

Buch in drei thematische Schwerpunkte. Der erste Teil "Transições de corpos e almas" beinhaltet einen Überblick über die Kosmogonie der Wauja und führt in die Themenkomplexe Transformation, Krankheit, Tod und Zauberei ein. Im zweiten Teil "A produção ritual dos apapaatai" beschreibt der Autor die verschiedenen Teilaspekte des *apapaatai*-Rituals. Der dritte Teil "Os rituais de apapaatai e a cosmopolítica wauja" ist der Versuch des Autors, die zuvor aufgestellten Theorieansätze zu bestätigen und einen aktuellen politischen Bezug herzustellen. Womit der Autor seinem zweiten theoretischen Ansatz Nachdruck verleiht und herausstellt, dass die Analyse des Phänomens die Möglichkeit zur soziopolitischen Reproduktion der Wauja-Gesellschaft ermöglicht. Demzufolge ist die hauptsächliche Intention des Autors, fundamentale Aspekte der Wauja-Gesellschaft anhand der Annäherung von heterogenen Elementen – wie rituelle Artefakte, Zeichnungen, Herstellung und Konsum von Lebensmitteln, Zauberei etc. – und durch eine Interpretation ihrer Gemeinsamkeiten und Handlungen zu enthüllen. So findet sich im Buch ein 30-seitiger Mittelteil mit Zeichnungen und Fotos, wobei die Farbzeichnungen deutlich hervorstechen. Diese zum größten Teil von den Wauja selbst angefertigten Zeichnungen zeigen sowohl Tiere, Masken als auch *apapaatai* und bestechen durch ihre künstlerische Präzision und Farbgebung.

Barcelos Neto leistet mit dem vorliegenden Buch nicht nur ethnografische Arbeit, sondern reiht sich ein in die aktuellen Forschungen zur Visuellen Anthropologie, indem er das Objekt als sozialen Akteur sieht und somit in den Kontext der Gesellschaft stellt. Es gelingt ihm, sowohl das *apapaatai*-Phänomen in all seinen Facetten zu beschreiben als auch es mit Hilfe der Agency-Theorie treffend zu analysieren. Bei der Analyse und Interpretation vergisst der Autor jedoch, dem Leser ausreichende Informationen zur Ethnie an die Hand zu geben, womit es dem Leser selbst überlassen bleibt diese Informationen zu finden, um die von Barcelos Neto vorgetragenen Fakten zu kontextualisieren.

Kerstin Eggeling und Stephanie-Thalia Dietrich

Besom, Thomas: *Of Summits and Sacrifice. An Ethnohistoric Study of Inka Religious Practices.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009. 230 pp. ISBN 978-0-292-71977-4. Price: £ 40.00

"Of Summits and Sacrifice" is a study of two aspects of Inca religion, human sacrifices and the worship of mountains. Based on the Ph.D. thesis of the author, the book is meant to serve as an ethnohistorical introduction to the archaeological study of high-altitude sites in the Inca empire. High-altitude sites in the mountains of Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, and the southern parts of Peru consist of platforms and buried sacrifices. They are mostly known for the discoveries of mummified bodies of sacrificed children and women, accompanied by small statuettes, ceramics, food, and other objects. The first human remains were discovered at the beginning of the 20th century, and mountain sanctuaries in the Andes gained wider public attention with the research of Johan

Reinhard, publicised by the National Geographic Society, especially the 1995 discovery of a young woman on the Nevado de Ampato in southern Peru.

Reinhard also inspired the topic of Besom's thesis. The book is the laudable attempt to clarify the ethnohistorical background of high mountain sacrifices. Besom collects references to human sacrifices and mountain worship from narrative (and a few documentary) sources and asks which material expressions of these practices and beliefs could be found by archaeologists. Human bodies found on Andean peaks are usually interpreted as the remains of the Inca *qhapaq hucha* (*capacocha*) sacrifice, an empire-wide ritual where holy objects (*waqa*), people, and sacrifices moved to Cuzco, the capital of the Inca empire, and returned to the provinces. At the centre of the ritual was the sacrifice of children and young women for the welfare of the Inca ruler and the empire.

In chapter 1, Besom approaches his topic by reviewing ethnohistorical methods and some of the sources from the 16th and 17th century which he uses. Chapter 2 on the *qhapaq hucha* summarises the information on this practice, asking who was sacrificed, how the ritual was carried out, and which reasons were given for it, before the author turns to the possible "material correlates" of these human sacrifices (40). In chapter 3, the author identifies four additional types of human sacrifices in the Inca empire: the sacrifice of *runa*, common people, that of warriors, of family members, and retainers of important persons during mortuary rites, and finally "substitute sacrifices" (62) where a person was sacrificed so that a sick person would be spared by the supernatural powers.

The next four chapters deal with the worship of mountains in general. Chapter 4 turns to the questions what Andean people saw in mountains, how they associated mountains, rocks, and sanctuaries, and which ceremonies related to mountains were carried out. In chapter 5, Besom lists the different types of sacrifices given to mountains, from human beings and animals to metals, shells, textiles, and food. Chapter 6 enumerates the reasons for the veneration of mountains given in the sources, and chapter 7 finally discusses the archaeological finds which may result from these beliefs and practices.

