

Farrington, Ian: Cuzco. Urbanism and Archaeology in the Inka World. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013. 434 pp. ISBN 978-0-8130-4433-0. Price: \$ 79.95

I very much welcome this new contribution on architectural planning and urbanism in the city of Cusco, capital of the Inca Empire, by Ian Farrington, a well-known scholar who has researched this important subject now for decades. The book comprises 431 pages, and includes a number of tables, drawings, pictures, and a very useful glossary, covering the vocabulary peculiar to this fascinating subject.

Farrington introduces his book with a critique of Inca archaeologists, who, according to him, were (and still are in most cases) seemingly unwilling or unable to link their work and interpretations properly with the independent written record of the ethnohistorical sources. As a consequence, historical data seem to dominate general ideas and conclusions about, among other topics, the Inca state and urbanism. Indeed, Farrington argues, with good reason I believe, that both archaeology and history must be regarded as complementary windows onto the past. The importance of this book, then, lies in the author's ambition to understand the Inca state and urbanism through just such an approach of synthesizing the disciplines of archaeology and history: an ambition which I think he achieves.

Firstly, Farrington reviews the archaeological evidence from the city of Cusco by compiling data from around 80 excavation reports, and applying to them research techniques, successfully employed elsewhere, which he calls "town plan analysis and principles of urban archaeology." Through this approach, he conceives of Inca cities as the culmination of some five millennia of urban development in the Andes, entailing peculiar traits to the region in both their concept and structure, so that they do not necessarily resemble Old World conventions of cities with temples as focal points, or streets laid out in a grid pattern. Indeed, according to Farrington, pre-Columbian Andean cities were principally conceived as sites where the institutions of state authority were maintained through the representation of ancestors, in particular by means of rituals. Consequently, they were rather singular cities.

Using this critical discourse and incorporating new data, Farrington then discusses the origins of the city of Cuzco, proposing thereby the Altiplano influences on that origin. The language, ritual, deities, pottery iconography, and cyclopean masonry techniques of the Titicaca Basin cultures were, he argues, all adopted by the Inca. Among these were key architectonic concepts, which seem to be a southern legacy inherited and developed by the Inca. Farrington sees the Altiplano as the source of inspiration, legitimation, and guidance of subsequent Inca developments and expansion.

Chapters two and three provide a good and up-to-date compilation of the evidence for Inca architecture and urban design, including an assessment of Inca settlement planning. Farrington affirms that the Inca achieved the construction of great monumental buildings by hand and human beings as transporting means, without the assistance of mechanical devices. He reviews those construc-

tion methods and the materials and tools used. We learn, for instance, that all materials were sourced locally, stones being quarried out and then, since llamas did not carry large weights, transported by people. We learn also about the types of timber used and about the tools of masonry and construction (including hammerstones, flaked blades, bronze chisels, and T-shaped axes for woodworking). In sum, he sets out for us, for the first time, the entire *chaîne opératoire* of Inca construction. Farrington concludes this section by describing the range of structures made by Inca masons and the key components of the Inca urban context, including plazas, palaces with large halls, streets, town walls, gates, temples, storerooms, and water distribution systems. In doing so, Farrington discusses issues of dating, noting how certain architectural design features and traits can be used to determine relative construction dates. Thus, he observes that serious inconsistencies between the dates read from Inca history and those from calibrated radiocarbon archaeological data suggest that the period of Inca domination and expansion might be significantly deeper than previously thought. Just as Stuart J. Fiedel (Older Than We Thought. Implications of Corrected Dates for Paleoindians. *American Antiquity* 1999: 95–115) stated: (most Peruvian time spans following radiocarbon calibration seem to turn out to be) "older than we thought".

Chapter three offers an update of previous efforts to document and explain Inca settlement planning as responses to administrative tasks and social rules. Here again, Farrington criticizes a lack of formal analyses on the reasoning and method underlying Inca landscape and urban planning. I think that he is right, for little has been accomplished on this Inca key research topic since Hyslop's seminal contributions (*Inca Settlement Planning*. Austin 1990), especially considering the dramatic increase in the number of recent Inca projects (including, not least, long-term projects such as Qapac Ñan, i.e., the Inca road system).

Following this detailed review and introduction of Inca and Cuzco urbanism, Farrington provides, in chapter four, a brief but well-written account of his theoretical framework for "town plan analysis." Based on GIS-mapping and detailed recording of a number of traits together with documentary evidence, Farrington proposes to study the development of the city of Cusco through reconstructing its building process: a sort of *intra* and *extra muros* architectural history. Using this approach, he presents a historical topography of Cusco through an inventory of 20 maps, the first from 1556 by Giovanni Batista and the last from 1907 by Max Uhle, thereby providing an overture to the next fascinating chapter in which Farrington reconstructs the dynamic development of Cusco from 1533 until up to the 20th century. As far as I know, this is the first study combining architectural, historical, and archaeological sources; just as Farrington says, "this is the first comprehensive study of the urban topography of Cusco." Thus, we are able to learn not only about the urban changes themselves but also about the causes that generated them. It is worthwhile stressing that Cusco's urban development was guided not only by man-made decisions

but also by natural disasters, such as the earthquake of 1650, which the Spaniards took advantage of to carry out changes satisfying royal interests and demands. Here Farrington draws attention to the importance of past climate (or environmental) changes to interpreting the Inca past.

