means to reducing Brazil’s high social inequality, although some chapters offer findings that question the success of this strategy.

The MST, which has organized land occupation, marches, and the occupation of buildings to force dialogue with the state in the pursuit of agrarian reform while suffering repression and violence, is the most visible and widespread political and social movement in Brazil today. As several chapters recount, the MST originated in the land struggles of northwestern Rio Grande do Sul in the late 1970s. Carter’s chapter traces three periods...
of public activism in the MST’s development, starting from the 1978 expulsion of 1,100 farming families from an indigenous reserve. About half went to an Amazonian colonization program, and some of the rest met with a progressive priest who was joined by activists from the state capital. Their meetings, and favorable dialogue with a sympathetic governor, led to the occupation of a large estate in September 1979. Long marches and pressure and dialogue with officials of INCRA, Brazil’s national agrarian reform institute, complemented land occupation to pressure the state to expropriate and redistribute land to the landless.

The complex trajectory from land occupation in Rio Grande do Sul to highly visible national movement is a major theme in *Challenging Social Inequality*. Among several authors contributing to this issue, Bernardo Mançano Fernandes, a geographer based in Presidente Prudente (São Paulo state), shows how the MST’s presence has changed over time; especially important are maps showing land occupations and land reform settlements. Other chapters focus on historical and ideological basis of resistance to agrarian reform, noting how the past three Brazilian presidents have relied on political alliances with agricultural export sectors and export revenue from agribusiness, and discussing social movements that preceded the MST and forged complex relations with it. This is important, because other groups are influential in land reform; in 2006, groups other than the MST led 45% of land occupations (p. 259). Wendy Wolford, a geographer at Cornell University, contrasts the MST’s stated objective in the mid 1980s to become a national movement that would develop particular focus in northeastern Brazil with the fact that in the northeast the land struggle was really a struggle for better working conditions on sugarcane plantations. For Wolford, “the MST and the rural workers could not reconcile their perceptions of what it meant to own land” (p. 313).

Four chapters focus on processes of community formation and the social, political, and economic development of MST settlements, emphasizing what Carter and Horacio Martins de Carvalho call “struggle on the land” (p. 230). Several authors synthesize years of research on relations between MST and rural worker’s unions in Pernambuco and Pará states. In settlements in São Paulo state, no apparent contradiction exists between land reform settlements and the dominant agro-export model, but another chapter details difficulty in community building in Pernambuco because the settlement pattern did not meet with approval by all settlers, the communal area did not receive its planned use, and settlers were angry that promised infrastructure never arrived. These findings contrast with Carter and Carvalho, who argue that the MST’s biggest challenge is “Brazil’s position in the global political economy” and related “structural developments” (p. 263).

Another major theme in *Challenging Social Inequality* is the relationship between the MST and the state. Sue Branford, a British journalist, details two key moments of the MST’s relationship with Brazilian presidents, giving support to Carter and Carvalho’s structural interpretation. One of these relates to the work of Plínio de Arruda Sampaio in the first Lula administration, 2002-2006. Lula, who wore MST caps during his campaign and had promised agrarian reform, backed away from his promises, as his administration maintained political and fiscal reliance on export-oriented agricultural interests. Lula’s Land Policy Minister, Miguel Rossetto, named Sampaio to develop an agrarian reform
policy that would include discussions with INCRA staffers and trade unionists — the sort of complicated dialogue at which Lula excelled. Sampaio produced a plan that would have resulted in a “rupture” in terms of reducing land concentration, but the plan went nowhere. Lula’s 2005 re-election campaign barely mentioned agrarian reform. Offering a different understanding of how the MST interacts with the state, George Mészáros, a sociologist and law professor in England, details how and why the MST developed in-house legal counsel and the successes of that legal strategy in a context in which justice is applied unevenly. At the root of the issue is a contradiction between the 1988 Constitution, which indicates that property has a social function, and the civil code relating to property.

Carter’s conclusion is eloquent and fitting, engaging with the major critiques of the MST: the MST is anachronistic; it is a failure; and it is a threat to democracy. Carter refutes each argument: the MST challenges archaic land inequality; the MST engages in legal protest and civil disobedience; it negotiates with the state; it is highly networked and decentralized; and the MST’s public activism contributes to Brazilian democracy. In the end, he suggests that the MST’s goal of land redistribution represents a means to avoid radical and revolutionary confrontation that would resolve Brazil’s inequalities by force.

