

Reviews

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Edited by Charles R. Ewen

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The Worldwide History of Dress

Patricia Rieff Anawalt

Thames & Hudson, London, UK,
2007. 6088 pp., 1,100 illus., index,
\$100.00 cloth.

First impressions can be misleading. At first glance, this huge book would seem of little use to archaeologists, especially those working in North America, but second thoughts suggest otherwise. The author is an anthropologist with an extensive publication record, including clothing studies. To say her approach is holistic would understate the breadth of the research presented here.

Most sections include color photographs of complete clothing outfits, jewelry, and other accoutrements. Supplementary line drawings add to the interpretive value. The richness of the color photographs makes this text worth having, just for enjoyment's sake, but this aspect makes the text informative. Some photographs are jarring as old clothing is mixed with more traditional garb, explicitly showing change underway.

Anawalt has taken a broad-brush approach to a global topic, but then added the finer details that make this, if not immediately useful, a work that will cause archaeologists to ask far more specific questions of the artifact data they collect. It is not simply that the information is worldwide in scope, but that it has considerable time depth. Four examples should suffice.

The Mesoamerican section is richly illustrated with archaeological examples, codex images, and modern photographs. Given the extensive documentary evidence, the connections between the contact period and the present are well substantiated, especially as references to archaeological fabric examples are included.

East Asia is well represented as befits a society with very long cultural traditions. Examples of clothing from archaeologically recovered

figurines and fabrics, as well as more recent examples, show something of the time depth and the continuity of generalized high-culture clothing styles. Examples of rural peasant clothing are just as illustrative of the time depth, but tend to show ceremonial or holiday garb with women and children in their finery. The Korean examples are more useful in that some suits are diagrammed and given their proper names. For Westerners, seeing the distinctions between Chinese, Korean, and Japanese clothing made obvious is very helpful.

An early chapter on Europe includes a wealth of prehistoric interpretations drawn from Upper Paleolithic as well as Classical Mediterranean art. The paintings include clothing from villas and caves. This permanent art is utilized with mobiliary arts such as "Venus Figurines" to explore clothing patterns. Early European clothing is perhaps the most intriguing portion of this book. Anawalt has included an enormous, and admittedly subjective time depth to her European Folk Tradition.

Starting from the Upper Paleolithic, she weaves an entrancing tale of clothing based on embellishments to the various human forms. It is possible that this is stretched a bit too far when claims of plant fiber clothing are made, but attention to the carefully represented string garments may eventually confirm her interpretation. Although it is presented slightly later in the text, Anawalt's interpretive study of more recent back aprons and string sashes really does harken back to the Paleolithic clues on figurines and cave walls. If this text only starts archaeologists asking new questions it will be a step forward.

The discussion of Classical clothing seems a digression before moving on to the European Folk Tradition which tends to support some of her prehistoric conclusions. Much of her study is centered on central Europe and the Balkans, but the photographs, drawings, and interpretations, especially of folk iconography as it relates to clothing provides food for imaginative thought. Anyone who has worked with some of the 18th- and 19th-century North American religious groups will find familiar thoughts here.

More importantly, the icons are often presented in full as well as abstracted versions.

Presenting the variety of regionalized European clothing is an important contribution. If the clothing is so distinctive in the 19th century, how varied was it in the 16th and 17th, when immigrants were moving west and bringing their traditions with them? Any archaeologists working on North American sites would do well to check their artifact interpretations against images presented here, especially if their sites' ethnic components include East Asian, Central and Western European, or West African backgrounds. Just looking at how mother-of-pearl buttons were used to embellish Northwest Coast blankets leads

to asking additional questions of buttons not found associated with clothing, especially if there are many. Even if it doesn't provide definitive examples, the text and its source materials may well suggest new contexts in which to view the artifacts. These new contexts obviously include gender differences, but regional variations are covered to some extent, and changing patterns of clothing can be discerned between the older images and more recent photographs.

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Qudad: Re-inventing a Tradition,

Caterina Borelli

Documentary Educational
Resources, Watertown, 2004.
58 minutes, color, \$195.00
(\$60.00 rental).

In 1982, one of the most significant early religious buildings in Yemen had deteriorated to a state of near collapse. The ‘Amiriya Madrasa in the town of Rada’, completed in the early-16th century, reflects a blending of traditional local Yemeni building practices and influences from more distant regions. One of the ‘Amiriya’s distinctive features is its extensive use of qudad, a once-common lime waterproofing material employed as a surface for walls, floors, and ceilings, as well as elaborate carved relief decorations. When a \$5 million UNESCO proposal to restore the failing building proved far too costly to implement, the governments of Yemen and the Netherlands collaborated, agreeing to fund jointly the long-term restoration of the ‘Amiriya in 1983.

From the beginning, the restoration team had limited funds, so it focused on using local materials and workers to recover traditional construction methods. In the process of saving the building, however, the conservation team reaped an unanticipated benefit: over time, team members discovered that they had nurtured a remarkably accomplished group of restorers whose skills had blossomed into “a national treasure.” Many of these laborers had worked at the ‘Amiriya since the project began, and had amassed considerable expertise in traditional building methods. Accordingly, the latter stages of the restoration project concentrated on transmitting that accumulated knowledge to the next generation of restorers, with younger and more experienced workers laboring side by side. Caterina Borelli’s DVD entitled *Qudad: Re-inventing a Tradition* thus focuses on two intertwined themes: the traditional method of building with qudad, and the importance of the workers themselves.

Selma al-Radi, the Baghdad-born archaeologist who led the conservation team, narrates the film

periodically, but the workers are the real stars of this story. Most come from the surrounding area and range in age from approximately 17 to 65. Throughout the film the workers explain the steps involved in the restoration. They introduce themselves by giving their names, ages, and the length of time they have been working at the ‘Amiriya, and then discuss their own jobs as part of the restoration team. While some workers perform multiple tasks, many specialize in one particular part of the restoration process, such as repairing cracked surfaces, working with the wet mix, or polishing the qudad.

As one of the restorers explains, builders once utilized qudad extensively throughout Yemen, but because of its cost it is rarely used today. In modern construction, Qudad has now largely been superseded by cement, yet qudad can last far longer than cement if made and applied correctly. Made of natural products and strengthened by the heat of the sun, qudad can last from 200 to 500 years, far longer than the 50 to 60 years that cement lasts before needing repair.

Making qudad is time-consuming, involving multiple steps from mining the limestone and burning it in a kiln, to mixing and turning the wet mixture. A subheading in the film poses the question: “How many days does it take to make qudad?” One by one, the workers answer that question by demonstrating the staggering amount of labor and time involved: a day to mine the limestone, one day to load the kiln, four days to fire it, two days for the kiln to cool, one day to unload it, and ten weeks to prepare, mix, and turn the moist qudad. In the end, it takes over 100 days to prepare. Qudad is made with limestone, water, pebbles, and volcanic cinders, using tools that are often surprisingly simple: a battery, dynamite, and compression drill for mining limestone; tarps for loading raw limestone into the kiln; a simple shovel for mixing and turning the wet qudad; and lots of time and human labor. The workers who prepare qudad turn the slurry for a month or longer. They know when the mix is ready by throwing a lump of it against a wall—when it sticks, it is ready. Qudad is usually applied in layers, involving lots of mixing, pounding, drying, smoothing, and polishing of

the drying surface. It is the polishing that makes qudad so costly. It can take ten workers up to four months to polish qudad adequately.

The film sometimes reveals startling juxtapositions between old and new. The restorers go about their business inside the ancient white 'Amiriya walls, yet the building now stands partially enveloped in construction scaffolding amidst the modern-day bustle of pedestrians and automobiles. Workers spend months preparing, polishing, and carving the qudad, yet they also utilize modern tools such as power saws. And one worker who specializes in carving elaborate qudad surface decorations explains that he cut the patterns for the carved designs out of recycled x-ray film rather than paper, because the film, unlike a paper pattern, is strong and withstands repeated contact with water. Holding up a large exposed chest x-ray, the qudad carver praises the longevity and suitability of the film as a construction tool, commenting: "This guy [the man in the chest x-ray] is dead. But this *thing* has not died."

The restorers developed a special relationship with the 'Amiriya over time. When one worker

was asked why he continued to work on the building, he responded: "We are repairing it because it is the oldest mosque. And it is history. We have to be involved in its upkeep. . . . It is a pride for everybody." Work on the 'Amiriya involved trial and error in the beginning until the restorers perfected their techniques. Yet because the same people worked with the project for 18 years, they grew with the work. Selma al-Radi underscores the central, powerful theme of the film when she remarks: "the building is unique, but the workers give the 'Amiriya new life and new meaning." Borelli's compelling film is thus about the preservation of the restoration team as much as it is about the preservation of the 'Amiriya and the qudad process. *Qudad: Re-inventing a Tradition* accordingly serves as a powerful reminder that buildings are little more than shells until the people who build, repair, and use them give them life.

