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REVIEWS

Sam Smiles and Stephanie Moser (eds), 2005. *Envisioning the Past: Archaeology and the Image*. Blackwell, Malden MA. Paper. xiv + 246 pp., bib, index. \$AUD76.95.

Garry Law

This book is a collection of twelve papers loosely about imaging and archaeology, from European or North American scholars plus one Egyptian, and all dealing with the old world. It encompasses contributions from archaeologists, architects, art historians and anthropologists. It is not an intensely illustrated book, reflecting its positioning as an intellectual exploration of the use, production and perception of images.

Monique Scott presents some findings from interviews with visitors at the British Museum of Natural History and the Horniman Museum, both with substantial graphic displays on human evolution. Most visitors accepted the African origin of themselves but a surprising proportion seemingly see the movement of modern people out of Africa as more than a physical movement; as a stage of evolution towards the people represented by the museum visitors (mostly white Europeans). In other words modern Africans were seen by many as a step back in the evolutionary chain. This is a disturbing finding and one that the article suggests is reinforced by the now often repeated 'out of Africa' phrase. The Horniman has a sizeable display on the diversity of modern African village cultures. Yet beyond noting that, little analysis is offered on what were sins of omission or commission of the museums' displays that might have engendered, or failed to counter such a belief. That they are not quite up to date on the genetic homogeneity of modern humans is suggested, but not documented. This is frustrating.

Two scholars deal with representations of ancient architecture. Susan Dixon, dealing with Piranesi the famous illustrator of ancient Rome, notes how he sometimes transformed the material he saw, making representations which excluded the modern surrounds of sites and replacing them with rural landscapes. He was active at the time some of the sites of Rome were being cleared of their more recent accumulations. Piranesi pictured the excavations in some views and was perhaps projecting a view of what the finished state should be on others. Italian architect Palladio (presented by Dana Arnold), in recording ancient

buildings, reconstructed parts which were now missing and represented them in architects' formal orthogonal views. Moreover Palladio, as a scholar of the classical works on architecture, when he found ancient buildings which did not quite conform to the classically proscribed proportions, drew them as if they did! Clearly drawing was analysis as well as representation. His drawings are, of course, vastly influential in the world of architecture to this day, in part because they continue to conform to architects' modes of representation.

Jonathan Bateman, considering the formal and social photography of modern excavations, reminds us that formal photography has its own very strict set of rules which are a strong filter on what is represented and there is a strong divide between the formal and the social photography of excavations. Individual photographers rarely cross the divide, a situation which Bateman explores. Selection and emphasis are implicit in imaging, including photography. The filters of Piranesi and Palladio in their representations are as intrinsic to representation as, if different from, those we use today.

Fredrick Bohrer applies some Freudian perspective to archaeological photography, considering it as metaphor and seeing photography as the product of psychological mechanics, encompassing two views of an object present in the mind of the photographer. The position may make sense to someone steeped in Freud but it lost me. Freud was an enthusiastic collector of antiquities, but apart from this the connection to archaeology is not really clear. The two photographs presented were certainly in the art, rather than the site recording end of archaeological photography.

One interesting chapter by Graeme Earl discusses the production of virtual reality and its use by popular media, particularly television. He notes the time and cost demands of the medium often restrict the scholarly input to their creation and their consumptive use in documentary television often precludes use in other media where there is opportunity for interactive learning.

Mark Gillings considers the role of virtual reality in archaeology, arguing it must proceed from its origin of "being done because it can be done." He emphasises the need to find research applications for the technology as well as the story telling. There is an analogy here with architecture. VR in architecture is little used as a design tool but is largely a selling point to clients unskilled at reading plans. Of course a vast part of our public is unskilled at reading site maps and reports, so VR is a legitimate communication tool. But it can be more. The challenge is to find where. Location analysis of sites now in obscured, or radically reshaped landscapes, must be one.

Two chapters had, to me, no justification for being there at all. One on modern mythology of an archaeological site was interesting (and even had local analogies) but had nothing to do with images. Another on how the early images

of American Indians were conditioned by and influenced views of human development in Europe, had nothing directly to do with archaeology.