The sixth chapter is devoted to documenting, one by one, the changes that occurred through time in architectural traits. Farrington classifies the Inca streets of Cuzco according to their orthogonal designs, constructive techniques, and the raw material preferences of their original planners. He argues that the use of dark red andesite probably was favored for prestigious structures, in contrast to the limestone usually employed for polygonal walls, and that diorite was used in the early Inca phases. He concludes that the city of Cuzco was built on the basis of three plans, and that these were modular and relatively small in scale.

Chapters seven and eight are intended to describe the functions of the two principle types of space of the Inca city, namely, 1. sacred spaces as palaces and temples, and 2. *kancha* and streets. By using archaeological data, Farrington is able to document a series of offerings apparently buried by pilgrims, converging on the core of the Inca Empire from its various constituent regions. This model, I believe, would be bolstered if genetic or strontium isotope analyses could be used to demonstrate the foreign provenience of these people worshipping the Inca pantheon in Cuzco.

The next chapter contains an updated summary of Inca household archaeology back to the earliest archaic complexes, which, I believe, is very necessary because of the gaps in our knowledge on such matters, not just for the Inca but also for other pre-Columbian civilizations. Farrington reviews some key Inca social institutions and services, which were elements of the Inca capital, asking himself at the same time, how their existence can be affirmed in the archaeological record. The following pages give accounts of food, vessels, cooking procedures, places to organize ritual feasts, garbage removing, and even benches to sleep. Using a combination of data, Farrington identifies a number of food sourced from various parts of the empire, including the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*), oca (*Oxalis tuberosa* Molina), olluco (*Ullucus tuberosus* Caldas), ñu (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*), tarwi (*Lupinus mutabilis* Swett), maize (*Zea mays*), camelids, guinea pigs (*Cavia porcellus*), all together the expected repertoire of goods at that time.

With respect to craft activities Farrington describes a number of sites outside Cuzco, where different raw materials were transformed into metal instruments, stone artifacts and masonry, textiles, and pottery. Yet this seems not to have occurred within the city itself, where there is little evidence of any workshops. The author concludes this chapter by assessing Inca burial practice, which is, remarkably, still neither well documented nor well examined. The concept of ancestor worship and the ritual treatment of the mummies are both discussed through the examination of a number of funerary contexts. Built on his earlier household approach to the Inca city, Farrington is able to link some architectural forms with those activi-

ties carried out by families, which lived and were buried in these same places. In this way, some architectonic concepts become the minimal household unit, at least in Cuzco. In my opinion, this insight is important for understanding the principle Inca concepts of everyday life and kinship, including the family ones. I would, however, also advocate further analyses of burial proveniences through, for instance, strontium isotope data from human bones and/or genetic analyses, just as those being carried out elsewhere in the pre-Columbian Andes (e.g., John Verano's analysis of the human bones from Machu Picchu; in: R. L. Burger and L. C. Salazar [eds.], *The 1912 Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition Collections from Machu Picchu*. New Haven 2003: 65–117).

Suburbs are the extensions of the cities, which Farrington addresses masterfully in the tenth chapter. He examines more than 50 locations from both north and south of Cuzco, describing and interpreting their archaeological finds in detail. He defines their locations and the structures and activities carried out within them to offer insight into their functions. In doing so, he mentions a number of common traits and offerings peculiar to the Inca, including, for example, human bones, stone slabs, wooden *keru* (Inka vases), and metal *tupu* (Inka pins), which were included in structures such as *kanchas*, terraces, store houses, and channels. The author sees its suburbs as key extensions of the city, especially for providing resources, such as irrigable land for farming, water management for drinking water, and, indeed, people to supply the necessary equipment for city activity. I think that this is the first time that Cuzco has been assessed in the sense of a "modern city," because by taking account of its "surrounding barrios," Farrington's approach makes it more realistic than before.

The next chapter is a very good one. Farrington attempts to bring together the ritual acts described in the historical literature with the archaeological evidence. Textual records describe numerous rituals and the strict ways in which they were carried out. Lama sacrifices and processions with mummies were common features of such ritual activities. Farrington reviews the archaeological finds from sites described in the Spanish chronicles, though it seems to me that there is some considerable mismatch between the paucity of that archaeological record and the rich descriptions we have from history. I would suggest that further, much more intensive, excavation and sampling techniques should be necessary before such past events can be properly captured through the archaeological record.

To complete his study, in chapter twelve Farrington discusses the idea of the city of Cuzco as the "navel of the world," i.e., the "axis mundi" (for other comments on the etymological meaning of Cuzco, cf. R. Cerrón Palomino, *Voces del Ande. Ensayos sobre onomástica andina*. Lima 2008). His review of the meaning of Cuzco from a cosmological perspective concludes that the form of a puma proposed for the outline of the city by many is a mere illusion: a product of interpretations without foundation. Moreover, the putative relationship between the city's plan and the solstices was not marked out in

the cardinal alignments of its architecture. Ritual ceremonies and processions were reproduced throughout a series of Inca centers across the empire. Recreation of the Inca power and authority, centered on its capital at Cuzco, e.g., has been shown in the analysis of the city of El Shincal in Catamarca, Argentina. Likewise, according to the author, the structures and orientations of Cusco were reproduced, too, at Tambo Colorado in the capital of the southern province of Ica.

