

One of the strengths of Wright's analysis is the exploration and explication of an ethnoecology in his work on Baniwa cosmology. While this ecological perspective is something of a hallmark of northwest Amazonian peoples, who are well-known for elaborating local geography and mythology, mutually, Wright offers one of the most nuanced and detailed analyses of northwest Amazon ethnoecology available. His discussion of the cosmological significance of the sloth, for example, is a brief but compelling flash of insight into the ways in which animals, and other natural features, are "good to think."

In the third section, Wright presents a detailed explication of the story of Kuwai, the child of the Sun, a foundational myth, as he puts it, that underlies the relationship of jaguar shamans and their power to Kuwai. As in many origin myths, the story of Kuwai explains the differential power of men and women, the origins of sickness and healing, the relations of animals and humans, initiation, and so on. Wright's exegesis is not simply an *explication de texte*, but incorporates Wright's deep knowledge of the performance of such myths as well. Wright also acknowledges his limitations as a male ethnographer in regard to women's shamanic knowledge, while identifying women, mythically, as the source of change and, consequently, the source of history.

As a rich and detailed account of Baniwa cosmology through the lens of the powerful shamans who possess this specialized knowledge, Wright's study joins a small set of remarkable ethnographies that present such privileged perspectives on indigenous philosophy and theology. The fourth and final section of his book brings this into the present social context of Baniwa, where political and religious leaders try to enact the ideals of happiness and well-being that they believe would result from a revitalization of their traditional religious practices in the face of incursions by a variety of foreign forces, from oil companies to Christian missionaries. Wright is well known as one of anthropology's foremost experts on the complex issues of religious change and Christianization among indigenous peoples, and his discussion here is informed by years of research and insights into the subject. He also describes the creation of the House of Shaman's Knowledge and Power project that he assisted with support from the Foundation for Shamanic Studies in 2009, for the preservation of traditional shamanic practice, including the use of plant medications and a wide variety of rapidly disappearing realms of knowledge. Just as the jaguar shaman was a pillar (a term I use with Baniwa symbolism in mind) of traditional Baniwa culture and society, the revitalization of shamanic knowledge and practice through the House of Shaman's Knowledge and Power can serve as the foundation of a broader revitalization of Baniwa culture.

"Mysteries of the Jaguar Shamans" is a tour de force, a remarkable work of deep understanding and expressive skill that should become a classic of Amazonian ethnography. Wright's achievement, here based on research spanning decades, is a model that few of us can achieve, but all of us should emulate.

Donald Pollock

Yaya, Isabel: *The Two Faces of Inca History. Dualism in the Narratives and Cosmology of Ancient Cuzco.* Leiden: Brill, 2012. 296 pp. ISBN 978-90-04-23385-0. (The Early Americas: History and Culture, 3) Price: € 105.00

The book by Isabel Yaya attempts a new reading of sources on Inca history and a revival of the structuralist analysis of Inca beliefs and rituals and the calendar. The structuralist approach to Inca culture and history, proposed by Reiner T. Zuidema in the 1960s, is often acknowledged as important, but modern overviews of the Inca empire make only very limited use of its ideas (M. Rostworowski and C. Morris; *The Fourfold Domain. Inka Power and Its Social Functions.* In: F. Salomon and S. B. Schwartz (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas. Vol. 3: South America 1.* Cambridge 1999: 769–863; T. N. D'Altroy, *The Incas.* Malden 2002; A. L. Kolata, *Ancient Inca.* Cambridge 2013). Yaya's aim is to rehabilitate Zuidema's views, reformulate his hypotheses to deal with some of the criticism raised against them, and harmonize them with the results of recent research on the Inca. (I like to mention that I am among the critics of Zuidema's work, see K. Nowack, Ceque and More. A Critical Assessment of R. Tom Zuidema's Studies on the Inca. Aachen: Shaker 1998.)