The book is not an easy read, for the language spans the technical terminology of archaeology, architecture, art history and media studies, some of it with feminist and post-modernist analytical terms as well. The editors did not require their authors to make much concession to those (everyone?) who were reading something outside their areas of expertise. The jargon-filled introductory chapter by the editors is little help in bringing the contributions together. I suspect most readers without a central interest in archaeological imaging will find something that they connect with in only a few of the chapters. There is a much better book inside the material here than this one, but it would need one author, or some much more directive editing, for it to have emerged.

Andrew Dalby, 2000. *Empire of Pleasures: Luxury and Indulgence in the Roman World*. Paper. x + 352 pp., figs., bib., index. Routledge, London. £16.99.

Stephanie Green, Anthropology Department, University of Auckland

The physical geography of the Roman Empire was habitually changing, never steady, always fragile. Even as early as the second century AD it had changed drastically. Instead of concentrating on the physical geography, Andrew Dalby presents in his book *The Empire of Pleasures* a “literary geography” of the Roman Empire. He gives us a new look at the empire through the eyes of its poets and authors. He states his intention as being to “help historians and archaeologists to imagine the world of the senses that belongs with the world of monuments and inscriptions, dates and deposits.” Dalby has succeeded in this aim.

Dalby writes as though the reader were a time traveller, wrapped in a toga and sitting on a crowded tour bus rolling through the Roman countryside. The guides include the likes of Vergil, Pliny the Elder, Horace, Martial, Juvenal, Ovid, Cicero, Petronius, Catullus, and, of course, Dalby himself, translating and complementing with his own twenty-first century knowledge and flair.

The tour departs at Rome, but instead of exploring the grand city we peregrinate away from her along the main streets—*Via Appia*, *Via Flaminia*, *Via Sacra* and others—stopping at each town on the way. We move out of Rome, all the way to the furthest reaches of the Empire. All the while Dalby and his literary authorities share their delights and disgraces, sampling the exotic foods and tasting the various wines, meeting the ribald ladies and collecting knowledge of the senses of the empire from all its myriad peoples.

When we return to Rome, we see the city through the eyes of the ‘people without history.’ Dalby and his gang take us away from the Caesars and their golden halls, away from the expensive banquets and courtly intrigues, to the true heart of the city, to the streets. In the style of post-war historians we walk amongst the vagabonds and street vendors, visit brothels and bookshops and markets, sample all manner of fare, and attend the games and the theatre.

Dalby summarises the tour by exploring the arts of food and love—“the arts of human interaction – that we...appraise the value that Romans placed on the products of their Empire.” Dalby shows how these are one in the same, and the Romans defined themselves by their success in these arts. He suggests that Homeric ideals influence the representation of food and banqueting in Roman literature, that above all the Romans prized a meal that invoked the wild and untamed. He discusses what the Romans found attractive in a lover and their thoughts on adultery and secret affairs. “Romans love to catalogue the manifold luxuries the empire bought”, he states, “even as they castigate themselves and others for wanting them.”

The skill of Dalby comes from the way he manages the near inexhaustible number of ancient sources in his text, incorporating them skilfully so they are not a messy rabble of guides, but instead a highly cohesive army of scholars. He approaches his topic with a passion and an insatiable delight. His prose neither stilted nor overpowers that of his ancient sources.

His description of Baiae, near Cumae, is a perfect example of his skill:

‘Baiae, golden shore of happy Venus, pleasant gift of proud nature’ (Martial 11.80), the holiday playground of the rich and leisured aristocracy of Rome... A stay at Baiae was bound to be expensive. One went there to enjoy oneself, and one did so in society – a society that spent freely on its pleasures, gastronomic and otherwise. (pp 52–3)

The reader can sense what the Romans sensed. Baiae was the Roman holiday resort, there was beautiful scenery, sulphur baths, sea-fishing, fine dining and ample lovers to seduce. To us it sounds like the ultimate in holiday destinations, and these people 2000 years ago felt exactly the same. It is as if humankind hasn’t aged a day.