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It would be hard to exaggerate the renown and prestige that Baron Alexander von Humboldt enjoyed throughout the Europeanized world, including the Americas, but especially in Latin America during the first half of the 19th century. Not only did Humboldt’s epic five year (1799-1804) scientific transect through Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador to Peru, and on to Mexico, and Cuba help lay the foundations for many branches of Neotropical natural science including botany, zoology, volcanology, speleology, and geography in general, but returning to Europe he inspired figures such as Simón Bolívar to mount challenges to the Spanish colonial order. The trope of Humboldt as the “second Columbus” or “second discoverer of the Americas” was widely circulated throughout the 19th century in the wake of his travels and equally epic production of his monumental thirty-volume *Voyage aux regions equinoxiales du nouveau continent* (1805-1838). The volume under review contains much of the material on New World antiquities, ethnography, and linguistics that Humboldt published from his American travels. The reverse coin side to
Humboldt’s immense prestige was the relative decline of his renown following his death in 1859, perhaps abetted by the meteoric rise of Darwinian science and thought after the publication of *Origin of Species*. That Darwin himself lionized Humboldt did not impede the apparent eclipse of the Humboldtian scholarly mold and mode.

Since his death there have been spikes of renewed interest, mainly at the centennials of his birth (1869) and his death (1959). However, for the past decade there has been a sustained Humboldt revival sparked by the bicentennial of the American travels. Since then there have been dozens of scholarly books, articles, and conferences reappraising (with almost all praising) Humboldt. This edition of *Views of the Cordilleras* is part of this “boomlet,” and with its companion volume *Political Essay on the Island of Cuba* (2011) and a projected *Political Essay on New Spain* in the same series (Alexander von Humboldt in English), raises the whole enterprise to a new level of accomplishment. The editing is insightful, especially evident in the editors’ introductory essay, the translation inspired, and the annotations simply outstanding. In an age of slipshod printing, this book’s flawless proofing seems almost a fluke. I did catch an actual error or two in the annotations, but not bad out of some 320 entries spanning 100 pages. The annotators had Humboldt “canoeing back to Quito while on the Río de Guayaquil,” a feat even beyond the reach of a Humboldtian *Übermensch*, given the ascent is some 14,000 feet to reach the pass to Quito! Instead, Humboldt and Bonpland viewed the eruption of Cotopaxi from the Guayas lowlands returning to Guayaquill not Quito. But the level of overall erudition displayed in the annotations truly is a feat, equally lofty and far more than compensatory. So vast is the Humboldt oeuvre – he published prodigiously over a seventy year span – that a great range of his perspectives as well as empirical findings can be pointed to and mapped. The editors show he was of his times, and at other times, well ahead of them. For example, they suggest that part of the novel design of this work – a panoply of sixty-nine plates, some in color, depicting landscape scenes, volcanoes, waterfalls, ancient ruins and monuments, calendrics and codices, folk customs and costumes, and the Dragon Tree of La Orotava (Canary Islands), was to counter Buffon’s, Raynal’s, de Pauw’s, and Hegel’s notion of the young Americas as depauperate and degenerate compared to the Old World’s plenitude and grandeur. Instead, both this volume and his voyage were in part directed to weigh in on the “Dispute on the New World” and show the New World’s planetary equality and interconnectedness. The New World was hardly a realm of simple and largely untrammeled nature, with only roving savages. The plates on ancient monuments and writing systems with accompanying essays illustrate complex civilizations comparable to their Old World counterparts. One of Humboldt’s hallmarks was his pioneering role in global or planetary scale analysis and synthesis. This consciousness is threaded throughout his commentaries accompanying the illustrations. As for the recent – though now largely receding – postcolonial prattle alleging Humboldt’s complicity with colonialism and imperialism, the editors’ point to the fatuousness in many of these charges. That Humboldt was a product of the European Enlightenment, but also sympathetic toward aspects of the Romantic movement is part of his genius. His “planetary consciousness” and strong opposition to colonialism’s inner workings – most conspicuously slavery – is unambiguous.
What then, for the Latin Americanist geographer, does *Views of the Cordilleras* offer? The editors would say its experimental format of presenting striking images of representative physical and cultural features with erudite commentary, juxtaposing scientific information with visual art, creating a “hybrid form” – “the poetics of the Humboldtian fragment.” One might see it as a distant forerunner of experiments such as Walter Benjamin’s famous (unfinished) Arcades Project. It may also have heuristic value for web creations. But beyond the avant garde Humboldt, there is much more to recommend the geographer here. His hybrid, experimental, approach to combining science, nature and culture, what the editors terms his “transmedial” method, is an effective way of depicting landscape. His presentation and explication of Mexican glyphs and calendrics also ties them to landscape interpretation. His fascination with, and depictions of, volcanoes can be read as part of his shift from the Neptunianism of his former geology mentor Werner, to the rival Plutonianism. But he also saw vulcanism and volcanoes as key Andean landscape processes and elements, clearly displaying the vertical zonation of lifeforms that he is credited with pioneering the study of. Humboldt’s astute appraisal of civilization, whether ancient or modern, “Western” or “Other,” as harboring both barbarism and noble aspirations, is threaded throughout. For our times, this may be the most salient message, among his many, that Humboldt delivers in this extraordinary work.