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*Before Albany: An Archaeology
of Native-Dutch Relations
in the Capital Region: 1600–1664*

James W. Bradley

New York State Museum, Albany,
2007. 230 pp., 159 figs., index,
\$34.95 paper.

James W. Bradley's newest monograph, *Before Albany*, is a monumental work that explores the history and archaeology of what is today the Greater Albany area. Consisting of five chapters, an epilogue, and a short introduction, this work brings together over a century's worth of scholarship and provides a prism through which to view the complex interactions of competing Mohawk, Mahican, and Dutch interests. Unlike studies that emphasize either Europeans or Native Americans, this is a very balanced work which examines past lives from a multitude of perspectives. The author does an excellent job of weaving these complex threads into a coherent and understandable narrative and places them in a global framework.

This work is a popular study that strives to summarize the existing body of evidence and make it understandable. To a great degree, the book succeeds in this endeavor but as a synthesis of existing works, it does not break any major ground. Bradley makes great use of the work conducted by CRM projects, including Paul Huey's excavations at Fort Orange, and at times reinterprets the initial conclusions reached by the archaeologists. Though this book is similar in approach to the author's earlier study on the evolution of the Onondaga, it provides a point of reference when examining the eastern Iroquois experience. While the author periodically alludes to how English, French, and Spaniards interacted with the local populations, the work would benefit if more such comparisons were included.

All popular works must make space to explain specific terms and yet not overwhelm the reader. The author does this both in the beginning of the text and in the two-page glossary provided

in the back. While some may disagree with his stylistic choice of using questions to introduce new materials and perspectives, such mechanisms work to move the reader along. Bradley also uses 18 inserts, 6 of which are devoted to particular sites and 12 to classes of artifacts, to break up the narrative. While one may look for new or additional information in each of these two- or three-page spreads, there is little which is controversial.

The author needs to be commended on focusing attention on the destruction of archaeological sites in downtown Albany in his Site Profile 5. As a popular work, the author is correct in using this outlet for sharing some of the difficulties involved with urban archaeology. The loss of any site is regrettable, but the willful destruction of one of the most important sites in the early European settlement of North America resulted in the New York Archaeological Council launching legal proceedings against the Dormitory Authority of the State of New York. While much has been made of the steps taken to insure that such vandalism of the historical past is not repeated, Bradley is right in noting that the true test of any preservation efforts will occur when the next developer initiates construction plans in designated archaeologically sensitive areas. By telling such stories, however, the author has taken positive measures in educating the public and highlighting the fact that institutions need to be held accountable for their desecration of archaeological resources.

The work is heavily illustrated with line drawings and color photographs. The employed maps provide spatial orientation, and the reconstructed site drawings and paintings provide useful images of how these places may have looked in the past. Unfortunately, the overwhelming majority of the artifacts illustrated have appeared elsewhere. Given the number of artifacts languishing in basements and storage areas, it would be relatively simple to photograph some of these artifacts and include them in the text. Some illustrations appear more than once in the book (the same picture of a Mohawk appears on p. 78 and p. 107), and European finger rings are

described as “finger rings with Roman Catholic religious inscriptions” in the text but as “Jesuit rings” in the description of Figure 4.35b. Given the discovery of over 1,000 such rings during the excavation of LaSalle’s trade ship *La Belle*, a boat on which no Jesuits missionaries traveled, there is little supporting material to continue to refer to these rings as Jesuit. Apparently this distinction was overlooked in the proofing of the final copy.

Such small discrepancies can be overlooked in this monumental work. Bradley draws on widely diverse bodies of information and pulls together a coherent text that will serve not only those with little background in the region’s history and archaeology, but professionals in the field as well. The author’s familiarity with the existing body of scholarship is evident throughout this work, and the References reads like a who’s who of New York State archaeology. While it is not an all-inclusive bibliography, it lists the major works and serves as a jumping off point for further scholarship.

Perhaps the only true point of contention is Bradley’s thesis which argues that Dutch interaction with their neighbors was unique, as it “was based on a sense of mutual opportunity” and “was enhanced by gradual increase in understanding, and occasionally even respect” (p. 2). While the author discusses how some Dutch officials were far more adversarial toward the indigenous populations, he emphasizes how economic cooperation was most beneficial to all parties involved. Such an argument, however, fails to recognize not only the inherent exploitative nature of capitalism but the simple fact that the Dutch were unable to directly control the region. The dominance of the Iroquois over their neighbors and the displacement of the Mahicans occurred not because of what we

see today as toleration, but because, as Richard White has argued, “whites could neither dictate to Indians nor ignore them” (Richard White, 1991, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, x). Indeed, the resulting dislocation of the Mahicans is not that dissimilar to what happened to the Natives who came into contact with the religiously zealous Puritans. While the Dutch policy of toleration is, as Bradley argues, what many see as a bedrock of American society, it is clear that not all Americans hold these values. Given our long history of institutionalized racism, economic exploitation, religious bigotry, and gender inequality, it may be overly romantic to recognize a 250-year philosophical link between the actions on a few Dutch elite landowners and the current imperial U.S. foreign policy. Indeed, if one were to search for modern day comparisons, the actions of Halliburton and the Dutch West India Company may be a more valid point of reference.

Though billed as a popular book, this volume is much more than a simple glossy regional overview. This study serves as an introduction into the area’s past by looking at both Dutch and Native American institutions and how they were affected over time. Much like the author’s early work on evolution of the Onondaga, this monograph focuses on transitions and changes in material culture during the early- and mid-17th century. It is a valuable study and serves as a solid introduction for those interested in Dutch-Native American relations.

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Roman Frontiers in Britain

David J. Breeze

Bristol Classical Press, London,
UK, 2007. 103 pp., 25 figs., index,
\$15.33 paper.

The description and interpretation of the monumental Roman frontiers in Britain, meaning Hadrian's Wall in northern England and the Antonine Wall in central Scotland, is one of the oldest facets of the study of Roman Britain. With a tradition that extends back to the late Middle Ages, their study has been punctuated by a number of seminal studies. Today, one of the foremost scholars of the Roman Imperial Army on the frontiers in the Roman province of Britain is David Breeze. His numerous monographs on the two frontiers include (with B. Dobson) *Hadrian's Wall* (2000, Penguin Books, London, UK), his own *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (2006, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, UK), and for the Antonine Wall, *Roman Scotland* (1996, Batsford, London, UK) and *The Antonine Wall* (2006, John Donald, Edinburgh, UK), as well as works of synthesis, for example, *The Northern Frontiers of Roman Britain* (1982, Batsford, London, UK). It is therefore appropriate that he should be responsible for a short monograph in a series intended to meet the needs of "students and teachers of Classical Civilisation at late school and early university level."

In its organization and structure this is a conventional study. The first chapter outlines the sources of evidence for the study of Roman Britain, emphasizing its temporal, and with respect to the literary sources, marginal relevance to the empire. These comments are complemented by short summaries on the quality of the epigraphic and subliterary (the Vindolanda Tablets, for example) material as well as the sculptural and numismatic evidence. The chapter ends with a short section on the archaeological evidence, in which Breeze includes the surviving upstanding remains of the frontiers, the contribution of earlier "antiquarian" research and excavation.

The subsequent chapters summarize the organization of the Roman army at this time, the

historical context to the creation of the Hadrian's Wall (chap. 3, Before the Walls), with a resume of the circumstances of the permanent Roman occupation of Britain including a summary of the attempted, but shortly thereafter abandoned, conquest of Scotland in the late-1st century A.D. In Chapter 4 the evidence for the construction of Hadrian's Wall, including the circumstances and consequences of the change in its design, the timescale for its construction, the identity of its builders, and contemplation of its function, are all reviewed. The next chapter is an analysis of the creation of the timber and turf Antonine frontier in Scotland (occupied ca. A.D. 140 to after 161), with repetition of the same themes discussed in the previous chapter. Chapter 6 reviews the evidence for the abandonment of the Antonine frontier and the reoccupation of Hadrian's Wall, while Chapter 7 outlines, where reconstructable from subliterary sources, the daily life of the units and individual soldiers on both frontiers. It also includes a summary of the limited evidence for the emergence of the settlements that sprang up outside many of the forts on the Hadrianic frontier. The final chapter discusses the evidence for the end of the Hadrianic line as a functioning system relative to the fortunes of the Roman Empire. The monograph is rounded off with glossaries of the best sites to visit on the two frontiers, an irrelevant list of the emperors, and a section entitled "Suggestions for further study." With the author's credentials, it goes without saying that the monograph presents a decent introductory bibliography on many of the themes summarized in the chapters.