The structure of the work was at first surprising. One expected the tour to begin in Rome and then spread slowly outwards. But by placing Rome as the finale, the reader can better appreciate the city and her utter conglomeration and cacophony of sights, sounds, smells and faces, from all corners of the empire. The discussion of Rome and the following study of food and love are easily understood when seen in the context of the entire empire.

My only complaint with this book is with the meagre amount of analysis in the final chapter. I would have loved Dalby to go into greater depth in his interpretations of Roman gastronomy and courtship. But maybe, as some of Dalby's sources complain after a night's drinking and loving, there can actually be too much of a good thing.

Dalby's prose is engaging, and his management of scores of literary sources into an organised, cohesive whole, make this book not just enjoyable, but a scholarly achievement. Anyone interested in what the Romans themselves sensed as they travelled throughout their empire, partaking of the exotic foods and wines and lovers, will find this book indispensable.

Lynne P. Sullivan and S. Terry Childs, 2003. *Curating Archaeological Collections: From the Field to the Repository*. Archaeologist's Toolkit, 6. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek. Paper. x + 150 pp., tables, bib., index. \$USD24.95.

Shaun Higgins, Auckland War Memorial Museum

Archaeological fieldwork creates collections that inevitably require long term management, both from university excavation and contract archaeology. So where does it all go? *Curating Archaeological Collections* discusses this issue as well as other related subjects.

The book is part of a series of toolkits designed to cover different aspects of archaeology, ranging from survey and excavation to artefact analysis. This particular volume, number six, is a welcome addition to such a toolkit as it attempts to broach an ignored subject in archaeological practice. It is suggested that the issue of the curation of collections such as those created from excavation and stored in museums is one of particular relevance with regards to current graduate students and their research. This elevation of the importance of stored collections of the past signals a change in archaeology. Resources are no longer abundant for the creation of new deposits. There is a huge range of material scattered across museums and other storage locations around the world. The authors are by no means alone in this assertion. Others follow a similar path of reasoning; rich insights await those who are prepared to spend their careers in air-conditioned laboratories (Fagan 2003: 94).

Special attention is given to discussion of the current state of archaeological collections, citing case studies from around the USA. As the book is predominantly American in focus, its country specific references such as the NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) will no doubt require adaptation to suit local legal situations, but nonetheless it

does provide a comprehensive overview of the situation in the USA. The NAGPRA in particular has had a great impact on the present state of American collections due to its requirement that they make an inventory to determine the contents of such and to address ownership issues.

Once the current political and legal scene is set, the writers move on to curation itself. The existence of a crisis is discussed with regards to collections in less than ideal contexts with an increasing state of fragmentation from their original state. Professional responsibilities in the curation of such collections are suggested, taking into account issues such as cost and information management. If such things are quantified and initiated at an early stage, then perhaps future crisis can be avoided.

Perhaps one of the most important distinctions made in this book is the distinction made between curator and archaeologist. While an individual can be trained in both fields, an archaeologist who attempts to organise collections often does so without necessarily knowing the inner working of repositories such as museums. Archaeological collection managers need a range of skills associated with curation and museology which are currently outside the sphere of archaeological instruction. However, this does not let archaeologists off the hook. As suggested in one of the author's earlier studies, everyone involved in the archaeological profession is responsible for curation (Childs and Corcoran 2000). This leads to the notion of curation consideration in fieldwork practices.

The authors propose that even before fieldwork commences, consideration for curation requirements and the creation of a collection be made. By selecting a final repository and following good conservation practices throughout the excavation and indeed in the laboratory, the creation of a well managed collection is possible. They discuss the argument that archaeologists should aim not only to answer their own research questions, but also to establish a representative collection which caters for future research on site(s). This is not a new argument by any means, but often leads to problems of storage and high curation costs. The suggested solution is the use of consistent procedures in the field and laboratory to sample classes of objects. Sampling should be applied with the notion of storage requirements, and in the case of materials such as soil samples, archaeologists should take only that which they require for their research goals, ensuring they are processed quickly. It is suggested that conservation practices be applied to objects in the field with the understanding that the 'temporary' treatment an object receives in such contexts is often its only treatment.

