jenes konservativen Kunstverständnisses, das Cooper eigentlich bekämpfen möchte. Tatsächlich ist auch die praktische Umsetzung dieser kategorialen Trennung von rein sakraler und rein profaner Kunst bis heute schwierig und unklar, da die spirituelle Bedeutung eines Tanzes oder Kunstgegenstandes aus balinesischer Sicht nicht allgemein festzulegen ist, sondern durch seinen performativen Kontext bestimmt wird.

Angesichts solcher Definitionsschwierigkeiten ergibt sich – nicht zuletzt für balinesische Künstler, die in einer Marktwirtschaft sakrale Kunst schaffen – eine komplexe, von Fall zu Fall neu zu definierende Situation und Problemlage, die von Cooper allenfalls ansatzweise beachtet wird. Unklar bleibt vor allem, welche Rolle Malerei überhaupt im Kontext ritueller Kunst auf Bali einnimmt. Coopers eigene Definition ist hier wenig befriedigend, da er die Sakralität von Malerei nur vage anhand ihres Einsatzes für den Tempel definiert. Aus emischer Sicht sind die beschriebenen Malereien jedoch nur mit Einschränkung als "sakral" zu bezeichnen: Anders etwa als Altarbilder in europäischen Kirchen, anders aber auch als Kultbilder in indischen Tempeln sind balinesische Bilder kein essentieller Bestandteil des rituellen Lebens, sondern eher Schmuck und Illustration. So ist das Kultbild – Inbegriff und Mitte des indischen Hinduismus – in dessen balinesischer Version gar nicht vorgesehen. Bilder sind auf Bali daher rituell deutlich weniger bedeutsam als etwa Tänze, um derentwillen die Trennung zwischen "sakral" und "profan" ursprünglich eingeführt worden ist. Während bemalte Göttersitze eher schmückendes Beiwerk sind, werden Ritualtänze auf Bali eben darin als "sakral" klassifiziert, dass sie unverzichtbare Medien ästhetischer Kommunikation zwischen Göttern und Menschen sind. Dies gilt für die von Cooper beschriebene Malerei generell nicht.

Andererseits existiert auch auf Bali eine Gattung von rituell wirksamen und insofern "sakralen" Bildmedien, die Cooper leider nicht beachtet. Dabei handelt es sich freilich nicht um jene farbenprächtigen narrativen Bildkompositionen, die Szenen von Heldenepen wiedergeben und Gegenstand seines Buches sind, sondern um kleinere, magische Zeichnungen: Embleme und Figuren von dämonischen oder göttlichen Wesen, die auf Stoff oder *lontar* gezeichnet, in zahlreichen Ritualen eine wichtige Rolle spielen und von Priestern erstellt werden. Diese *yantras* sind aus balinesischer Sicht rituell unverzichtbare Medien und könnten insofern als "sakrale" Bilddarstellungen bezeichnet werden, obwohl sie nicht der visuellen Repräsentation, sondern vielmehr der magischen Transformation von Situationen dienen und darum nicht zu öffentlicher Betrachtung aufgehängt werden, sondern im Ritual am richtigen Ort platziert werden müssen. Bedauerlicherweise übergeht Cooper gerade diese, aus emischer Sicht heiligen Bilder und ihr ästhetisches sowie ikonographisches Verhältnis zur übrigen Bildkunst Balis.

Zugegebenermaßen beruht aber in dieser interpretatorischen Schwäche die eigentümliche Stärke von Coopers Buch: Eine vergleichbare Fülle an ästhetisch ansprechenden und kompositorisch komplexen Bildern wäre im Blick auf die eher schlichten und standardisierten *yantras* kaum zustande gekommen. Diese sind – ähnlich wie Sakraltänze – zwar heilig, aber ästhetisch wenig ereignisreich. Annette Hornbacher

Covey, R. Alan: How the Incas Built Their Heartland. State Formation and the Innovation of Imperial Strategies in the Sacred Valley, Peru. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006. 333 pp. ISBN 978-0-472-11478-8. Price: £ 48.95

The starting point for this book was the archaeological research of the author in the Yucay valley, a section of the Urubamba-/Vilcanota River north of the Inca capital Cuzco. R. Alan Covey studied archaeological sites in the Yucay valley to refine the chronology of Inca domination in this region. Covey sees himself in the tradition of North American processual archaeology, and as he emphasizes repeatedly, he argues for a process-based Inca expansion against the "traditional" event-based view where the start of Inca expansion is attributed to a historic personage, the Inca ruler Pachacutec.