All in all, the result is more than competent but still slightly disappointing. The monograph, despite its title, is really only about the Hadrianic and Antonine Walls. The problem may lie with a short section in Chapter 1 in which the author purports to summarize "the opinions of modern scholars" (but does not really do so) and with the glossary "Suggestions for further study" which emphasizes the fact that Breeze might have missed a trick. As he notes, the interpretation of the two frontiers is as much a reflection of contemporary attitudes

and perceptions of what constitutes frontiers as what the ancients might have thought. That said, the point is not developed. In fact, there is little consideration here of how “frontiers” in general have been perceived over time, or of the different types of “frontiers.” The monograph begs for a more nuanced discussion of the meaning of terms such as frontiers, etc. as used by geographers and ethnographers, and to see how they might help the archaeologists in their interpretations. One would expect to see more on some of the other “frontiers” in Britain: for instance more than the rather cursory treatment of its “first” frontier, the so-called Gask Ridge system, a protofrontier of the late-1st century A.D. comprising a network of forts, fortlets, and towers north of Firth of Forth in Scotland—compare D. J. Woolliscroft and B. Hoffman’s *Rome’s First Frontier: The Flavian Occupation of Northern Scotland* (2006, Tempus, Stroud, UK). As another example of how the dissection of what some scholars once thought as a “certain” frontier, there is nothing on the now-discredited arguments for a “Fosse Way” frontier of the mid-1st century A.D. which stretched across England from southwest to northeast. Discussion of this chimera—one whose

existence still creeps into some of the more recent literature on Roman Britain—would make an excellent example of how archaeologists (and historians) can get it wrong, and in doing so parade the weaknesses in their conceptual understanding of Roman frontiers. Last but not least, some might regard the so-called “Saxon Shore system” of 3rd- and 4th-century forts along the eastern, southeastern and southern English coast as a sort of frontier, perhaps one not like the linear boundaries in northern Britain, but still a frontier system as such. At the very least, these sort of themes might have been profitably included in the “Suggestions” glossary and would have made for a more challenging text. The text is exceptionally clean but for “D. Kennedy” on p. 98 which should read “P.” The caption “Antonine I c. 142–158” in Figure 16 belies the recycling of illustrations. The reader might be interested to learn why there is no Antonine II parallel illustration.

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The Archaeology of Institutional Confinement

Eleanor Conlin Casella

University of Florida Press,
Gainesville, 2007. 200 pp., 32 figs.,
3 tables, ref., index. \$24.95 paper.

Casella's *The Archaeology of Institutional Confinement* is the first critical consideration of the archaeology of American carceral institutions from the post-Reformation Era to the present. This important and timely study examines the archaeology and social context of citizenship and difference that have shaped the trajectory of detentions undertaken for punishment, reform, and exile. In Casella's own words, it is "a story of power and endurance" that chronicles not only how inmates negotiated and survived confinement, but also the evolving philosophies used to justify detention. This comes at a paradoxical moment when America, that icon of democracy, is sullied by the highest rate of institutional confinement in the world, curtailment of civil liberties, and the use of practices many regard as torture.

Casella explores questions that are likely to have significant interest not only for archaeologists, but also for other scholars and the public. She asks, for example, "why confine people in an institution?" "How do institutions operate?" "How do the diverse inhabitants [inmates, guards, etc.] experience the institution?" The book contains five chapters that provide an introduction (chap. 1), the historical origins and evolution of American institutions (chap. 2), theoretical perspectives on confinement (chap. 3), a survey of archaeological studies (chap. 4), and a brief conclusion that summarizes what studies of the material record have contributed to understandings of institutions (chap. 5).

Chapter 2 explores the European origins of institutional confinement, which arose in the mid-17th century as a means to address criminal behavior and the problem of the poor, destitute, and infirm. Almshouses and penitentiaries were conceived as vehicles of humane reform that would provide an alternative to the sanguinary

punishments of the past. Although optimism about the success of the reform model rapidly dissolved, institutions continued to proliferate and were adapted to new purposes. They were first used to confine enemy combatants during the Civil War, and in ensuing decades institutions warehoused the predominantly African American populations of Southern prisons and trained Native American children in the West. Those trends were followed by the creation of the federal prison system in 1891 and the internment of Japanese during World War II. A growing array of clinical disciplines developed to study and guide the operations of those institutions.

The philosophy of confinement is explored from four perspectives in Chapter 3, each rooted in different interpretations of the asymmetrical power relation inherent in such institutions. Criminologists traditionally argue that the system punishes, deters, and reforms inmates. A second school defines the institutional experience in terms of the functional production of social control, recognizing the hegemonic roles of domination and resistance. A third approach inspired by feminist and poststructuralist critiques focuses on the embodied subjective experiences that prevail under confinement. Casella describes a final approach that seeks to interpret strategic negotiations of power in everyday institutional life. That heterarchical model involves a "perpetual relation of exchange between (un)willing participants" in which scholars try to "understand how institutional occupants opportunistically mobilize their social, material, and sexual relationships to minimize their disadvantages and ultimately survive confinement."

In Chapter 4, Casella groups archaeological studies of institutions into facilities for punishment, asylum, and exile based on the intended purpose of incarceration. That focus excludes other institutions of confinement that fall along the same continuum. While it is understandable that slavery and indentured service were not encompassed in this study because they were not typically enacted in monolithic architectural settings, it is surprising that institutions for the mentally ill receive only passing mention. Perhaps that is because the segregation of the mentally ill

was a relatively late phenomenon that has been little investigated. Earlier in time they were often warehoused in almshouses and kept at home. With that said, the archaeological studies Casella examines provide findings and research strategies that are clearly relevant and useful for comparisons with other forms of confinement. In fact, Casella aptly notes the continuity from slavery to the predominantly African American inmates of post-Civil War Southern prisons.

Some of the most compelling themes that run through archaeological studies of confinement include involuntary labor, changes in institutional operations and philosophy, the implications of personal and illicit materials, and coping strategies that include engagement and resistance. The challenge in pursuing an archaeology of institutions is to use deposits that often reflect unfocused and rather broadly dated group activities to tease out interpretations that do more than just corroborate practices known from the documentary record. Most of the studies Casella reviews have made important contributions, although pre-20th-century settings tend to be more revealing than the austere institutions of the modern era. The reason is that discrete features are more common at earlier facilities. A good example is the inmate privies at the Johnson Island Prison, which yielded one of the most refined interpretations of coping strategies yet published.

Casella in Chapter 5 suggests four main contributions material studies have made to the understanding of institutions. They include characterizing differences in living conditions,

assessing labor production, interpreting the materiality of confinement and enforced behavior (with architectural features and artifacts), and analyzing changes in patterns of “accommodation and treatment of those at the margins of society” over time. Given the power dynamics and engagement central to institutions of confinement, items that are arguably personal, illicit, modified, or handmade seem particularly potent and revelatory signs of actions that depart from rigid discipline and compliance. Confined populations provide a good laboratory to study black market trade. Institutional dumps and special task areas used for work, food preparation, and sanitation are also good places to look for the kinds of material insights Casella notes.

The relevance of these contributions to current American life cannot be overstated. Casella’s many thought-provoking questions suggest additional directions that might also be explored. A key example is to examine what approaches to confinement and reform have led to the lowest rates of recidivism and why. It is the “why” that archaeology may be best suited to inform by examining how institutional practices played out. Archaeology can also make contributions to understanding the operations of black markets among confined inmates, using other studies of controlled outside markets for comparison. For all of the foregoing reasons, this book is a valuable source.

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*Fabricating the Antique:**Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760–1800*

Vicky Coltman

University of Chicago Press,
Chicago, 2006. 248 pp., 90 figs.,
index, \$48.00 cloth.

This study sets out to explain neoclassicism in Britain in the period 1700–1800 as a product of the upperclass English educational system. Boys who went to public schools (Westminster, Eton, and the rest) were thoroughly soaked in a classical education, which produced in them a “Roman” mind set. They then went on the Grand Tour of Italy and found to their joy that many places mentioned by Horace or Virgil could still be visited. Rome was for them both a finishing school and a pilgrimage. Classical culture was theirs to expropriate and take home, in the form of lavish engravings (the precursors of tourist photographs), decorative schemes, and occasionally statues. Since there was only a limited number of genuine antique statues and many of those stayed in Italy, there was a thriving market in copies, made either in Italy or back home from casts. A nobleman could bring together for his house a collection of copies which represented the best statues from several continental collections. On at least one occasion the copies were resized during manufacture to fit pre-existing niches in the hall.