There are many more aspects to curation of archaeological collections and their continued existence that are covered in the book, such as the treatment of documentation associated with excavation and the importance of its continued association and preservation. All of these elements lead to a well managed

collection, much of which ultimately hinges on the activities of the archaeologist. One can find ample room for future field practices to change and adapt to curative responsibility and the long term consideration of such work, but what of existing collections? As this is a book designed to instruct students as they study various aspects of archaeology, it is primarily targeted towards future generations of archaeologists. It does not provide many solutions to the current state of collections which have had no sensible curation from an early stage.

Those who become curators of such collections will have to tackle this issue, and as such collections are revisited by further studies from new students, the recognition of their importance will increase.

This book would make an excellent starting point for similar studies based on New Zealand cases. We are no less threatened and no more free of the issues discussed in the American context. Our own collections exist in various museums and universities across the country and can only benefit from such scrutiny. The approaches suggested by Sullivan and Childs offer a chance to kick-start such awareness in students and professionals alike. Literature on the topic is sparse at best and certainly not common in archaeological circles. Such a book is a welcome breath of fresh air in otherwise dusty storerooms.

References

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Louise Furey and Simon Holdaway (eds), 2004. *Change through Time: 50 Years of New Zealand Archaeology*. New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 26. New Zealand Archaeological Association, Auckland. Paper. viii + 374 pp, figs, tables, bib., index, CD. \$45.00.

Marianne Turner, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Kerikeri

This volume commemorates and celebrates the 50th birthday of the New Zealand Archaeological Association. An updated synthesis of the state of New Zealand archaeology has been for sometime overdue and this is a welcome addition to the body of literature.

As stated in the introduction, this volume is about New Zealand archaeology, not New Zealand prehistory. Thus it is more concerned with how the profession has developed and how ideas, theories and methods have changed over time. The volume, therefore, has a strong historic perspective befitting a

commemorative tome. The title *Change through Time* is also very appropriate; as explained in the introduction, it not only refers to a major theme in New Zealand archaeology but also to the changes the profession itself has experienced and is still undergoing.

The major aims of the volume were to review the current literature, particularly the theoretical setting, and to outline the history of the discipline. Another important aim was to provide directions to propel New Zealand archaeologists into the next 50 years with a sure eye, an enquiring mind and an abundance of enthusiasm. Overall, despite some variability in quality among the chapters, I think it manages to pull this off.

There are fourteen chapters based on the major topics and issues that have been, and still are, the focus of New Zealand archaeology. In addition, each author was asked to undertake the unenviable task of basing their chapter around a classic paper or two. These seventeen classic papers have been copied onto a CD which is included as an extra bonus at the back of the book.

Eleven chapters outline and review the development of the various sub-disciplines and areas of research in New Zealand archaeology. They include material culture, social organization, settlement pattern and landscape archaeology, ritual, sourcing studies, cultivation, zooarchaeology, chronology, bio-anthropology, historic archaeology and heritage management.

This is a volume best dipped into rather than read from cover to cover. The first five chapters, apart from Chapter 2 on material culture, suffer from some repetition. I certainly do not dispute the significance and impact the ground breaking regional studies of Palliser Bay, Pouto and Pouterua had on New Zealand archaeology but by the time I had reached the end of Chapter 5, and read about these studies for the third and fourth time I was feeling a little jaded. I am also not convinced we needed two chapters (Chapter 3 and 4) on settlement patterns and social organisation. Both papers basically cover the same ground. Of the two, Chapter 4 by Caroline Phillips and Matthew Campbell is a much more up to date and coherent paper. This may not be unrelated to the fact that Phillips and Campbell are currently active in New Zealand archaeology whereas the author of Chapter 3, Yvonne Marshall, is not. Andrew Crosby's paper on ritual also suffers from the author's lengthy absence away from New Zealand archaeology. Furthermore, I was somewhat aghast that a paper on ritual, one that includes a section on 'mortuary practices', could conclude with barely a mention of Wairau Bar.