For this purpose, Covey initiated the "Sacred Valley Archaeological Project" which covered 30 kilometers along the Vilcanota River plus the valleys of smaller tributaries of the rivers (ch. 2, pp. 31–33). The project consisted of surveys and limited excavations at the site of Pukara Pantillijlla. The book starts with a comparison of the Inca and other archaeologically and historically known cases of political expansion to discover markers which indicate state formation. These markers are found in the archaeological record (a four-tier settlement pattern, for example, p. 22). The author also develops indicators from (ethno-)historical accounts like "development of state religion and religious hierarchy" or "introduction of technological innovations" (24). These are probably thought to be recognizable in the archaeological record as well (see tab. 2.2., p. 24). Next follows a discussion about the background of Inca state expansion. Covey first turns to the ecology of the region around Cuzco and then to local and Inca agricultural practices, finally asking if Inca methods of agricultural intensification might have reduced the risks of climatic fluctuations (ch. 3, pp. 37–55).

According to Covey, archaeological evidence shows that cultural and political complexity in the Cuzco valley goes back to the period before A.D. 400 (ch. 4, pp. 59–68). A political unit was formed which remained independent when around A.D. 600 the Wari empire started to colonize the area. This empire probably constituted the first large-scale political formation in the Central Andean highlands (68–80). In the Cuzco area, it is mostly famous for the impressive site of Piquillacta in the Lucre Basin (G. McEwan, Pikillacta. The Wari Empire in Cuzco. Iowa City 2005). In analogy with other Andean regions, Covey assumes that the breakdown of Wari after A.D. 900 resulted in a process of political fragmentation in the Cuzco area. For example, his research indicates that in the Yucay valley the population

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left the easily accessible zones near the valley bottoms and concentrated in larger settlements on higher ground, presumably for greater security from attacks. In the Cuzco valley and neighboring areas, increasing conflict created buffer zones between competing groups. The inhabitants of the Cuzco valley also formed larger settlements and started to dominate some of neighboring villages outside the valley (ch. 5, pp. 81–108).

For the critical period of Inca state formation from A.D. 1000 to 1400, Covey detects a four-tier settlement hierarchy in the Cuzco area which is seen as the main archaeological evidence for the existence of a state-like political formation. During the second half of this period, Cuzco itself grew to the size of city (ch. 6, pp. 121 f.). Villages were founded on the north side of the Cuzco valley close to newly constructed agricultural terraces which perhaps were first examples of the Inca royal estates (123–125). This tendency for concentration might have been a reaction to severe drought conditions from A.D. 1250 to 1310, an event which Covey regards as a trigger for Inca state formation (117).

Moving to the Yucay valley, Covey then looks at the evidence for early Inca expansion outside the immediate vicinity of Cuzco. North of the Vilcanota River, the site of Qhapaqkancha lies in an area where historically an ethnic group called the Huayllacan was located. The site shows evidence for public architecture probably built in the 14th century. Covey interprets it as a first example of an Inca estate outside the Cuzco valley (ch. 7, pp. 151–155). In a valley northeast of the Huayllacan settlements, ceramic styles and burial practices distinct from those of Cuzco were predominant during the period from A.D. 1000 to 1200. Inca influence becomes evident when the settlement of Pukara Pantillijlla was founded here in the 13th century. It is characterized by its greater size, new rectangular floor plans for buildings, and the presence of Killke and Inca pottery. Covey interprets this settlement as a secondary administrative center of the Inca in an area historically associated with the ethnic group of the Cuyo (158–164). In a later chapter, he also discusses possible other evidence for Inca rule in the area like the remains of state-sponsored infrastructure. However, irrigation canals, storage buildings, roads, and way stations cannot be dated convincingly, and clear proof is absent for the supposed intensification of resource exploitation through herding or maize agriculture (ch. 8, pp. 170–180).