Although Besom's approach is thorough and detailed, a problem of this book is the indiscriminate use of sources. Sources are not evaluated and not really compared and analyzed. No questions are asked about the nature of the texts, the formation of the authors, their knowledge about the Andes, and their ability to understand native languages, the origins of the material, and the personal and political intentions of the writers. A qualified selection of relevant and reliable sources does not take place. No distinction is made between an author like Cristóbal de Albornoz, who was personally involved in the eradication of native religion and wrote a report about it, and Jerónimo Román y Zamora, who never set foot in the Andes, copied his material from earlier authors and wrote a history of the world. Besom does not distinguish between narrative texts – the so-called chronicles – and documentary sources. The copying of texts in the 16th and 17th centuries, a very common phe-

nomenon, is not discussed in detail. Besoms mentions cases of copying (e.g., pp. 25, 28, 44, 46), but does not explore them or consults secondary literature to clarify the relationships between authors. Due to the undifferentiated use of sources, Besom's conclusions about the material evidence for Andean religious practices are so broad that they will probably be of limited use for archaeologists.

One example is perhaps illustrative. Besom cites a report under the name of Juan Polo de Ondegardo that describes the sacred places of Cuzco (the "Relación de los ceque"). This text, however, is identical with four chapters of the Inca history written by Bernabé Cobo. An early 20th-century editor, assuming that Polo was the author of the original report and that Cobo copied him, republished it under Polo's name. Besom evidently knew nothing about this publication history and came to the conclusion that Polo was plagiarised by Cobo (73). But the texts Besom cites were both written by Cobo, one published under his own, the other under Polo's name. (It is possible that Polo was the author of Cobo's original. However, Cobo's text is not identical with this possible original, since he abbreviated the text he used (see J. H. Rowe, "Una relación de los adoratorios del antiguo Cuzco". *Histórica* 5/2.1980: 206–261 and B. Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca. The Cusco Ceque System*. Austin 1998). (It is also bothering that Besom continues to cite both sources, although the use of a copied text hardly adds to the evidence, see, for example, p. 77.)

In addition, "plagiarism" is probably not a term that should be used for a what early modern writer considered good scholarly practice – the use of texts by older writers regarded as authorities. Written sources on the Inca are a product of the Spanish colonial period, and background knowledge about this period is a necessity for their interpretation. For example, the sacrifice of human beings was a highly charged topic, central to the debate about the legitimacy of Spanish rule in the Americas. (This is the reason why Garcilaso vehemently denies the existence of human sacrifice, see pp. 25, 28. – L. Hanke, *All Mankind Is One. A Study of the Disputations between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians*. De Kalb 1974: 42, 86, 87, 92–95; A. Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man. The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*. Cambridge 1982: 89, 90.) As the modern discussions about sacrificial practices in Mesoamerica show, human sacrifice is not a topic to be treated lightly (see for the Aztecs, e.g., M. Harner, *The Ecological Basis for Aztec Sacrifice*. *American Ethnologist* 4/1.1977: 117–135; I. Clendinnen, *Aztecs. An Interpretation*. Cambridge 1991; P. Hassler, *Menschenopfer bei den Azteken? Eine quellen- und ideologiekritische Studie*. Bern 1992). In view of this, I was not happy to see that Besom filled pages with uncommented references to Inca sacrificial practices giving sometimes high numbers of victims taken from problematic sources (see pp. 8, 44–63, 94, 95 and, especially, pp. 36 and 46 for the supposed sacrifices of 300 respectively 500 persons at a time). –

Compare here, for example, the much more cautionary discussion by T. D'Altroy in his general treatment of the Inca (*The Incas*. Malden 2002: 172).

I also have my doubts about the categories of human sacrifices defined by Besom. I am not convinced that warrior and *runa* sacrifice truly existed, and especially difficult is the case of human sacrifices to accompany the dead. Discoveries of the last decades make clear that such sacrifices existed in early Andean cultures like the Moche culture on the North Coast of Peru during the first centuries A.D. (J. W. Verano, *Trophy Head-Taking and Human Sacrifice in Andean South America*. In: H. Silverman and W. H. Isbell [eds.], *Handbook of South American Archaeology*. New York 2008: 1047–1060). Sources mention such sacrifices for the Inca period as well. However, the burial of leaders and rulers in company of their sacrificed wives and retainers is contradictory to other Andean religious practices of the time. The dead were not buried but preserved as mummies. They continued to participate in the lives of their families and people. It made no sense to kill the relatives and servants, since this would deprive the mummies of the continued service of these persons. I would suggest that the Spanish descriptions of widespread sacrifices after the death of members of the elites are either based on misunderstandings or generalizations of rituals practiced only locally. Another explanation could be that the Spanish immediately started to loot Andean tombs, like the adobe pyramids on the Peruvian coast, and might have encountered examples of retainer sacrifices or secondary burials (see, e.g., S. E. Ramírez, *Huaca Looting on the Peruvian North Coast. A Tale from Two Perspectives*. In: S. E. Ramírez, *The World Upside Down. Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru*. Stanford 1996: 121–151). Since they did not know how old these monuments were, they might have regarded their discoveries as evidence for human sacrifices by contemporary Andean people. The study of source material concerning human sacrifices during funeral rites deserves a more detailed investigation.

All in all, "Of Summits and Sacrifice" does not advance the study of Inca religious practices as much as it could be hoped. Specialists in Inca culture or 16th-century Andean religion will not find much new information about *qhapaq hucha* sacrifice, sacrificial practice in general, or mountain worship, and nonspecialists will perhaps derive a picture of Inca religion as dominated by the practice of human sacrifice, an assessment I cannot agree with.

Kerstin Nowack

Bousiou, Pola: *The Nomads of Mykonos. Performing Liminalities in a "Queer" Space*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2008. 308 pp. ISBN 978-1-84545-466-1. (New Directions in Anthropology, 29) Price: £ 15.95

"Mykoniots d'élection" nennt Pola Bousiou die Gruppe "extremer IndividualistInnen", die sie im Rahmen mehrerer Feldforschungsaufenthalte auf der griechischen Kykladen-Insel Mykonos in den 1990er Jahren als Anthropologin begleitet hat. Seit rund 35 Jahren kommen