Coltman deals with several aspects: private libraries, how the tourists acquired monuments or thought about them, the influence of Sir William Hamilton’s vase publications on the furnishing of English country houses, the influence of the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum (suddenly the tourists could see two real Roman towns, and the excitement of digging things up

is palpable), the cachet of the copy, and a study of one of the most important London collectors, Charles Townley.

This wish to go or be Roman sometimes had a bizarre touch: Emma Hamilton, later mistress of Lord Nelson, entertained guests in Naples with impersonations of ancient goddesses, but also on demand pretended to be a figure in a Pompeian wall painting. Townley talked to his sculptures and called one beautiful female bust his wife.

All of which puts the work of Robert Adam, one of the icons of neoclassicism, into context, and it is the analysis of Adam’s creations of noble libraries which is most satisfying. Syon House in Middlesex is Coltman’s most detailed example. Here the library is the most important accoutrement of an educated man of taste. It lies behind and beyond the dining room (and I would suggest significantly overlooks the garden); to reach it one passes through three large chambers each decked with large statues. The library contains clever, classical jokes. At one end a door to an outside stair is made of boards on which are book spines to look like the real shelves of the other walls of the library. But the titles on these spines are those of lost Roman works. I can tell you that opening those doors is a delightful experience.

The author intends to “rewrite neoclassicism in Britain, not as an ahistorical decorative style but as a style of thought.” We should be impressed. This is a study in the history of art, but it contains much interesting background for those wishing to understand an important period in British cultural and material history.

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*Norwich Cathedral Close:
The Evolution of the English
Cathedral Landscape*

Roberta Gilchrist

Boydell Press, Woodbridge, UK,
2005. 294 pp., 94 figs., index,
\$55.00 cloth.

This is a well-written case study of a complex and long-lived archaeological site that demonstrates important characteristics of the British archaeological resource and the British approaches to such evidence. It covers the period from the 11th to the end of the 17th centuries, but does not continue through what were further fascinating and important developments in the 18th and 19th centuries, and indeed through the 20th century. It does, however, combine an impressive array of sources, which have been integrated seamlessly and without apparent effort. This belies the enormous work involved in compiling and assessing all these, covering a period of 700 years. Extant standing remains, often recorded and analyzed as archaeological and not just architectural features, form the core of the study, but much is derived from contemporary documentation throughout this long period, from antiquarian illustrations and accounts, and from excavated evidence.

Few English cathedrals have been archaeologically studied in detail, and where this has occurred almost all attention has been focused on the sequence of the main place of worship and its contents (notably glass, furnishings, and burials). The cathedral surroundings, termed closes, have been largely ignored. Yet it was here that all those closely associated with the cathedral lived, where visitors were entertained, and where some of the support activities were located. This study therefore contextualizes an English cathedral spatially, socially, and symbolically on a scale never previously attempted.

English cathedrals are iconic structures, now well visited by tourists but with an ambivalent role within the church where parish worship predominates. The medieval origins of cathedrals could be secular (meaning run by a

dean and canons) or monastic (usually with a Benedictine monastery and abbot). Following the Reformation, all became secular, and Norwich was one of those that changed its status. This probably created greater need for change than at cathedrals that had been secular from their origins, though all had to adapt to much harsher economic conditions and different social and religious roles following the Reformation. Although there were many changes within the medieval period, in some senses similar social, political, and ideological forces were in operation, and Gilchrist effectively examines these in the greater part of this volume. Much emphasis is placed on the uses and meanings of space defined by the buildings of the close, but only the implications of the post-Reformation changes shall be considered here.

The changes from communal to more family-based life for those serving the cathedral are the most significant shift following the Reformation. Some communal structures were converted and divided, others were built anew within the precinct. Some of the major communal structures were robbed of their roofs and then were demolished to provide building materials. Gilchrist notes how the style of buildings became more secular and urban, similar to those being constructed elsewhere in the city. This included an increased use of fashionable brick, and incorporation of local vernacular styles such as Dutch gables.

This is a theoretically informed study, but one in which the exposition and critical assessment of archaeological and historical data dominates. It is very well illustrated with plates and line drawings. This is a very British approach, and is quite different in feel from a North American-style monograph. Those most interested in any general points to be gained from the study may wish to concentrate on Chapter 9, Reading Sacred and Social Space in the English Cathedral Landscape. Here themes including permeability, “boundedness,” spatial metaphors, and the renegotiation of spatial rules are considered. But to ignore the preceding chapters means that the depth of research and scholarship that has been achieved to make these inferences

is not appreciated. This is a seminal study, and although it has its focus on the Middle Ages, it does offer a significant contribution to the archaeology of the early modern period. It is also an excellent example of British historical archaeology methodology, where standing remains are a dominant resource, and of the developing British tradition of theory-informed but empirically rich study, based on long-term research over a period in excess of a decade. It

was clearly time and effort well worth devoting to this important complex.

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Past Meets Present: Archaeologists Partnering with Museum Curators, Teachers, and Community Groups

John H. Jameson, Jr. and Sherene Baugher (editors)

Springer, New York, 2007. 466 pp., index, \$139.00 cloth.

Past Meets Present is an elegant response to those in our profession who argue outreach is critical but best done by someone else. This edited volume unequivocally declares that as a profession, we archaeologists have little reason not to embrace our obligation to partner with surrounding communities. Numerous examples presented in this work prove that we can fulfill our academic or even heritage management mandated responsibilities by cooperating with community partners, rather than seeing them as impediments.

Overall, the message of *Past Meets Present* is evocative, hopeful, and even buoyant. Amidst gentle reassurances that we all make mistakes comes the warning that the worst misstep we will take is not trying to partner with others. *Past Meets Present* opens with large-scale public outreach efforts that remain far beyond the scope of many archaeologists or other interpretive professionals. Fortunately, even in these chapters, inspiration can be found.

Later chapters include tales of caution for archaeologists who seek to partner with individuals from other cultures. Specific examples include the African American, Native American, and Yucatec Maya communities. From these blended voices the one message that should be heard loud and clear is that our profession has come a great distance, but we still must struggle to rein in our ethnocentric attitudes. While we believe we are acting in good faith, those we wish to work with may see yet another ill-advised intrusion into their world. In such cases, it is clear we can defeat ourselves more effectively than any outside force by blithely dismissing the voices of our future colleagues.

In addition, *Past Meets Present* provides more down-to-earth commentaries on the management

of public outreach, with entire sections devoted to federal/state agencies, the K–12 system, and universities. In every section of the book, ideas abound. One readily sees a small bit of advice, an interpretive method worth trying, an inexpensive solution, a novel approach, and last but not least, affirmation that our outreach efforts are valued.

Perhaps the most significant point argued in this work is this: not every archaeologist is capable of partnering successfully with others. Key elements of interpersonal relationships (time, trust, respect, and control) were reiterated with such regularity it became apparent that without these skills little success would be forthcoming. For instance, the archaeologists and other professionals in this work invested time in the community they sought to “partner with” rather than “study.” This time-intensive approach fostered relationships based on trust and respect as opposed to the traditional model of a professional pontificating to a patiently listening “stakeholder.” The most daunting of these elements with which to come to terms is control. As researchers, principal investigators, or land managers, we would have to surrender to others our traditional understanding of “control” of our project. This is not to suggest that we would be at the mercy of a special interest group or that our research would somehow be fouled or made invalid. It is simply this: we would have to take the needs and desires of others into consideration honestly.

Many of those in our field choose not to involve themselves in outreach for a variety of reasons. For each scenario, *Past Meets Present* offers a solution. For those who cite financial challenges and the rigors of academe, look to Baugher and her efforts to turn archaeology into a service-learning partnership. With creativity and enthusiasm Baugher launched an enduring program that met the approval of her institution, fostered a sense of stewardship among her students, and made positive gown-to-town connections for as little as \$2 thousand. For those who are uncomfortable speaking to the public, refer to the sections geared toward developing curricula for the K–12 system. For those of

us who find speaking to strangers and sharing mutual interests to be natural, we must appoint ourselves public archaeologists. We must put ourselves, our profession, and our work out there to fill the booming demand found among modern “heritage consumers.”

Past Meets Present succinctly undermines the litany of excuses presented by members of our profession who do not reach out to others. The contributors of this volume have revealed that

innovative partnering in the honest sense of the word can solve more problems than it creates, and will promote the long-term preservation of our dwindling heritage resources.

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Cobs, Pieces of Eight and Treasure Coins: The Early Spanish-American Mints and Their Coinages, 1536–1773

Sewall Menzel

The American Numismatic Society,
New York, 2004. 496 pp., over 2,000
illus., \$125.00 cloth.