On a more positive note, I predict that this volume is destined to become a major textbook for courses teaching New Zealand archaeology. If I were an archaeology student pondering what direction to take, the chapters by Melinda Allen and Lisa Ngatoka (zooarchaeology) and Elizabeth Matisoo-Smith (bio-

anthropology) would inspire. Both provide a good concise balance between how the study of the subject has developed and the strengths and weaknesses of the results obtained from the various approaches. The discussions on future directions were particularly good and the numbers of archaeology students in these areas will probably rise as a result. Tom Higham and Martin Jones' chapter on chronology and settlement is also to be commended, not the least for providing an objective stand-back review of 'the dating game' which makes a change from papers determined to get their particular theory across with a blunt instrument.

Three further papers open the volume (Chapter 1) and close it (Chapter 14) with a refreshing break near the middle (Chapter 6). These papers take a broader approach to the study of New Zealand archaeology. Chapter 1 by Simon Holdaway is valuable in showing us the origins of our theoretical leanings. For example, I was part of a generation reared on Janet Davidson's *Prehistory of New Zealand* and have always wondered why I had difficulty understanding the earlier generation's preoccupations with defining sequences. Additionally, Holdaway raises an important point which New Zealand archaeologists sometimes overlook (and there are echoes of this shortcoming in several of the papers in this volume); the need for archaeologists to include issues of archaeological site formation processes in their studies.

Both Chapter 6 and 14 "advocate a more explicitly Polynesian perspective for New Zealand archaeology" (Walter p. 134). In the 50 years since its professional inception, New Zealand archaeology has become more independent and locally focused and this has had both negative and positive outcomes. Ironically, in attempting to argue why New Zealand archaeologists should become more 'Polynesianist' (p. 125), Walter's second section in Chapter 6 also demonstrates some of the problems in doing so. Some of the assertions made, for example, several references to Wairau Bar as "the only true example we have in New Zealand of a nucleated East Polynesian settlement" (p. 139) and, with respect to pa "what is clear is that warfare rather than religious ritual was one of their functions, and that New Zealand did not follow the general East Polynesian pattern" (p. 143) are open to debate. These criticisms aside or perhaps even because of them, I found Walter's chapter one of the more stimulating in the volume.

Other important comments concerning future directions for New Zealand archaeology include Matisoo-Smith's advice (Chapter 11) on the need for more collaborative efforts in the face of increasing specialisation within, and resulting isolation between, the various sub-disciplines of anthropology and archaeology. Joint efforts will better enable the pooling of research results to inform on broader archaeological and anthropological issues.

In a similar vein, there is the wonderfully apt quotation from Roger Green that opens the last chapter (Chapter 14 by Stuart Bedford). First given in 1963, this advice is still as relevant as ever. Here Green urges us to stick our necks out and enter the realms of possible ‘wrong theories and erroneous speculations’ in order to stimulate new areas of investigation, even if they do emerge from a critique of our own efforts. But to do this we return to that perennial problem, one that in this volume is most strongly articulated by Ian Smith in Chapter 12 in his discussion of historical archaeology; the need to publish the results of our research, and particularly to publish in accessible journals and formats.

While not quite qualifying as the New Zealand archaeology bible, I think there is something here to pique the interest of most people involved in, or wishing to know more about, New Zealand archaeology. There is a comprehensive 78 page bibliography which boasts 1500 references by over 800 different authors. This in itself makes the volume worth having.

Let us hope that the next 50 years are as eventful and rewarding. In the meantime we should get cracking with the classic papers of 2054.

Scott M. Fitzpatrick (ed), 2004. *Voyages of Discovery: The Archaeology of Islands*. Praeger, Westport CT. Cloth. xviii + 309 pp. figs., tables, index, bib. \$USD79.95.

