

Is it the definitive book on the topic? No, and certainly it is not the intent. It is a contribution to a discussion that is far too widespread and far too ideologically conditioned to be solved so easily. It offers an alternative view to those advanced by typical Cubanologists, and gives the reader an opportunity to look at Cuba through different lenses. Does this mean that it encapsulates *the* right approach? The answer in this case is less clear-cut. As in any other complex topic, the best approach is probably to combine the merits of different perspectives, overcome their limitations, and produce a comprehensive, dynamic and nuanced view. The book is an important, well-thought-out step in the right direction, a must-read for those looking to understand the inner workings, conditions, history and projections of one of the most interesting cases in contemporary history.

doi:10.1017/S0022216X23001037

Elizabeth N. Arkush, *War, Spectacle, and Politics in the Ancient Andes*

Cambridge University Press, 2022, xiv + 292 pp.

Hugo C. Ikehara-Tsukayama

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The topic of warfare is a complicated one. On the one hand, we do not want to glorify such demonstrations of violence. On the other hand, history has demonstrated on multiple occasions how such violence can lead to, or is related to, profound societal changes. In other words, ignoring the role of war in ancient and historical societies, even with the best intention – such as avoiding negative views of Indigenous people, sticking with pacifist philosophies, etc. – can lead only to partial, if not skewed, reconstructions of the past.

The scholarly tradition in the Central Andes – Peru, Bolivia and Northern Chile – has dealt with the issue of violent conflict, creating the concept of ‘ritual battle’. Based on ethnographic sources, this model of violence has been considered an Andean form of warfare in which people fight for cosmological reasons, with no territorial or political gain. For decades, scholars have used this model to explain the conflict in the Andes, ignoring or forcing the data – such as fortifications and signs of violence in human remains – to fit the model. Sadly, this led to theoretical stagnation and a lack of explanation for the variety and complexity of Andean warfare throughout history.

The discussion on Andean warfare had a sharp turn in the last two decades. The previously dominant – but still used – model of ritual warfare was challenged by scholars arguing that violent conflicts in the region may be similar to those observed in other parts of the world. A dichotomy between ‘real’ and ‘ritual’ warfare emerged. Elizabeth N. Arkush was among the most critical voices in this discussion.

While working mainly in the Peruvian Southern Highlands, her research has had an impact beyond that specific region, moving the discussion far from the above-mentioned dichotomy to explore the diverse manifestation of violence and its interconnection with other aspects of life.

This long preamble contextualises the importance and relevance of *War, Spectacle, and Politics in the Ancient Andes*. In this new book, Arkush proposes a model that tries to explain the diversity of violent conflict in the Andes, but one that can be used in other parts of the world and other moments of history. In the first chapter, the author introduces the topic, why it is relevant, and how it has been traditionally studied in the Andes. The following section summarises the available bioanthropological, archaeological and imagery evidence for violence and conflict, providing a concise picture of how these lines of evidence differ throughout the region and change over time. How can this diversity be explained? In Chapter 3, the author answers this question by presenting her theoretical construct on Andean warfare.

Arkush argues that the mode of war is related to how the opponent is defined and treated. Are the defeated groups eliminated or incorporated into one's society? If the latter, by force or by attracting them? Ultimately, the model is centred around the relative value of labour for the societies engaged in war. Of course, determining this value is a highly complex task and contingent on specific historical moments. A potential limitation of the application of the model is methodological: how accurately can archaeologists determine the value of labour in antiquity, and how accurately does this need to be done in order to be helpful? Perhaps, the value of labour only needs to be measured relatively, comparing between cases. Additionally, thinking on the directionality of the argument: do we attempt to determine the characteristics of specific societies by studying how they wage war instead of vice versa?

The author applies her model in the following sections, presenting three contrasting cases of Andean pre-conquest history. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the Moche, whose violent spectacles contrast their relatively peaceful lives. The Moche is an example of violence used as a means of attraction to increase one's community and rise among political competitors. Things differ during the Late Intermediate Period, described in Chapter 5. These communities lived in a very conflictive world where fighting was used to exterminate the other while boosting the internal cohesion of their group. Finally, Chapter 6 focuses on the war of expansion by the Wari, Chimu and Inca Empires, who used different means, including the systematic use of violence, to incorporate other groups into their system.

The application of the model to these cases not only supports the validity of the argument but also creates a framework for comparison with other cases across the globe and from different periods. One of the shortcomings of the 'ritual warfare' model is that it was inherently Andean, based on Andean ethnology to explain the Andean archaeological record, reifying the idea of '*lo andino*' as a cultural and spiritual model that explains itself. Arkush's book does not abandon the importance of ethnography or historical accounts of the colonial era. Still, she uses these sources critically, along with sources from other parts of the world. After all, conflict and violence are not characteristic of a few isolated societies; they are a type of interaction that is present – at different intensities and

modes – in many, if not most, human groups. Some scholars even argue that aggression is part of our primate inheritance. However, organised violence that involves multiple actors, and is materially costly, highly symbolic and political in nature, is a feature more relatable to human complex societies than to other primates' social life.

In sum, this book is one of the most valuable contributions to the study of war in antiquity in recent years. It concisely summarises the evolution of conflict in the Andes, presents a model that explains the variation of Andean warfare, and allows cross-cultural comparisons with cases outside the region. If one can think about the general question implicit in this book: Does the relative value of labour and how productive activity is performed explain how populations are incorporated, exterminated or displaced after conflict? How does the value we assign to others affect how we treat them in these critical circumstances? Perhaps, this book is not only a scholarly contribution to Andean warfare but also an insightful contribution to understanding human society throughout history.

doi:10.1017/S0022216X23001049

Courtney J. Campbell, *Region Out of Place: The Brazilian Northeast and the World, 1924–1968*

University of Pittsburgh Press, 2022, pp. ix + 301 pp.

Hendrik Kraay

University of Calgary

Courtney J. Campbell's *Region Out of Place* is an insightful work of cultural history that examines 'how groups within a marginalized region of Brazil', the Northeast, 'asserted their world belonging, relevance, and uniqueness through the creation of regional cultural symbols and institutions' (p. 2). Chapter 1 sets up the book by presenting data on droughts and out-migration, and describing emerging conceptions of the Northeast as an area whose economic problems required national state intervention and tutelage. Starting with Gilberto Freyre's 1952 publication of his *Manifesto regionalista de 1926*, Chapter 2 shows how his ideas about the importance of mixture (both racial and cultural), ecological appropriateness, popular cultural practices and 'cultural vulnerability' (p. 56) remained largely unchanged as they gained widespread currency. Regionalism was not separatist but 'an alternative form of nationalism', more authentic for 'it proposed valuing each region's culture' (p. 52).

Chapters 3–7 constitute linked essays that examine key moments of discussion about Northeastern identity, not just in the periodical press, but also in literature (including the popular *cordel* [chapbook] genre), music, film, and even liquor-bottle labels. Chapter 3 examines the 1941 voyage of four *jangadeiros* (raft