Despite the swashbuckling title of the book, *Cobs, Pieces of Eight and Treasure Coins* is a compendium of carefully researched data on the early coinage of the Hispanic colonies in the Americas. Rather than being a catalog of coin values, Menzel's 10 years of study on the subject has produced a volume that gets deeply into the history of these so-called "cob" coins from the Americas that sustained the Spanish Empire for more than two centuries, being replaced in the 18th century by the more currently recognizable coins minted on a press with a well-formed roundness. The term "cob" is derived from the Spanish *cabo de barra* or "end of the bar" to indicate that the coin metal was produced in bars and then pieces were cut off the end to form planchets to be then struck with a die (p. 36).

The book is composed of eleven chapters, the first of which provides information on the reigning kings during this time period as well as "coin designs, anomalies and special issues." I found this to be a very convenient gathering of historical information on the various rulers and the political and economic events of their times that goes well beyond the factual descriptions of the coins themselves.

Each of the next ten chapters takes a major mint and not only gives the local history but also biographical information on the various mint officials. The mints described are: Mexico, Santo Domingo, Lima, Potosi (Bolivia), Panama, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Cartagena, Cuzco, Guatemala, and Cuba. They collectively cover the broad range of Spanish America and bring out the sophistication of the early Spanish overseas bureaucracy that oversaw the transfer of the wealth of the Indies to Europe

The principal value of coins to archaeologists has often been seen as the date, since these objects can provide an important determination of the *terminus post quem* of a deposit. Clues to the history of the time, both social and economic, are perhaps of even more interest in interpreting the history of a deposit, however. In this regard, Menzel provides a wealth of carefully garnered information dealing with the kings and queens, mint masters, and assayers of the various principal mints of the Americas during the period 1536–1773. Because of the fiscal importance of the mints to the crown (the king usually received the "Royal Fifth," or 20% of the treasure derived from the colonies), accountability of mint officials was of great importance. The assayers were responsible for the fineness of the metal (the percentages of silver, gold, or copper, depending on the coin), and the mint masters for the weight of metal to equate to the stated value. In some cases in which it was discovered that the amount of precious metal was below the standard required, certain coins might be counterstamped with an indication of a reduced value as in the case of an 8-*real* piece marked to indicate it was only valued at 7½ *reales*. The silver eight-*real* pieces were, of course, the famed "pieces of eight" of buccaneer lore. There were also gold coins that were generally valued in *escudos*, however. Since the common exchange rate of silver to gold at the time was about 16 to 1, a 1-*escudo* coin would be worth two of the 8-*real* coins (or 16 *reales*). Another coin of the time was made of copper and denominated in *maravedies*. The exchange was generally 34 *maravedies* to a *real*, but in later times the rate went to 44 *maravedies*. It was interesting to learn that the Indians largely scorned the copper coins in favor of silver ones, and that in several cases the mints discontinued production of copper coins over time. Many of the account books that I have seen in California still mention *maravedies* even in the 19th century, however, even though they are virtually never found in archaeological contexts here. By chance, as I was reading this volume I happened to come across a mention of some copper cob coins for

sale on Ebay that were supposedly found in a cache in Santa Barbara, California. This piqued my interest because of the rarity of finding any such coins in post-settlement contexts in California (after 1769), indicating that the deposit may well have occurred during an earlier visit. In this particular case, the exact provenience is unknown since the cache had been found with a metal detector by a treasure hunter whose identity is thus far unknown.

Since many of the old cob coins were badly worn over time, sometimes cut into "bits," or may have had an imperfect strike with the mint die, the date is sometimes missing. Thus it is often other clues, such as the mark of the assayer, that points to the date and place where the coin was minted. Thus, having the detailed information of the dates when certain assayers were employed at a given mint can inform us

of the approximate vintage of the coin. The abundant quantity of images of the coins under discussion is a boon to the nonspecialist trying to identify a specific coin. Accumulating these images and the remarkable histories that accompany them was clearly an enormous undertaking. This work will certainly form an important and oft-quoted source of history on these intriguing manifestations of an economic system that dominated the world's commerce for several centuries. Although the price of the book may seem steep, for those with a serious interest in the history of early Spanish America as seen through its numismatics, this book would be a worthwhile investment.

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*John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages:
1607–1609*

Helen C. Rountree, Wayne E. Clark,
and Kent Mountford

University of Virginia Press,
Gainesville, 2007. 416 pp., 94 figs.,
index, \$29.95 cloth.

Perfectly timed for the 400th anniversary of John Smith's arrival on the Chesapeake, this impressive volume provides an excellent overview of the place, the native peoples, and the unusual man who in every way merits a tribute of this order. Helen Rountree is an ideal person to orchestrate the team of scholars who assembled this comprehensive work. In addition to her two coauthors, eight other specialists joined the effort as contributing authors: Michael B. Barber, Grace Brush, Robert Carter, Edward W. Haile, Alice Jane Lippson, Robert L. Lippson, E. Randolph Turner III, and John Wolf. The 13 chapters plus epilogue were crafted by those individuals whose expertise best suited each topic. The lucid results include a synthesis of the human and natural world into which Smith sailed presented in an easily readable form, lavishly illustrated with unsurpassed graphics, and at a bargain price. The abundant maps reveal the distribution of "towns" and various natural and native-made features that help readers to visualize the past and the events surrounding the Smith voyages.

Helen Rountree's research into the culture history of the Powhatan and their near neighbors has produced several landmark volumes. Her works document native-colonial interactions from along this portion of the eastern seaboard. Particularly important to this scholarly record is Rountree's ecological contextualization of these varied cultural situations. Over the years this information has been shared effectively with colleagues as well as the general public, and in particular with people claiming native descent. Here, in concert with other scholars who have examined the archaeological and ecological record of this region, we find much more than a narration and commentary on

Smith's voyages around the Chesapeake. The first chapter, *The Chesapeake Environment in the Early Seventeenth Century*, sets the stage for the arrival of the English, who were not the first Europeans to attempt a colonial venture in this region. Rountree's Chapter 2, *The World of Algonquian-Speaking Peoples*, offers a preview of the area's many distinct chiefdoms, delineated in later chapters, as identified by John Smith. Focus then shifts from native peoples to Smith and his voyages, but platitudes regarding the effects of disease on the natives and vague population estimates offer nothing new. The following chapter provides a glimpse of the English, setting a minimalist stage for Chapters 4 and 5 that detail the two voyages Smith made around the Chesapeake Bay during the summer of 1608.

Each of the final eight chapters provides a brief but tightly written review of a specific geographical zone within the wide area encompassed by these tours of exploration and political reconnaissance. Each of these well-illustrated pieces defines the ecology of one zone, lists the native peoples of that area, describes the interplay between those peoples and their specific environment, and ends with the effects of subsequent English contacts and colonization in that specific locale. For example, Chapter 6: *The Powhatan River*, focuses on the James River basin, while the following chapter summarizes this process as it occurred in the York River drainage, where the Pamunkey people held sway. Chapter 8 covers the lower Eastern Shore region that forms the eastern margin of the bay, now the lower part of Maryland. A brief but satisfying epilogue by Robert Carter places the narrative in the context of modern concerns for the ecology and resources of the Chesapeake Bay region, and the people now living in that portion of our country. The extensive notes and valuable bibliography form an important aspect of this work. The unusual structure of the index, however, requires a new mind set to navigate. The listing "rivers" (p. 398), for example, fills nearly a full column, from Anacostia to Yeocomico. Ending the "rivers" entry is a direction to "*See also James River*," and five other major examples.

This volume represents an extraordinary effective product generated by a team of scholars who answer critical questions posed by colleagues as well as by lay readers. The authors are to be lauded for their preservation of the cultural integrity of each of the tribes in this region. In recent years there has been an unfortunate trend toward homogenizing all the native cultures occupying a specific region in order to produce a book with broad popular appeal or wide market area. Those volumes reflect a sad trend in the publishing industry, to produce books with a scholarly appearance but with stereotypic views of Native Americans not much refined from past works that depict all natives as riding horses and wearing war bonnets. Rountree and her colleagues, after years of deep ethnohistorical study, have assembled data that enable them to recognize the important differences among the many tribal populations in this zone, and also to delineate why they developed these differences. Missing from this cohesive review is an analysis of how native cultural variability and longstanding local conflicts enabled the English to use intertribal politics and hostilities to establish a foothold in the region and then to tip the balance of power. This led to English dominance in this region. The method of study used for this volume, as well as the information so effectively summarized here, is vital to understanding patterns throughout North America. This approach should be applied to the various foraging societies and egalitarian horticulturalists to the north, such as the inland Susquehannock, as well as to all the chiefdoms of the South.