James Conolly, Anthropology Department, Trent University

I began my review from what I soon discovered to be the perspective of several of the authors in this enjoyable collection of essays: namely that ‘island archaeology’ is not a sub-discipline of archaeology any more than ‘boreal forest archaeology’ or ‘New Zealand archaeology’ denotes a separate and coherent body of method and theory distinct from that practiced elsewhere. At the end I remain convinced of the validity of this perspective especially, as several of the papers show, the history of island archaeology has moved towards demonstrating how the concept of ‘insularity’ is a cultural construct, manipulated by both islanders and the anthropologists who study them. This is not to say that there are no differences between the long-term historical dynamics of continental and insular societies: more rarely are larger landmasses abandoned; more rarely do we see near-complete cultural isolation; more rarely do we have evidence for total environmental catastrophe. While infrequent, these do occur on islands and have an impact on the people who live on them. Similarly, with the exception of ‘island continents’ like New Zealand, New Guinea or Ireland, islands are often difficult places to live, lacking the social safety net of friendly neighbours—planning, foresight and luck are required. So islands are interesting places to do

archaeology, and while the social and environmental dynamics that unfold on islands are not *necessarily* different than those in non-insular regions, they are at times more circumscribed and pronounced, and building an understanding of island life helps us as social scientists understand the variables influencing social organisation and cultural change.

This book does a good job of highlighting the contribution of island archaeologists to these wider issues. The first of four thematic sections, “Humans and their island environments”, contains three papers that examine the exploitation strategies and impact of islanders on the local resource base. Of the three I found Carlson & Keegen’s paper on resource depletion in the West Indies the most valuable, as it develops a model of territoriality from game theory that can be tested by examining resource availability and settlement patterning in other contexts. In contrast, the observations of the other two papers, by Erlandson et al., and by Kennet and Clifford, both based in California’s Channel Islands, are somewhat at odds with each other, with the former not entirely convincingly arguing that resource exploitation by pre-European peoples may have involved aspects of conservation that limited impacts on the island ecosystem, and the latter clearly showing the opposite.

The second section, “Island interregional interaction”, provides a selection of case studies that demonstrate the complexity of human mobility and social networking in insular contexts. Takamiya’s paper on Okinawa parallels many of the old debates in Europe concerning the relative influence of demic vs. cultural diffusion in the spread of farming, and the replacement of indigenous hunter-gatherers by exogenous farmers. The technological organisation of long-distance stone money exchange by Yapese Islanders is discussed by Fitzpatrick & Diveley, who illustrate the oft-claimed but less frequently demonstrated statement that the sea can as much facilitate movement as restrict it. White, examining animal translocation in the New Guinea archipelago, similarly shows how interconnected islands can be, and how the Pleistocene inhabitants of the New Guinea region were manipulating their environments and “organizing their worlds according to their needs.”

I found the papers grouped in third theme, “Methodological, theoretical, and historical approaches to island archaeology”, the most valuable and provocative. Papers by Curet and Terrell in their own ways challenge the concept of ‘island archaeology’ as a useful construct. Curet’s review of Caribbean archaeology, and its avoidance of an insular framework in favour of a model of cultural interaction between islands highlights the more general problem with ‘top-down’ models, and suggests that archaeologists start from the ‘bottom-up’ to build the articulation between units of observation and units of analysis. Terrell’s paper reconciles the environmental history of New Guinea, particularly

the articulation of its coastal environments, with its cultural diversity. His is the most programmatic of the papers, providing a well-argued case for rejecting a phylogenetic model of culture history in favour of a reticulate history. I maintain some sympathy with the objectives of the former for understanding culture history, but most will accept his argument that isolation should not be an *a priori* assumption. A Mediterranean perspective is provided by Cherry, who explains how the unique context of this dynamic region has militated against its use as a comparative context for other insular regions, even though Mediterranean archaeologists, myself included, have been strongly influenced by the study of islands elsewhere. More generally, he argues for a more balanced approach to the study of islands, one that accepts the critique of islands as laboratories for the study of isolation and otherness, but at the same time reflects on the explanatory value of a more culturally-nuanced biogeography and human ecology.