The book begins with stating that sources about the Inca, mostly written by Spanish authors, contain contradictory and often mutually exclusive accounts of Inca history, myths, and culture. Different versions exist of the list of Inca kings, contrasting accounts about their mythical place of origin, and different opinions about the duration of Inca expansion (25–36). Scholars have developed various theories and methodologies to deal with these contradictions. John H. Rowe, for example, attempted to reconstruct a sequence of Inca history, based on selected sources classified as reliable or unreliable by investigating personal interests and cultural biases of the authors (36–38). According to Yaya, this is not a fruitful approach, since the elimination of distortions does not help to arrive at a conclusive and coherent narrative about the Inca past (43). Inca oral traditions are polyphonic by genre, format, modes of presentation and transmission, rhetorical elaboration, etc. (43–49). Discussions of Inca historical material have to integrate the "political dimensions that inform discourses of the past," as Yaya adds referring to examples from Burma, Africa, Greece, and the Maya (49–51). She, therefore, plans to study the social and cultural circumstances under which these narratives about the past developed and subject them to a comparative literary analysis to discover "narrative threads" and "forms of discourses" (52).

In chap. 2, Yaya begins with a discussion of Zuidema's position towards the Inca dynasty and rulers. He saw them as unhistorical figures and the descriptions of the dynasty as a social model of Inca society, a view which according to Yaya does not explain why the division of the Inca dynasty into earlier Hurin (lower moiety) and later Hanan (upper moiety) rulers is presented as a temporal sequence, and not simply as a social opposition (53 f.). Her hypothesis is that this division served to account for historical

developments or contingencies. The Hurin moiety stands for a regularized transmission of power between rulers by primogeniture and of a view of the Inca past as stable and relatively unchanging, while the Hanan moiety and the traditions told about their rulers allow for change and the selection of a ruler based on his personal merits. Both views of the past generate different genres of oral traditions (as identified by C. Julien, *Reading Inca History*. Iowa City 2000), the so-called genealogical genre (a list of rulers and their principal wives) and the life histories (accounts of the deeds of a specific ruler) (54–59, 83–98).

Yaya then enters into a discussion of kinship structure among the Inca elite and describes the Inca dynasty as organized, as a conical clan (60). She argues that all descendants of the Inca rulers together were called “Qhapaq Ayllu,” a formation containing a fixed number of lineages whose relations and individual importance were expressed by defining their closeness to the main line of royal descendants. Ultimately, the idiom of kinship, descent, and birth order among siblings is used to define ranks among the Inca nobility (61–74, 91–93).

After analyzing the internal organization of the Inca elite, chap. 3 discusses the relationship between the Inca and the ethnic groups in the vicinity of Cuzco. Inca holy places (*waka*) venerated in Cuzco and its environs encompass those of non-Inca *ayllu* (descent groups), which like the more distant neighbors were included in the category of honorary Inca (inca-by-privilege) (99–104). The ambivalent relations between the Inca and their neighbors are epitomized by their treatment in Inca rituals, which either emphasize mutual dependence or Inca superiority and exclusion of outsiders. To illustrate this, Yaya analyzes the *sitwa* ritual, a purification ceremony in August/September, which defines by the trajectory of its participants a ritual space around the city of Cuzco, analogous to the empire-wide movement of participants and sacrifices during the *qhapaq hucha* ritual (a ritual of pilgrimage and sacrifices sometimes including the sacrifice of children and young adults). The purpose of both ritual practices is to allocate land and other resources, bind local rulers into the Inca state, and symbolically integrate foreigners (105–110).

The status of foreigners is also a central aspect of the *warachiku* ritual, the initiation ceremony for the young men of the Inca elite in December. A detailed analysis of this ritual and its different stages shows how the visits, the participants pay to the place around Cuzco, trace the mythical route of the Inca ancestors during their journey to the city and also honor the *waka* of original settlers of the area (111–121). These groups are presented as Inca relatives by marriage, which explains their ambivalent position as both insiders and outsiders. This conclusion based on the analysis of the *warachiku* ritual is confirmed, as Yaya argues, by a legend about the abduction of the 7th Inca ruler Yahuar Huacac. The tradition about his sojourn among different neighboring groups of the Inca is not an account about a historical event or historical relations between ethnic groups (see Julien 2000: 241–247, 260), but a projection of the movement of the initiants during the *warachiku* ritual. At the same time, the story

of Yahuar Huacac provides a definition of three types of relations between the Inca and others: kinship by blood, kinship by marriage, or the absence of a relationship (124–129).