The presentation of the evidence gathered from the region of the authors' expertise may be clear, but their view dims when peering into the realm of northern neighbors. Minor errors in details and interpretations, common in any first edition of this scope and complexity, do not distract from their synthesis. Errors do, however, call into question the accuracy of details pertaining to the target zone. For the next edition attention should be paid to a number of problems, some of which are significant. Smith's map (p. 37) specifically states that "The Saquet=ahanougs [*sic*] are a Gyant like peo=ple [*sic*] & thus a-tyred." Rountree states that natives had an "average adult male height of 5 ft.7–7.5 in." and notes that "[e]ven the Susquehannock men averaged

about the same" (p. 29). The only direct test of native statures in this region demonstrates that Susquehannock men were, in fact, much taller than other nearby native males as well as male immigrants, although the women were not taller than the norm for the region (Marshall J. Becker, 1991, *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, 61(2):73–88). Smith's observation also has been confirmed by an historical document from a century later. Also attesting to the accuracy of the Smith map drawing and its text are two sets of Susquehannock artifacts in Sweden duplicating those depicted on the map (Marshall J. Becker, 1990, *European Review of Native American Studies*, 4(1):19–28).

Despite notable efforts to determine the identity of the Massawomeck (see under "tribes, Indian," p. 401), including a recent and important gathering sponsored by Rountree, there is no new agreement regarding who they may have been and where they lived (p. 329) since James Pendergast's important review *The Massawomeck* (1991, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 81(2)). Declaring that "they were defeated by the Susquehannocks and the Senecas" (p. 232) suggests that these latter peoples were allies rather than mortal enemies. The limited data regarding the Susquehannock (pp. 229–230), commonly called Minquas by Algonquian speakers, and the components of their recently posited confederacy renders speculative an equation of the Massawomeck (pp. 40, etc.) with the Black Minquas (pp. 231, etc.), or the Susquehannock (pp. 25, 29, etc.) with the White Minquas. That the "Massawomecks have been proven to have traded marine shells" (p. 216) exaggerates what is known of these people whose name cannot be found in records after 1638 (p. 232), about the time that the people identified archaeologically as Monongahela shifted their activities away from southwestern Pennsylvania.

Some names used here for the foraging Lenape (for example, pp. 228, 238, 318), located north of Bombay Hook in Delaware, reflect terminological errors from the popular literature. Rountree and T. Davidson (1997, *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville) note that the Bay Indians (Sikonese) were called Mattwas (variously spelled) by their neighbors. Here they are erroneously called the "Leni Lenape of Delaware Bay" (p. 341). Watercraft

used on the Chesapeake, probably dugouts (pp. 82, 347), need to be clearly distinguished from bark canoes (pp. 19, 113). References to the uses and distribution of wampum, a post-1600 commodity, generally are faulty. The “great chain of white beads” (p. 117) was just that, not a belt of wampum. Wampum originated far to the north and remained rare in the Chesapeake area, where disk shaped beads called roanoke were common and may have been used as currency after the 1620s (p. 353). The English

steelyard is not a unit of measurement (p. 353) but a balance beam used to determine weights. The discussion of wampumpeak (wampum) as relates to Powhatan (p. 215) is contradicted by evidence in a note (p. 354). These many errors mar an impressive volume; one that should be in every library.

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The Archaeology of Collective Action

Dean J. Saitta

University Press of Florida,
Gainesville, 2007. 160 pp., 18 figs.,
index, \$24.95 paper.

Dean Saitta (University of Denver) describes archaeology as a discipline “whose history and perceived status as a middle-class, leisure time activity continually threatens it with irrelevance” (p. 108). To rectify this dilemma, he suggests that archaeology should explore past social injustices that support modern structural inequalities, particularly at sites of collective action. He critically addresses these issues in this first volume from a new series entitled *The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective*, edited by Michael Nassaney.

Perhaps this book’s most important contribution lies in Saitta’s attention to archaeological theory and the future of our discipline. His approach emerges from a number of related themes, such as critical archaeology and the archaeology of capitalism. Straightforward, well-organized writing guides readers through a background on theories of culture and material culture, and leads to a critique of agency theory (for example, as posited by Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens). He faults agency theory for focusing almost exclusively on individuals rather than collective agents, the latter of which are crucial for challenging social inequalities. Instead, he seeks to explore “emancipatory” archaeologies that are rooted in consciousness and group identity (pp. 24–25). He reviews archaeologies of collective action including studies of race, class, and gender. Some examples cited include African ceramic and house forms found in American colonial contexts; women’s ceramic consumption as evidence of their interests in morality and status; and working-class attempts at industrial sabotage. Saitta hopes that attention to collective agency will have broader implications outside historical archaeology, for example, with potential to critically examine struggles of past and present indigenous peoples and issues surrounding Native American Graves

Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) legislation.

As a case study, he summarizes his and others’ work at archaeological sites related to the Colorado Coalfield Strike of 1913 and 1914, in which striking coal miners and their families engaged in deadly conflict with corporate entities and state militia. Official and vernacular versions of history include tales of machine guns, foxholes, and executions. The conflict drew attention from well-known labor activists such as Mary “Mother” Jones and Upton Sinclair, and the nation was shocked when one bloody battle resulted in the deaths of several women and children. Saitta reports on archaeological excavations at the Ludlow tent colony, where a number of strikers and their families lived and died during the conflict. Evidence there suggests that strikers probably did not fire upon militia from purposefully excavated rifle pits, as official accounts declare, but instead defended themselves and their families from cellars and other domestic features. Saitta also provides an interesting overview of excavations in pre- and post-strike contexts in a related coal mining camp. This research suggests that the company tightened regulations on miners’ domestic lives after the strike, increasing regulation of sanitation, limiting alcohol consumption, and restricting women’s rights to take in household boarders. Today, Ludlow in particular serves as a symbolic protest ground for modern labor protests, which are still rampant in such a dangerous industry. To link past and present, Saitta describes how miners across 21st-century America are still striking for many of the same benefits the Ludlow miners did, including an eight-hour workday.

Many of Saitta’s broad assertions about working class relations at the sites would have been strengthened with the addition of more artifact photos and analysis. He notes, however, that at the time of publication artifact analysis was not complete. Instead, the work here should be seen as an overview of research surrounding the strike, and perhaps a hint of what is to come in subsequent publications. Another potential concern is with the author’s tight

focus on class solidarity. On the one hand, his interest in Marxist-inspired domination and resistance studies is certainly an appropriate place to begin with regard to the Ludlow conflict, where violence polarized interests between capital and labor. On the other hand, with any diametrically opposed power construction there is a danger of oversimplification; binary opposition as a hermeneutic category has the potential to constrain interpretation. For example, while Saitta gives admirable attention to issues of gender, he seems to believe that women were as equally vested in class solidarity as their husbands. In one section, he suggests that the decision to go on strike was a family affair, first agreed upon in the kitchen (p. 65). While this vision of democratic gender equality may have been realized in some cases, Saitta does not sufficiently explore the potential complexity of patriarchal household dynamics and how they intersected with class. Again, these criticisms

probably result from the fact that this is a work in progress; he acknowledges the need to further address how solidarity intersects with gender and ethnicity (p. 110). The book appears to be a medium in which Saitta is developing some very interesting ideas that deserve attention and further exploration.

Most importantly, Saitta's impassioned argument that archaeology is inherently political means that archaeology should make itself more socially relevant to today's citizens who are engaged in similar struggles of inequality. The hope is to give voice to the silenced subalterns of the past and work together with today's citizens who are struggling within systems of structural power inherited from previous centuries.

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*The Archaeology of Improvement
in Britain, 1750–1850*

Sarah Tarlow

Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007. 234 pp., 30 figs., index, \$80.00 cloth.

The Manchester Art Gallery has recently hosted a special exhibit to commemorate the 150th anniversary of its landmark mid-Victorian exhibition: “Art Treasures of the United Kingdom.” Representing Britain’s largest-ever art exhibition, the original event offered a splendid celebration of Western cultural progress, displaying art works as an evolution in both style and technology. Providing indisputable evidence of the young industrial city’s ascendancy, the “Art Treasures” exhibition demonstrated both the power of northern patronage of the arts, and the role of “improvement” as a dominant component of 19th-century “Britishness.” It is this highly ideological—if equally contested—relationship that underpins Sarah Tarlow’s timely publication.

By highlighting “improvement” as a characteristic theme for the century between 1750 and 1850, Tarlow suggests a fresh point of debate for the emerging field of “later historical archaeology” (p. 3) within British scholarship. Striving to move beyond the familiar “neo-Marxist perspective” (pp. 6–10), Tarlow ultimately aims to enhance the theoretical context of existing and future work on the recent past—a time span variously acknowledged as the post-medieval, industrial, and contemporary periods within British archaeology. Drawing closely from contemporary Georgian scholars and writers, Tarlow defines “improvement” as a holistic or “cross-cutting” (p. 16) strategy, encompassing not only the individual self, but also agricultural production, laboring people, moral ethics, intellectual accomplishment, civic society, and the human environment. An essentially progressive and humanistic concept, the “Philosophy of Improvement” combined Enlightenment era ideas of utility, individual agency, social order, reason, and religion into an active focus: humans could not only become “better,” they had a basic moral duty to do so.