The final section, “The study of island and island societies”, contains two papers of which the first, Anderson’s *Islands of ambivalence*, stands out as the most valuable in the entire volume. I found his insights the most coherent for setting out the rationale for the comparative study of islands: from isolate to centralised node, from small to continental, from ecologically diverse to narrow, from environmentally fragile to robust. By “taking advantage of the structural properties of insularity to sharpen analytical penetration of historical processes”, Anderson argues that islands remain good places to do archaeology. Yet, to me at least, insularity remains a phenomenon that is partly geographically determined, but mostly culturally constructed, and is surprisingly difficult to define.

As most of the essays in this volume make clear, the defining properties of islands, their geographic and, thus, supposedly, cultural isolation can not be assumed to be the case except in extreme situations, thus removing one of the things that supposedly make islands interesting to social scientists in the first place. Fitzpatrick’s statement in the introduction, that one of the goals of island archaeology is “determining the extent to which island societies evolved culturally, politically, and economically over time”, reaffirms my belief that ‘island archaeology’ is no more and no less than archaeology done on islands. Where then does that leave those who enjoy working on islands and wish to forge a sub-disciplinary identity? As this volume makes clear, island cultures, particularly over the long term, remain good places to do archaeology, in part because we may be better able to control the influence of variables that make the work of our ‘mainlander’ colleagues difficult, and because the complex interplay of social and environmental history is typically amplified in island societies. It is important not to evoke too strongly the (not wholly erroneous) ‘laboratory’ analogy, so I personally prefer to use a ‘small world’ metaphor for, as this collection of essays makes clear, islands are engaged in the same sorts of

similarly complex social and environmental dynamics as larger land masses. Islands have an important place in current discussions of human responses to environmental change, resource depletion, sustainability, social networks, population growth, movement and migration, and it is not surprising that these issues have traditionally been at the forefront for archaeologists working in island contexts. Only in this sense, the contribution of islands to broader archaeological questions, do I see a potentially distinctive role for ‘island archaeology’ and this volume, by addressing many of these issues demonstrates the value of such an undertaking.

Yorke Rowan and Uzi Baram (eds), 2004. *Marketing Heritage: Archaeology and the Consumption of the Past*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek. Paper. x + 315 pp., bib., index. \$USD27.95.

John Coster, Tauranga Museum

Will the entire surface of the Earth be reduced to dust under the trampling feet of tourists searching for the ultimate heritage experience? Given Gaia’s propensity for balance and redress, probably not, but there will be a lot of damage. This book, focussing on “archaeology’s intersection with globalization”, examines some of the reasons why.

Starting from a special session at the 2001 conference of the American Anthropology Association, Yorke Rowan (Smithsonian Institution) and Uzi Baram (New College of Florida) have put together a wide-ranging volume of seventeen papers by nineteen American and British academics. Generally of unflagging interest, thankfully free of jargon or theoretical conceits, and providing some important case studies, this is a good read for anyone involved in Cultural Heritage Management or concerned about the future of the world’s archaeological sites. References at the end of each chapter provide opportunity for further exploration of the issues raised.

The book is divided into six parts, with a comprehensive introduction by Rowan and Baram and a concluding overview chapter by Philip Kohl. Four interrelated themes stand out. The first is the commodification of heritage, whereby monuments of the past become symbolic or actual tradable goods, is the major and pervasive theme of the book. The investigation, preservation, management, interpretation and marketing of archaeological sites form a causal chain, requiring increasing numbers of visitors in order to justify the effort expended on them. Issues such as the need for states or institutions to attract income through tourism, selection of particular sites for marketing to tourists in preference to other arguably more important ones, the selective channelling of

funding for preservation of one site but not another and the authorised or illicit consumerism of the souvenir and antiquities markets are all examined. In the editors' words, "the past [has become] a resource that could be utilized for widening the profit margin for various endeavors."