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This lengthy volume reflects the work of nearly four decades of investigations into the origin and evolution of the Indian villages of Cuzco and Apurímac, placing particular emphasis on the importance of this scatter of settlements in the primary sixteenth-century colonial territorial re-organization. Readers are forewarned that the authors make no reference to the parishes of Indians of the city of Cuzco and its immediate surroundings, as that will be the subject matter of a forthcoming publication. Despite this caveat, the introduction does not clearly indicate the authors’ goals. If, as the title describes, it is the history of the Indian pueblos of the former archbishopric of Cuzco, then it would have been very useful to have a map of that specific jurisdiction since the almost illegible reproductions of the eighteenth-century maps that begin the description of settlements in each of the main sections of the book are inadequate.

The authors examine ten selected *partidos*: Abancay, Aymares, Calca and Lares, Chumbivilcas, Cotabambos, Paruro Quispicanchis, Urubamba and Vilcabamba that con-
tain eighty-six villages, though no explanation is provided as to why these ten partidos are selected. The study is apparently based on ecclesiastical administrative divisions within the archbishopric of Cuzco dated from 1789, thus one assumes parishes, apparently defined by a resident geographer José Pablo Oncaín, though again the reader is not provided with any further biographical information. Why, therefore, the term *partido*, a civil administrative district, is used is never explained.

The reader is provided in each of the ten *partidos* a description of its principal pueblo and then other lesser pueblos (many of which are termed vice-parishes or *anexos*), after desultory comments on physiographic variations, climatic conditions, and economic systems characterizing the entire jurisdiction. Within each of the villages the analysis focuses on architectural aspects of primarily the churches and in some cases, house types. In some *partidos* the extant parish archives are rich in details of artifacts and possessions, in other cases there is an absence of information. The overall evidential base is founded on three types of data: fieldwork conducted sporadically over the period 1974 and 2008 by the Gutiérrez and Viñuales family members, accompanied from time to time by a bevy of specialists in archaeology, anthropology and art. A second data source is provided by the several published pre-1800 colonial *visitas*. Again, in these *visitas*, descriptions of some pueblos were included, in others they were excluded. A third type of evidence is found in the secondary literature, which consists of random articles of acceptable academic quality and descriptions of travelers who passed through some of the pueblos in the last two hundred years. Many high-quality photographs and recent planimetric field surveys are provided for a number of the village churches. In other cases Google Earth images demonstrate the rectilinear plan of many of the settlement centers.

The problems with such a textual structure is that after having read the descriptive text of two or three *partidos*, the reader can become bored because the next description will be little different than the last, since it all depends on the minor variations in source materials, and most importantly, no contrasting and comparative analyses are provided. “A Guide to the pueblos of the Archbishopric of Cuzco” might thus have been a more accurate title since the volume—though hardly portable at almost two kilos weight—could serve as a valuable visitor’s gazetteer.

In some of the maps provided, the term *provincia* appears, yet no mention of that administrative subdivision is mentioned in the text. Indeed one of the main defects of the book is its lack of any map of the distribution of the *partidos*, as well as the many sub-settlements contained within each. Though some of the principal changes that occurred during the early colonial period are mentioned: the aboriginal population patterns encountered by the Spanish, and the well-known process of the ‘reduction’ of the Indians into new planned villages, and the abandonment of many due to the impact of introduced diseases, these are not followed by any equivalent processes that affected the settlements in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Only occasionally are settlement desertion and patterns of expansion detailed. This results in a seriously fragmented and truncated story that can hardly be termed a full historical analysis.

Such comments are not to detract from the laborious work of culling material from no less than 32 archives, ranging from the Archive of the Indies in Seville, to doz-
ens of humbler parish collections. The problem is that in too many of the partidos and pueblos the same citations are provided repeatedly in extensive page notes, and since no bibliography is included, the reader cannot ascertain just how many secondary sources are involved in the descriptions.

Obviously the architectural interests of the two principal authors, known for their dozens of books and articles on colonial themes, are reflected in the significance given to churches and some of their individual architectonic characteristics, yet what one lacks is any systematic analysis of what makes this group of pueblos important and special, as compared say to their Bolivian counterparts or the adjacent Peruvian archbishopric. Despite the many weaknesses of the text, the production quality is excellent with more than six hundred pages on high quality paper and a beautifully designed layout.

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