In his final chapter, Farrington essays a conceptualization of Cusco urbanism. Including its suburbs, the city was, he argues, densely populated. It contained both secular and ritual monuments, and palace and residential neighborhoods. The two rivers that crossed the city apparently played a role both in the ritual and in the administrative planning and function of the city. Once established, further additions to the city and its replanning were oriented according to the *ceque* system (ritual pathways starting from Cuzco and defining the political boundaries of the Inca Empire). Indeed, Farrington presents a new and enhanced model by which the city of Cusco, its suburbs, and its hinterland were linked together into a kind of web to sustain the multifarious rituals that were performed in the Inca capital.

According to this analysis, ancient Cuzco was divided into five planned areas made up of grids of residential properties, planned open spaces, palaces, and temples. Suburbs were also integrated into this plan. Pre- and post-Inca modifications were not the core of the planned town. Construction was based on planned grids and equidistant measurements used to install structures. Farrington shows, for instance, how each plaza contained a building complex, including an erected stone (*stella*) associated with a canal or a river. He also reconstructs, again by means of combining the historical and archaeological records, the performance of the rituals carried out in the Qorikancha temple, and the actual routes of some of the city's main processions, such as those of Hawkaypata. The book makes unique contributions in this sense.

Farrington believes that the city displays traits that show the interplay between its political and economic functions, but also the practice of religion within the canons of the *ceque* system. As I have noted earlier, Farrington suggests a probable link between the Inca and people of the Altiplano to the south, here using the bio-archaeological data. He concludes from his analysis that Cusco embodied the worldview and identity of the Inca and their mythical associations with their ancestors, probably far from the south in the Titicaca region. The complex and successful organization of the city is a powerful evidence that the Inca were outstanding rural and urban planners who adapted the concept of the city to both landscape-economy and their beliefs.

In sum, the pioneering achievement of this book is the combination of archaeological, architectural, and archival-documentary sources, to reconstruct and understand the planning and function of the Inca capital, Cusco. Farrington's book should be used not only as a sourcebook for the information available on the city of Cusco and its role as the capital of the Inca Empire, but also for its

masterly combination of the techniques and methods by which the ancient functions of the city can be recovered: methods which could be applied elsewhere, e.g., to other pre-Columbian centers (such as Wari and the complex urban landscapes of the Late Intermediate Period). In the future, we can expect new chemical and physical analyses in the form of stable isotope analyses and further calibrated radiocarbon dating of Inca architectural structures to shed further light on the planning, not just of Cuzco but also of the Inca Empire, the world's largest empire in the southern hemisphere. Elmo León Canales

Fedele, Anna, and Ruy Llera Blanes (eds.): *Encounters of Body and Soul in Contemporary Religious Practices. Anthropological Reflections*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011. 212 pp. ISBN 978-0-85745-207-8. (EASA Series, 16) Price: £ 60.00

"Encounters" is a well-selected term for this anthology's title, especially with regard to its focus on the vexing relationship of "body" and "soul." Both of these terms are deeply problematic, all too often deployed with an assumed shared, simplistic definition. This text goes some way to countering such usage; although there was room for more radical and rigorous investigation of the boundaries and constituents of each, and the fragility of such, that would emerge from a more interdisciplinary engagement with the (especially binary) relation. However, the focus of this volume was to reflect on anthropological engagement with contemporary religion; and it does this with comprehensiveness and a keen sense of how, where, and when these two terms started to dominate and reformulate specifically anthropological disciplinary narratives on religious practice. The editors Anna Fedele and Ruy Llera Blanes provide an extremely useful Introduction articulating the relevant disciplinary background.

The ten chapters represent group or denominational specific analysis ("case studies") on the beliefs and especially *practices* that evidence the relation between body and soul (and spirit) in a wide variety of traditions. Emerging out of a conference panel at an annual meeting of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (2008) that emphasised ethnographically grounded research – "fresh fieldwork data" (xvi) – the collection is predictably uneven in its contents. It is sectioned into three, the first of which is focused on practices of Catholicism (three chapters: Egan, Bacchiddu, and Ballacchino). Each of the chapters in this section emphasise either divergence from orthodoxy or changes wrought by secularised contexts. The second section "Corporeality, Belief and Human Mobility" forms a less cohesive assemblage. Rickli and Knibbe focus on ministry and missionary practices in The Netherlands and abroad; Cimpric on *Talimbi* "witchcraft" practices in the Central African Republic. The final section of four chapters (Roussou, Ostfeld-Rosenthal, Voss, Spiegel and Sponheuer) form a more cohesive grouping and are united in the way in which the practices examined purposively disrupt the positing of clear binary relations between "body" and "soul."

There are various figurations of the relationship be-