

*The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture*

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This edited volume is a result of initial contributions made at the Twenty-Sixth Visiting Scholar Conference at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Jeb J. Card's question that framed this conference is outlined by Kathleen Deagan in her contribution to the volume, "[w]hat can these studies bring to the table in regard to understanding changes or persistence of culture and identity, and how does material culture overall relate to these matters?" (p. 260). This text answers a call for clarity, explanation, practical examples, and theoretical depth within the study of material culture and hybridity.

The ambiguous and problematic topic of hybridity and material culture is approached through four major sections within this text. Part 1 is a series of papers that discuss "Ceramic Change in Colonial America and the Caribbean." Part 2, "Ethnicity and Material Culture in Latin America," broadens the discussion of hybridity to encompass a larger area of geographical and cultural materials. Part 3, "Culture Contact and Transformation in Technological Style," further explores the themes of culture contact, exchange, and technology. Part 4, "Materiality and Identity," broadens the theoretical discussion of hybridity and material culture.

Card's introduction to the text outlines the general goal of the book as being to provide archaeologists with the "theoretical and concrete

tools for investigating objects and architecture with discernable elements from multiple cultural influences" (p. 1). Card also outlines another major issue within this discussion, which is one of definitions, both within and beyond postcolonial thought.

In the first part of this volume Matthew Liebmann discusses cultural amalgamation in 17th-century New Mexico. Liebmann offers a clear warning regarding the overuse of the term hybridity, and the likely outcome that it will be "defanged" and lose impact. Liebmann's discussion of the postcolonial concept of hybridity and other terms (acculturation, syncretism, bricolage, creolization, and *mestizaje*) used to describe cultural overlap and intermixture in cross-cultural settings defines hybridity as a term that should be used within the power differential that develops within colonialism. Mark W. Hauser's paper discusses Caribbean ceramics within the context of creolization and taxonomic issues that arise from this study area. Ann S. Cordell provides an in-depth discussion of continuity and change regarding Apalachee style pottery at Old Mobile that demonstrates European style influences. Card offers a case study of early Spanish colonial San Salvador that, unlike other studies in the Americas, demonstrates substantial indigenous adoption of European styles and materials. Melissa Chatfield discusses a technologically complex analysis of the hybrid pottery of Cuzco in the late pre-Hispanic period until the Spanish colonial period and applies these findings successfully to the study of culture contact based on the model of variable power structures (R. T. Alexander, Afterword: Toward an Archaeological Theory of Culture Contact, in *Studies in Culture Contact*, J.

G. Cusick, editor, pp. 476–495, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1998).

In part 2 of this volume, Jonathan Hill examines how the concepts of ethnogenesis, hybridity, and persistent identities are currently being applied within Amazonian anthropology, and refines the term ethnogenesis within this context. Eleanor Harrison-Buck, Ellen Spensley Moriarty, and Patricia A. McAnany discuss imitation volcanic ware in the upper Belize valley in the Peten region in relation to identity formation through hybrid material culture as a negotiation of economic power structures. Haagen D. Klaus discusses hybridity in colonial Peru through the use of bioarchaeology and ethnohistoric evidence and offers a number of in-depth examples that could be readily applied to future interdisciplinary research. Carrie Brezine's chapter explores the concept of hybridity in relation to Peruvian textiles within a colonial context and utilizes technological and cultural changes to discuss identity and power relations.

Deagan's synthesis chapter is integral to assisting this text achieve the goal of clarifying the discussion of hybridity and material culture. She examines the contribution of the discussion of hybridity within the study of material culture in varying contexts of power asymmetry, not just the context of colonialism, which adds to the depth of the overall discussion and "is a very useful contribution to this conference volume." Deagan also emphasizes the importance of "contextual and diachronic" analysis in regard to the incorporation of hybridity and identity within cross-cultural settings regardless of power differentials. A timely reminder to the archaeologist is also offered in this chapter, however: hybrid material culture should not necessarily always be interpreted as part of identity construction and can also be explained through "creativity, emulation, and commercial production" (p. 274).

In part 3 of this volume, Claire Tolmie's chapter explores the archaeological record in western Europe in relation to Neanderthals and argues that the introduction of bone tools was not necessarily caused by acculturation or contact with modern humans, but was an independent product of environmental change. James L. Flexner and Colleen L. Morgan's chapter discusses hybridity within the context of the discovery of knapped glass tools at a leprosarium in Hawaii. The analysis indicates innovation beyond traditional techniques on the island that the authors interpret also as a form of adaptation to Hansen's disease. Catherine J. Frieman critically reexamines the concept of skeuomorphism and then applies this discussion to an example of jet and gold jewelry within the British early Bronze Age tradition. This discussion considers the social and material context of artifacts and serves as an example of cross-media imitation as a form of hybridity. Janet Lynn Griffiths's chapter discusses the adaptation of new technologies and argues that Native American toolmakers experimented with new technologies and did not always adopt new material over traditional manufacturing techniques. Kathleen L. Ehrhardt's chapter discusses hybrid material culture in the North American midcontinent in relation to European copper introduced to the Americas as a trade item and utilized by Native American toolmakers who were not yet directly affected by colonialism.

In part 4 of this volume Jeffery J. Clark, Deborah L. Huntley, J. Brett Hill, and Patrick D. Lyons explore the topic of hybridity within the Kayenta diaspora in the precontact U.S. Southwest. The authors of the study use both low and high visibility artifacts as markers for the persistence of cultural identity and asymmetrical power relationships between diaspora and established communities. Katherine Hayes discusses interaction between African

American and Native American populations on Shelter Island during the 17th century through an analysis of ceramics at the site. This study considers the construction of racial identity and social change from within a process of technological analysis. Christopher M. Roberts's chapter examines hybridity between the iconology of Iron Age Europe and Roman Europe through a combination of Pierre Bourdieu's social theory and Erwin Panofsky's theory of iconology. Sevil Baltali Tirpan explores sociocultural meanings through combining aspects of syncretism, cultural integration theory, and postcolonial theory in analysis of the hybridized architectural spaces in sites in the northern Mesopotamian dating from the Late Chalcolithic period.

Stephen W. Silliman's concluding chapter synthesizes the various approaches to hybridity taken by the previous authors in the text and provides further discussion for the future use of the term. Silliman warns that in order for hybridity to be a workable term within the

discipline, "[w]e need precision in terminology, care in borrowing, and development in theory before hybridity will work for archaeology. It cannot be applied indiscriminately or extensionally": a warning that is relevant to several studies within this volume.

Overall this text provides a useful platform for the discussion of the archaeology of hybrid material culture and the various approaches that can broaden the scope of the topic. The introduction by Card, Liebmann's chapter, and the synthesis chapters by Deagan and Silliman provide critical guidance through the complexities of this topic. This text meets the goal of providing a guide, which will no doubt continue to assist in the analysis of our understanding and interpretation of cultural interaction and material culture in future studies.

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