Successive chapters of this volume trace this optimistic phenomenon through various historical and material pathways. Efforts at agricultural improvement are explored, with case studies ranging from scientific attempts at productive intensification, through aesthetic modifications of estate landscapes by the gentry class. Most contentiously, her discussion also encompasses the difficult history of land clearance that consolidated and relocated traditional occupants of the rural Scottish Highlands. While recognizing that the “significance of clearance narratives in the construction of both national and diasporic Scottish identities can hardly be overstated” (p. 79), Tarlow attempts to situate this story of dispossession within a revisionist economic history. Her analysis highlights the squalid conditions of deprivation that accompanied traditional farm life, and links the clearances to broader problems of management that plagued the landowners: “heavy economic demands on the revenue of their estate; rising rural unemployment and increasing levels of population; recurrent crop failure and resultant periods of famine” (p. 81). By reading events through the paternalistic and benevolent intentions of the landowners, Tarlow seeks to demonstrate progressive elements of this long-contested history: “Forcing Scottish peasants into modern agriculture was thus bringing them into the present and, as reformers saw it, to civilisation: Improvers often saw themselves as bringing something *good* to their tenants” (p. 87).

Subsequent chapters follow these optimistic aims into the new townscapes and public institutions that dramatically emerged over the final decades of the 18th century. As the influential middle classes of merchant and civic leaders increasingly perceived the town as a “coherent, ordered space,” they enthusiastically sought to forge “a suitable environment for, and indicate the presence of, a new, improved kind of population” (p. 96). The near-universal adoption of neo-Palladian architecture—a modified version of the neoclassical or “Georgian” style familiar to historical archaeology—provided the built environment for symbolically directing the wealth, rationality, order, and civilization of the

Greco-Roman world into their own “improved” cities. Tarlow demonstrates the ubiquity of this style across her period of analysis by discussing the monumental public buildings of young industrial Manchester (pp. 97–98). She observes a stylistic coherence from the city’s Royal Infirmary (1752) through its Royal Institution (1823)—this latter building now home to the Manchester Art Gallery, host of the current “Art Treasures” retrospective. Attempts at civic improvement were similarly enacted upon the “rough” classes, with a range of reformatory accommodation established across England from the late-18th century. Drawing from somewhat familiar secondary sources, Tarlow’s study links the diffusion of designed workers’ settlements to the proliferation of carceral institutions (workhouses, prisons, and penitentiaries) and educational establishments, such as universities and Mechanics Institutes (meeting halls established for public lectures on edifying topics).

Finally, in her most traditionally archaeological chapter, Tarlow turns to studies of material consumption. She first traces the popularity of bleached textiles and archaeological studies of Lancastrian bleachworks, to engage with those classic structuralist oppositions of colored/white: nature/culture first popularized by James Deetz. The increasing ubiquity of window glass within excavated post-medieval sites is linked to improvements in domestic conditions, with the view of both the inside and outside worlds interpreted as metaphors of illumination and surveillance. Ceramic tableware settings and urban rubbish-disposal patterns are also briefly visited, with familiar concepts of “improved” presentation related to ideas of sanitation, gentrification, and taste.

Manchester’s “Art Treasures” exhibition of 1857 attracted over 1.3 million visitors, with guests ranging from Queen Victoria, John Ruskin, and Charles Dickens, to the mill workers of Oldham, Salford, and Ancoats. But not all who wandered the majestic halls enjoyed the same inspirational experience. Indeed, one Rochdale industrialist and “friend of the work-

ers” wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* to request “a new arrangement” that would provide separate second-class refreshments, thereby “securing the comfort of the upper classes, [yet] attract the working people to the Exhibit, and not repel them.” Although Tarlow recognizes that her approach to “improvement” may be “a middle-class value, or even a tool of ideological oppression, enacted upon the working classes” (p. 161), the reader may be left dissatisfied by her response to this crucial problem. The volume does not actually seek to explore those alternative values, perspectives, interests, etc. that may have held greater relevance to other groups less documented than the landowning, mercantile, political, and scholarly classes of industrial England. Even while acknowledging “that whiteness was less important or desirable to the labouring poor than to the aspirant and improving middle classes” (p. 171), the volume does not presume to illuminate these disparate pasts—a rather surprising absence given the power of archaeology as a complimentary means for democratizing our understandings of the documented past.

Ultimately, Tarlow’s book can be seen to reflect the enduring debate over “etic” (outsider) versus “emic” (insider) approaches to anthropological knowledge—in other words, how we as scholars (and outsiders) draw upon the internal logic of the cultural participants (or insiders) when crafting our interpretations. By reading the phenomena of land clearance, civic townscapes, public institutions, bourgeois table settings, and urban garbage disposal through the aspirational goals of the educated, ambitious, industrious, and privileged segments of English society, Tarlow’s study of “improvement” demonstrates what new directions may unfold when we embrace an “emic” perspective on the recent historic past.

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*Early Islamic Syria:**An Archaeological Assessment*

Alan Walmsley

Gerald Duckworth and Company,
 London, 2007. 176 pp., glossary,
 bib., index, \$22.00 paper.

Given the complexities of the involvement of the United States in the Middle East, this book is a timely and accessible introduction to Early Islamic archaeology as practiced in "Syria-Palestine," a term Walmsley uses to describe several countries and political entities located in the modern Middle East: "Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and the Palestinian territories, with a small part of southern Turkey" (p. 9). The Early Islamic period begins in the late 6th century and ends in the early 9th century A.D. It is unfortunate that Walmsley does not explicitly define and discuss the chronological range of the period in the preface or first chapter of his publication, but rather presents it at the end of the book (pp. 149–153). Although the geographical scope of Walmsley's study is broad, he tends to draw heavily upon the archaeological data from Jordan. His rationale for this approach is twofold: the interest of Jordanian archaeologists in exploring their Islamic heritage has resulted in many excavations of Early Islamic period settlements, and the fact that he himself has conducted extensive excavations of Early Islamic period sites in that country (p. 10).

The subject of Islamic archaeology is addressed in six chapters. The first chapter, *Defining Islamic Archaeology in Syria-Palestine*, presents a summary of the development and practice of Islamic archaeology. The origins of this branch of archaeology originally arose from "architectural studies" conducted by Westerners in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (p. 16). By the beginning of the 1980s, archaeologists practicing Islamic archaeology had begun to investigate the socioeconomic and cultural conditions in the Early Islamic period, a shift in research interests that, according to Walmsley can only be described as "seismic" (p. 27).

The second chapter, *After Justinian, 565–635 CE*, is an overview of the socioeconomic conditions in the region prior to the advent of Islam. Marshalling various lines of evidence, Walmsley demonstrates that many towns in Syria-Palestine were not in economic and physical decline on the eve of the advent of Islam (pp. 34–45). On the contrary, the numismatic evidence indicates that it was the Sassanid, not the Muslim conquest that damaged the economies of towns in Syria-Palestine (p. 47): "Major urban sites similarly show a complete absence of damage. The extensive excavation of important centres at the time of the Islamic expansion, such as Baysan, Pella, Jarash, Bayt Ras, Amman and Apamea has failed to turn up one shred of evidence in favour of destruction to churches, houses and civic utilities."

The third chapter, *Material Culture and Society*, describes the material culture and architecture associated with the Early Islamic period. Walmsley notes that the much of the material culture in this period developed "from pre-Islamic styles during the seventh century," and that this is particularly well illustrated by the coinage in circulation (p. 69). The nature of Early Islamic period settlement patterns is addressed in the fourth chapter, *Sites and Settlement Processes*, in which two major themes are summarized by the author. The first is a review of the "formal administrative hierarchy" in Syria-Palestine as described in "written sources" from the Early Islamic period (pp. 72–76). Figure 7, the map of the "five-province administrative structure of Early Islamic Syria-Palestine," is particularly useful for this discussion; in addition to illustrating the borders of the five provinces, it shows the locations of the major towns in the region. The second theme addressed in this chapter is an excellent summary of the nature of Early Islamic towns and cities in light of archaeological research (pp. 76–107). At the end of this chapter Walmsley presents an update of Early Islamic period settlement patterns in light of recent archaeological surveys (pp. 107–112). Aspects of daily life such as food production, industry, and domestic architecture, are presented in Chapter 5, *Life* (pp. 113–132).