In addition, Covey summarizes that Inca hegemony, although perhaps not direct rule, can also be detected in villages to the south of Cuzco (ch. 6, pp. 135 f.), while the successors of the Wari colonies in the Lucre Basin east of the city probably remained independent of Inca rule, as seen in the continuing use of local pottery styles (ch. 7, pp. 141 f.). Into this discussion of the archaeology of Inca state development, Covey also integrates ethnohistorical material about the reigns of the early rulers. He recounts the relations of the Inca with neighboring ethnic groups and shows that Inca accounts of marriage alliances point to those areas where archaeological evidences also indicate Inca influence, e.g., in the case of the Huayllacan and Cuyo mentioned above (see especially pp. 145–151, pp. 155–158). Summarizing the results from the different archaeological surveys, and the material from ethnohistorical sources, Coveys arrives at the conclusion that Inca rule in the area around Cuzco was consolidated at about A.D. 1400. Three further chapters finally summarize Inca expansion and the reorganisation of the Cuzco area after A.D. 1400 (ch. 8, 9, and 10, pp. 167–207).

In his conclusions, Covey points out that the site of Pukara Pantillijlla with its evidence for Inca intrusion was abandoned around A.D. 1400, although the ethnohistorical sources claim that the whole area was only conquered by the Inca several decades into the 15th century. The traditional chronology of Inca expansion which starts with the reign of Pachacutec at about 1440 has to be faulty. In Covey's view, the consolidation of the Inca state took place one or two generations (about 50 years) earlier than the ethnohistorical chronology maintains. The Cuzco area was under Inca domination around A.D. 1400, long before the ethnohistorical accounts date its conquest by Pachacutec. In A.D. 1400, the Inca had already developed an administration, the system of royal estates, and a rudimentary state infrastructure, all instruments which they employed to their advantage during their following rapid expansion through the Andes.

Covey's book is a good synthesis of the archaeological and ethnohistorical material about the origins of the Inca Empire and the relationships of the Inca with the groups surrounding Cuzco. It presents a useful picture of the ethnic and political diversity in the larger region around Cuzco and shows that archaeological data and ethnohistorical accounts agree on the nature of relationship which the Inca maintained with ethnic groups to the north and east of Cuzco.

But the strength of the book, its integrative character, is also its major weakness. If the reader expects the presentation of Covey's research results, it is surprising to see that much of the material in the book either comes from other archaeological investigations or from ethnohistorical sources. Covey relies heavily on two studies by Brian Bauer (The Development of the Inca State. Austin 1992; Ancient Cuzco. Heartland of the Inca. Austin 2004. Covey also wrote an article with Bauer which already presented many of the book's arguments and which was in addition reissued as a chapter in Bauer's 2004 book: "Processes of State Formation in the Inca Heartland [Cuzco, Peru]". *American Anthropologist* 104.2002: 846–964).

The archaeological results of Covey's own studies are only discussed summarily and the emphasis of the book is only partly on his original study area. Little details about his survey come forward. There are, e.g., no illustrations of the relevant ceramic styles, no good plans of sites (see, e.g., fig. 7.10, p. 160), and no maps of the survey areas. No attempt has apparently been made to subdivide the Killke pottery style characteristic of preimperial Cuzco from 1000 to

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1400 A.D. (90 f.). Covey instead uses radiocarbon dates, but the lack of a ceramic sequence as a chronological marker for archaeological sites hampers the efforts to discuss the development of settlements and their possible relationship with the onset of Inca expansion. There are also problems with the basic concepts and definitions used in this study. What exactly defines a "state" in the archaeological record and what is the meaning of the word "polity" that Covey uses as a generic term for the early political formation in the Cuzco area? Bauer still used "chiefdom," a term derived from the models of neoevolutionary political anthropologists (Bauer 2004). If Covey has a reason to deviate from Bauer's usage, he does not explain it.

The greatest surprise of this book is perhaps its heavy reliance on ethnohistorical sources, since these are the same sources whose statements about the chronology of Inca expansion are initially questioned. This does not mean that Covey is wrong with his doubts about Inca chronology (see also his arguments in "Chronology, Succession, and Sovereignty. The Politics of Inka Historiography and Its Modern Interpretation. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48.2006: 169–199). But the reader may wonder why archaeological material and methods are not used more extensively to provide evidence for his alternative position.