In the following three chapters, Yaya describes in detail the consequences arising from the division of Inca society into two moieties, Hanan and Hurin. In her view, religious beliefs, especially about the supreme deity and the origins of the Inca, and the yearly cycle of rituals fall into two separate groups, each associated with one of the moieties. Chap. 4 and 5 describe that there are two distinct versions of the origin myth, attributing Inca origins either to the Lake Titicaca basin or to a place a hundred kilometers south of Cuzco called Paqariq Tampu. The first version includes a short list of (Hanan) Inca rulers, indicating that it pertains to the Hanan moiety. This moiety's supreme god is, therefore, Wiraqucha, the supernatural being whose mythical origins were in the Lake Titicaca area (137–143). The second version of origin in Paqariq Tampu belongs to the Hurin half of Inca Cuzco, and indicates its association with P'unchaw, an aspect of the Inca solar deity which is viewed as the mythical ancestor of the Inca (169, 170, summary of the Wiraqucha/P'unchaw argument on pp. 188–193).

Wiraqucha and P'unchaw together are two aspects of a compound solar deity called Inti, the deity the Inca demanded their subjects to worship (177–183). Wiraqucha is the “subterranean Sun” (154f.) of the dry season, moving across the Andes below the ground (although in fact the myths about this god only describe his journey above the ground, see pp. 140, 141). The thunder god (called Illapa among the Inca) is also a manifestation or associate of Wiraqucha (although his realm includes thunderstorms and rains, not exactly characteristic of the dry season, see pp. 157–168). In contrast, P'unchaw is the “daylight Sun of the fertilizing rains” (177), the solar deity ruling the rainy season, in his turn associated with the major Cuzco *waka* Huanacauri (170–176), the mythical celestial snake Amaro (176f.), and finally the Moon as his wife (184–188).

Both gods are what Yaya calls the “two ancestral Sun gods of the royal descent group” (197). Due to their links with the different seasons, they preside over the halves of the Inca year and their respective religious feasts, a topic which Yaya investigates in chap. 6. She identifies transition periods between the two halves (207–223), and reconstructs the cycles of rituals, their association with the agricultural work year and the two “tutelary deities” Wiraqucha and P'unchaw (224–250, 253).

Especially in this last chapter, Yaya takes a close look at the information transmitted about Inca rituals and their relationship with the agricultural cycle. This detailed reading of sources, together with several of Yaya's standpoints and arguments, make her book a useful contribution to Inca studies (see for example her statements about primogeniture on p. 57, the discussion of the Moon goddess on pp. 184–188, and her observations about the contradictory information about statue of the sun, pp. 178–181). However, her depiction of Inca myths, rituals, and worldview is perhaps too tightly constructed to be wholly

convincing. In my view, in spite of her verbal concessions to Inca “polyphony,” Yaya attempts to construct a master narrative of Inca myth and worldview without acknowledging the fluid and contradictory nature of oral traditions and ritual practices (F. Salomon, *Testimonies. The Making and Reading of Native South American Historical Sources*. In: F. Salomon and S. B. Schwartz (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*. Vol. 3: South America 1. Cambridge 1999: 62–65). In doing this, she overlooks a number of methodological and theoretical problems.

The first problem is the selection of historical material, for example, the attempted rehabilitation of Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara as a source, ignoring modern findings about his copying of older sources (see 43, 255; M. Pärssinen, *Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Pedro* (ca. 1525–ca. 1605). In: J. Pillsbury (ed.), *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530–1900*. Norman 2008: 269–272). Early colonial documents often contain additional information about Inca history and culture. Yaya hardly uses them, but apparently not because she has general reservations against this type of sources (see the doc-

uments mentioned on pp. 82, 121 and the use of documents in chap. 4 and 5). They are probably disregarded because they would favor a more event-based reading of Inca historical narratives.

Yaya is critical of Zuidema’s description of the Inca calendar (202 f.), but then proceeds to use one of its most controversial aspects, the so-called nadir observation, in her own account of the festival cycle (208, 223: Fig. 6; compare B. S. Bauer and D. S. P. Dearborn, *Astronomy and Empire in the Ancient Andes*. Austin 1995: 94–98). Yaya also integrates ethnographic materials without giving any information about its origins or contexts, assuming that practices and beliefs in modern Andean communities remained unchanged from the past. Much of the evidence for the argumentation in chap. 4 and 5 is based on these modern ethnographic accounts or on 17th-century reports on the Spanish campaigns against idolatry, none of which bears an immediate relationship to the Inca in Cuzco. On the whole, the methodology in this book follows Zuidema’s example, a recognition of significant relations and structures that is intuitive and not conclusively argued.

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