Secondly, the use of historic sites as political and nationalist symbols is examined in a range of case studies, starting with the so-called Elgin Marbles, where Steve Vinson describes the British imperial need to identify with and subsume the prestige of ancient Greece, and Morag Kersel uses the concept of "symbolic capital" to analyse the debate over the return of the Parthenon Marbles. Here, in Aotearoa, we might translate the term as "mana" and refer to the state's return of Aoraki (Mt. Cook) or Mauao (Mt. Maunganui) to tangata whenua. The destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas and the Ayodyha Mosque as symbols of rival ideologies, described in a chapter by Jonathan Golden, also have their counterparts in New Zealand's past—the driving of roads through battle sites such as Rangiriri and Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) comes to mind.

Kersel's discussion of the issues surrounding the Elgin Marbles raises broader questions about repatriation and colonial rapacity. Would it be better for the world's archaeological patrimony to be distributed throughout its cultural institutions, so that it can only be destroyed in relatively small portions, at decent intervals, and everyone may see a bit in their local museum? Or should it all remain in its place of origin, where tourists must pay to see it and large chunks can be destroyed instantly by a chance Venetian shell, as in the case of the Parthenon in 1687, or by an American army encampment, as at Babylon last year (McCarthy & Kennedy, 2005)?

Subtler than destruction, but perhaps more insidious, is the creation of an "imagined national identity" through the "design and manufacture of sites of collective memory" by the Israeli National Park Service, as discussed by Joel Bauman, which leads into the third theme. The creation of semi-fictional pasts for consumption by the tourist industry, partly as a result of the need to reduce complex events and places to a few easily understood concepts, is examined from a number of points of view. Kelli Ann Costa looks at the marketing of archaeological heritage at sites such as Navan Fort and New Grange in Ireland and the difficulty of adequately interpreting a site while maintaining economic viability. Erin Addison puts forward a case that American aid to Jordan leads to the neglect of sites of Islamic heritage in favour of the (safer) classical and Christian. Richard Handler discusses in depth the various responses to Colonial Williamsburg's decision that horse shit in the streets is good for authenticity, while at the other end of the interpretive scale, in one of the book's highlights, Rowan introduces us to the Holy Land Experience theme park in Orlando, Florida,

where visitors can see replicas of biblical structures such as “Calvary’s Garden Tomb” without the inconvenience of being exposed to the real thing.

Finally, appropriation of indigenous cultural heritage by states and national tourism industries, the question of who owns the past, is discussed by Traci Ardren with reference to the marketing of Central American Mayan sites and, incidentally, by Bauman’s examination of the site of Sepphoris, where the focus of interpretation is on the site’s Jewish and Roman aspects rather than on its more recent Islamic and Palestinian past.

As globalisation extends its tentacles of commodification around the world, cultural heritage has never been in so much danger. *Marketing Heritage* starts with a useful compendium of international conventions designed to protect the physical evidence of the human past and goes on to provide examples of how ineffective they can be. Beginning with Kersel’s account of the destruction of the Parthenon and the expatriation of the “Elgin Marbles”, the discussion moves on to the horrifying looting of Ankorian sites in Cambodia. Miriam Stark and Bion Griffin describe individual thefts of up to 40 tonnes of stone carvings from Cambodia, in response to demand from collectors in America, Europe, Japan and Singapore. They draw a direct connection between a post-Khmer Rouge rise in cultural tourism and the looting of sites. As the knowledge of these treasures becomes more widespread, so too does the desire to own a piece.

The book’s examples of Cambodia and Greece offer parallels to pre-Columbian America, where the collusion of collectors, dealers, museums, smugglers, grave robbers and looters has destroyed vast numbers of sites (Akinsha 2005). These accounts provide a salutary reminder of the real cost of great museum collections and exhibitions such as Auckland Museum’s recent display of Peruvian material (*Gold & Sacrifice: Treasures of Ancient Peru*, July–September 2003). We need to be aware that many collections, private and public, are the result, not of careful, dispassionate, scientific enquiry, but of simple greed and theft.

References

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