Kerstin Nowack

Cuisenier, Jean : L'héritage de nos pères. Un patrimoine pour demain ? Paris : Éditions de La Martinière, 2006. 351 pp. ISBN 978-2-8467-5205-3. Prix : € 25.00

Tandis que tel sociologue pointe "Les Héritiers" pourvus de privilèges, l'anthropologue des Arts et Traditions Populaires nous dit tous héritiers, ouvrant page après page le magnifique livre de notre patrimoine. Le sien en prologue ! Le naufrage de "la Marie", une goélette dans laquelle a péri l'un de ses aïeux de Normandie, a servi de défi-déclencheur à Jean Cuisenier pour aller chercher Ulysse en catamaran jusqu'à Ithaque et Calypso. Auparavant, adoubé par Malraux, il avait dirigé, enrichi, géré le musée national des reliques de la vie de nos ancêtres. Les objets, curiosités, biens et pratiques, images d'un peuple en mouvement, il les a présentés sous vitrine et sur papier. Mais avec quelles difficultés, selon quels projets, pour aboutir à quelles représentations . . ., c'est ce que cet ouvrage énonce tout en valorisant les cultures populaires, avec la clairvoyance de qui analyse la fabrication des identités mais qui craint une multiplication souvent inutile des écomusées et des musées d'usine plus riches de personnel que de visiteurs.

Notre plus célèbre patrimoine serait-il dans la basse-cour : petites crêtes ou grandes queues ? Dès le premier chapitre, c'est beau comme Marianne et ça chante comme le coq (du gallo-romain, *gallus*, "jal" en ancien français, et surtout du bas-latin, *coccus*, exhibé sur les clochers). Depuis quelques temps, la République est maîtresse des mairies à travers les effigies allégoriques de B. B. Bardot bardée de seins, de la Mireille giscardienne sage et mesurée, de la Dame Deneuve élégante et retenue sous le roi François II, de la Casta incarnant le désir et l'inquiétude, en attendant un autre choix d'emblème. N'est-ce pas que le pays est magnifique au féminin et au masculin ?

Pieds sur terre, il faut définir et élaborer un modèle presque notarial des biens de famille et des biens culturels constituant le patrimoine, une fois que la mort fait jouer les règles de succession. D'où une histoire des lieux et instruments de culte possibles, des choses faites et des choses dites, des épées et des couronnes glorieuses, des outils de ferme, des coiffes sous cloche de verre, des véhicules d'autrefois. Toujours en filigrane dans l'ouvrage : la manière ethnologique d'inventorier et de conserver, tout en distinguant haute culture et tradition populaire !

Le texte de Jean Cuisenier s'appuie sans cesse sur des références précises, foisonnantes et très doctes, à l'histoire (Maurice Agulhon, André Burguière, etc.), à la littérature classique (Herder, Grimm, G. Sand . . .), aux récits de voyages (Bougainville, Dumont d'Urville). La singularité des parlers et usages, les premières sociétés savantes la notent, qui inventent le folklore ("bien mauvaise matière à penser", en ce que sont récupérées les dites bizarreries innocentes de l'esprit humain et les cérémonies jugées absurdes ; pp. 60–62), au moment où s'affirment les nationalismes après les guerres napoléoniennes. On apprécie le talent des conteurs de légendes, la musique des orphéons répétant "les Cloches de Corneville" et la rusticité des traditions mortes collectées sur le vif. Les historiens conservent la mémoire et certains la régissent, via le politique, par des commémorations tambourinantes.

Le lecteur sera confondu par les compétences du muséologue, fort rares même chez les ethnologues. J'affirmerai volontiers avoir beaucoup appris en fouillant dans l'héritage de savoir et de chaînes d'opérations présenté dans ce livre. Fascinantes les représentations que les Français se donnent à eux-mêmes, de manière soit réalistes à la Courbet ou à la Millet, soit idéales comme les parures des Arlésiennes de Christian Lacroix ! Passionnante, la mise en perspective de l'évolution de la muséographie (Musées de l'Homme, des Arts et Traditions populaires, créés puis démembrés), liées aux expositions universelles ou locales, validées par des financiers plus que par l'Université !

La recherche de modèles existants conduit Jean Cuisenier, héritier de Georges-Henri Rivière qui détenait quelques minces enveloppes financières, à voyager en Suède, en Bretagne, en Anatolie, pour examiner des figures exotiques exhibées : corps noir ou indien emplumé, noble de cour arabe ou hottentote callipyge . . ., avant de placer ses mannequins près du Jardin d'acclimatation. Le musée en plein air de Stockholm et la ferme radieuse du Corbusier séduisent. Et les folkloristes, ruralistes, architectes, de vouloir fourguer à Paris du paysannat et de l'artisanat, avec l'appui des décideurs politiques d'idéologie régionaliste ! La tour redevient d'époque au XXe siècle et le XVIe arrondissement parisien peut fort bien abriter le populaire. Comp-

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