In Chapter 6, Prospects, Walmsley summarizes current debates in Early Islamic period archaeology, which admittedly reflect, in part, his “own current interests” (p. 139). One topic raised in this chapter is the apparent “gap” in settlement in Syria-Palestine following the “overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty in the mid-eighth century” (p. 144). Also in this part of the book, Walmsley advocates that archaeologists working in the period should consider using resilience theory for interpreting Early Islamic period archaeological remains (p. 146). Specifically, he believes that resilience theory offers researchers an advantage over other theories in that it “offers an explanatory theoretical framework with which to analyse episodic occurrences of rapid social change, such as that which occurred around two generations after the Islamic expansion and that after the overthrow of the Umayyads, within the context of broader continuity in early Islamic times” (p. 147). On a broader level, Walmsley proposes that the use of this theory will have the added advantage of “reinvigorat[ing] archaeology” and thus make Early Islamic period archaeology “relevant” for modern societies (p. 147).

Following Chapter 6 there is a summary of the chronologies used for the Early Islamic period in Syria-Palestine (pp. 149–153). In particular, the reigns of the Orthodox, Umayyad, and Abbasid caliphs are presented, as well as Whitcomb’s chronology for the Early and Middle Islamic periods (pp. 152–153). In contrast to the political chronologies of the caliphs, Whitcomb’s chronological scheme is based on “archaeological periods” (p. 152). Oddly, these pages are not assigned a chapter number, nor are they identified as an appendix (for example, pp. 6, 149). This part of the book is followed by a very useful glossary of Arabic terms (pp. 154–155).

Two themes are prevalent throughout this publication. The first is Walmsley’s frustration with the traditional methodological and theoretical approaches that used to characterize Early Islamic period, and on a broader level, Middle Eastern archaeology (for example, pp. 11, 15, 27, 30, 69). Walmsley credits the “New Archaeology” with initiating fresh research questions in Early Islamic period archaeology that move beyond the more traditional focus on architecture and material culture (p. 27).

The second theme is Walmsley’s desire to use Early Islamic period archaeology as a bridge to promote cultural understanding among modern cultures (for example, pp. 10, 30, 137). This is clearly articulated in the preface of his publication (p. 10): “Now is certainly an exciting time to be an Islamic archaeologist at work in the Middle East, given not only the rapid advance of the subject in the region but also the modern world’s desperate need to understand and build dialogue between Anglo-European society and Islamic countries.” In particular, Walmsley believes that new archaeological research on this period can eliminate “misconceptions about Islamic history found in earlier Western scholarship, misconceptions still invoked today in debates over past relations between Christians, Muslims and Jews” (p. 10). The relevance of archaeology for promoting cultural understanding is also underscored at the beginning of the final chapter, where Walmsley states that he finished writing the book during the Second Lebanon War between Israel and the Iranian-supported paramilitary organization known as Hezbollah. He uses this conflict as a starting point to demonstrate how new archaeological research on the Early Islamic period has helped to dispel misconceptions about this period (p. 137): “The impression gained from this new analysis is in stark contrast to old views dominated by debilitating destruction and abrupt social dislocation throughout much of the region in Early Islamic times, as this book has attempted to show.”

This reviewer has two minor criticisms of this valuable volume. First, Walmsley’s statement that gold was mined in the southern “Arabah and al-Naqab” is based upon problematic research (pp. 119–120). In this instance, he is citing Avner and Magness (1998, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 310:44–45), who maintained that gold was mined in Wadi Tawahin, although archaeological evidence of this activity is virtually nonexistent (C. T. Shaw and B. Rothenberg, 2000, *Israel Exploration Journal*, 50:235–242). Second, Walmsley’s summary of the “rural” population of Early Islamic period Syria-Palestine (pp. 107–112) is incomplete, as he essentially ignores pastoral nomads. This is disappointing, especially given that Rosen and Avni’s research (1993, *Biblical Archaeologist*, 56:189–199) has done much to disprove the

same misconceptions of the Early Islamic period that Walmsley seeks to redress. These criticisms aside, the book is an excellent introduction to the archaeology of the Early Islamic period.

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Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga:
A Frontier Mission in South Texas
 Tamra Lynn Walter
 University of Texas Press, Austin,
 2006. 224 pp., 79 figs., index,
 \$48.00 cloth.

Students of the Spanish colonial borderlands, be they archaeologists or historians, will be pleased to own *Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga: a Frontier Mission in South Texas* by Dr. Tamra Lynn Walter of Texas Tech University. This attractively produced book is illustrated with terrifically clear black-and-white photographs and line drawings. The University of Texas Press is to be commended for the resolution and high contrast of these illustrations. Far too often muddy, unusable photographs ruin otherwise terrific publications. It is a worthy part of the *Texas Archaeology and Ethnohistory* series. The editor for this series, Thomas R. Hester, provides a foreword that provides background context for this book and its author.

In Texas history Mission Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga may be unique in that during its century of operation (1722–1832) it stood at four widely separated sites. Founded by the Franciscans, the mission was placed among semisedentary egalitarian peoples whose subsistence was predicated on gathering, fishing, and hunting. The first as-yet-undiscovered location was among the Karankawa in the vicinity of the site of LaSalle's abortive colony—Fort St. Louis—just inland from Matagorda Bay on the Texas Gulf coast. In 1725 it was relocated to another as-yet-undiscovered location a few miles to the west, near the modern town of Victoria. Seemingly, that location was used as a staging site and then later as a *visita* for the construction of the third site—that discussed in this volume—on the Guadalupe River in Mission Valley. There it operated among the Aranama people until 1749. The last site, used until 1832, is on the San Antonio River just south of the town of Goliad. It is interpreted by Texas Parks and Wildlife as part of Goliad State Park. It is worth noting that the population of the mission never exceeded

400 during the century of its operation.

The limestone ruins of the third site (1726–1749) were first scientifically recorded in 1965. Thirty years later the author's investigations were initiated. Her goal was a reconstruction of the lifeways associated with this site. During the five years of her investigations (1995–1999) Walter collected and documented important information on the architecture and plans of the mission compounds and a variety of associated features, including a quarry, lime kiln, dams, and an *acequia*, or irrigation system.

Nearly 80 pages of the book are devoted to material culture. More than 90% of the plain coiled and paddle-and-anvil-made ceramics were the bone-tempered pottery associated with the Aranama. About 900 of the 15,000 sherds were identified as Rockport ceramics, usually associated with the Karankawa. The remaining 180 sherds are Caddo pottery, thought to have been obtained through trade. Walter notes in her analysis that “no clear-cut technological distinctions have been recognized” that would distinguish the bone-tempered ceramics from so-called “Goliad” and “Leon Plain” ceramics associated with the last (1749–1832) site of Mission Espíritu Santo and the nearby site of Mission Rosario.

Another 800 fragments of Asian-derived porcelains, Mexican-made maiolicas, lead-glazed earthenwares, and other burnished ceramics were identified. I do hope that in the future Walter or another scholar will revisit the bone-tempered ceramics. It is clear that most fragments are very small but perhaps someday recognizable forms may reveal if “Colono” forms were associated with this site. Also, the lead-glazed ceramics might bear reanalysis either using instrumental neutron activation analysis or thin sectioning to better determine their origin. Shawn Carlson of the Star of the Republic Museum in Washington, Texas, has had success documenting locally produced and imported ceramics at other sites associated with Spanish colonial Texas using instrumental neutron activation analysis. Finally, in the museum at the last site of Mission Espíritu Santo near Goliad is a stilt or cockspur. This item of kiln furniture is associated with the fabrication

of glazed ceramics. Perhaps one of Dr. Walter's students will continue her research and will shed more light on this aspect of technology.

In addition to ceramics there is a discussion of bone, and chipped and ground stone tools. She finds great continuity from the protohistoric era in some items and a replacement of others with imported iron tools. Attention is also paid to glass and shell beads, and a cross-section of metal artifacts including the ubiquitous hand-wrought spikes and nails, and gun parts. Brass buckles, buttons and *higas*, copper vessel fragments, and lead shot and sprue are also described.

The fauna from the site are examined in one chapter. In it we find a broad cross-section of wild fauna. These include freshwater fish and shellfish, snails, snakes, turtles, and alligators. Rabbits, raccoons, gophers, rats, mice, bear, and deer are just some of the mammalian fauna

reported. Domesticated species include chicken, sheep, and cattle. Unfortunately, the floral aspect of mission foodways was not discussed. Even if botanicals were not recovered, a discussion of the documentary record would have been a nice addition.

One of the exciting aspects of this mission and the site documented in this book is that each site serves as a tightly circumscribed time capsule. When the other sites of Mission Espiritu Santo are located, future researchers will be aided in their efforts to delimit cultural continuity and change by Walter's fine contribution to the archaeology of Spanish colonial history.

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