

includes “animate soul-bearing beings,” “other-than-human beings,” and “other-than-human entities.” These categories are overly vague, and it is not always clear from the context whether the authors mean living things we find in the world around us, or the spiritual aspect of the being that has moved into a different realm, or hidden forces working around us. I personally find my dog to be an “other-than-human entity,” yet she is a fundamentally different sort of entity than those created by the Zuni of New Mexico when they deliberately broke items to make them no longer useful in this world but useful in the spiritual world. Another potential issue is that the “other-than-human beings” discussed in places might include human souls. The ethnographic record is replete with instances in which groups emphasize that recently deceased people can appear as apparitions wearing their clothes and speaking. Generations later the deceased person becomes nameless and joins the corporate ancestors. From a global and comparative perspective, humans tend to have elaborate ceremonies to please the recently deceased, so that the dead will move on and not bother the living or, conversely, to call them back to help the living. For many warrior sodalities, an enemy’s scalp or head could be used to harness a powerful *human* spirit. These important insights are not captured by, and may in fact be obscured through, such terminology.

Captives: How Stolen People Changed the World. CATHERINE M. CAMERON. 2016. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. xiv + 213 pp. \$40.00 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-8032-9399-1.

Reviewed by David H. Dye, University of Memphis

Catherine Cameron’s first page of *Captives: How Stolen People Changed the World* opens with Helena Valero’s capture by Yanomamö raiders in the Amazon and the Chibok schoolgirls kidnapping by Boko Haram jihadists in northern Nigeria. What follows is a well-researched argument urging archaeologists to consider the importance of captives in the distant past and to identify captive-taking as an important mechanism for culture change.

In the first chapter, “The Captive in Space, Time, and Mind,” Cameron discusses the antiquity and pervasiveness of captive-taking through kidnapping, raiding, and warfare in small-scale societies. What follows is a review of the global scope of captive-taking, especially the selective taking of children and women. She also emphasizes the permeability of social boundaries and shows that the landscape of captive-taking entangles communities at varying social scales.

Data on captive-taking are derived from eight broad regions of the world. In Chapter 2, four regions in North America are discussed, along with other accounts from Africa, Europe, South America, and Southeast Asia. Identifying patterns common to captive-taking around the world helps in understanding the social lives of captives in small-scale societies. The patterns identified represent a first step in the recognition of captives as subordinate individuals, in addition to contributions made by captive persons to the formation and maintenance of social boundaries and practices in captor communities.

In Chapter 3, “The Captive as Social Person,” Cameron outlines the social positions captives may be offered in captor society. Here she provides a microscale examination of the ways in which captives may become incorporated into captor society and the social roles offered them. In addition, the characteristics of captured individuals may have a determinative effect on their ultimate social position, which may range from wife or adoptee to abject slave. The captor’s assessment of whether “others” might be civilized or properly trained in captor social practices is particularly significant to the captive’s social status and treatment.

Captives may have been an important source of power in the past. As aspiring leaders require followers and control over the labor of others, captives meet these social and political needs without the reciprocal obligations involved in demanding the services of kin. Captives were a potent source of power for their captors. Their presence and degraded condition emphasize the status and control exercised by their captors. In this respect, archaeologists should investigate the role of captives in the creation of complex societies.

In “Captives, Social Boundaries, and Ethnogenesis,” Cameron investigates the effects captives may have on the creation and maintenance of social boundaries. Captives may strengthen social boundaries by following captor cultural practices or by serving as reminders of incorrect behavior. Captives may reinforce social boundaries as they mix with unrelated people. Emphasis is placed on the fluidity of small-scale groups that continually break up and re-form in different configurations. In this light, Cameron cautions archaeologists to wean themselves from the view of social groups as entities with lengthy histories.

In Chapter 6, “Captives and Cultural Transmission,” Cameron argues that captives could introduce new cultural practices into captor societies. This chapter is especially important for archaeologists, who often lack adequate models for understanding how cultural practices move among social groups. She

explores practices transported by captives across boundaries and uses situated learning theory and communities of practice concepts to evaluate how captives may become involved in captor technological production and other activities. Although identifying captives' contributions in the past is difficult, archaeologists should begin to link them to cultural changes in the archaeological record.

In the final chapter, "Captives in Prehistory," Cameron outlines archaeological avenues for identifying captives in the past. She discusses and summarizes the results of her study and suggests that broad-scale and cross-cultural methods are appropriate for beginning a conversation on the role of captives in prehistory. The next step is to use this general knowledge of captives in systematic examinations of captive-taking and its effects on particular societies and regions of the world. She effectively addresses the question: How might captive-taking and the presence of captives be identified in the archaeological record?

Captives: How Stolen People Changed the World challenges archaeologists to consider captive-taking, an ancient and almost universal practice in human history, as a significant mode of cultural transmission and a source of culture change. Often resulting from intercommunity conflict, captive-taking has seldom been discussed by archaeologists (but see Kenneth Ames, *World Archaeology* 33:1–17, 2001). Here Cameron provides a framework that enables archaeologists to investigate the nature and scale of the roles that captives have played in small-scale societies.

Cahokia's Complexities: Ceremonies and Politics of the First Mississippian Farmers. SUSAN M. ALT. 2018. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa. \$49.49 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-8173-1976-2.

Reviewed by Paul D. Welch, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Susan Alt's book addresses the question of Cahokian complexity by examining sites in the uplands east of the Mississippi River bottomland in Illinois, in particular the Grossmann site. The great site of Cahokia, and farmsteads elsewhere in the American Bottom, are well known to archaeologists. It was more recently discovered that a set of Cahokia-related communities lived on the loess-mantled upland till plains east of the river valley. Dubbed the Richland Complex, these dozen or more communities are puzzling in that they are contemporaneous with Cahokia and

have many similarities with Cahokia in terms of material culture. Yet they also differ in sometimes striking ways both from Cahokia and the bottomland settlements and from each other. Who lived up there, how were they related to the bottomland communities, and what does that tell us about the organization of Cahokian society?

To address these questions, Alt begins (Chapter 2) with an overview of Cahokia and the other bottomland settlements. There is a huge body of literature about these settlements—dozens of sites and thousands of pages of reports—but Alt masterfully pares down this vast literature to a strikingly readable 19 pages. Although I was initially puzzled that she begins a book about an upland site with descriptions of bottomland sites, she was right to do so. Only by knowing about the architecture and artifacts at the bottomland sites can we appreciate how different the upland sites are.

A similarly judicious summary of the upland settlements—the Richland Complex—forms Chapter 3. Four sites receive close examination: Halliday, Hal Smith, Pfeffer, and Knoebel. Alt argues that significant fractions of these communities are immigrants: Halliday has immigrants from southeastern Missouri or northeastern Arkansas, while some of the people at Knoebel came from southwestern Indiana (and sites associated with the Yankeetown phase). These sites also reflect striking differences in flint raw materials, proportions of different kinds of tools, and types of buildings. Hal Smith and Pfeffer look relatively Cahokian; Knoebel and Halliday not so much.

But the oddest of the upland sites is Grossman, the subject of Chapter 4 (architecture) and Chapter 5 (artifacts). The plow zone was removed to expose nearly the entire site, revealing 113 structures. The fact that no structure has more than three building/rebuilding episodes suggests an occupation span of 45 years at most, sometime between AD 1075 and 1150. There is an unusually large number of nondomestic structures, including large and open halls, T-shaped and L-shaped buildings, sweat lodges, and a charnel house. The artifacts are mostly of sorts that are present in the bottomland settlements, but the proportions are flagrantly odd: lots of spindle whorls, quartz crystals, sanding or abrading tools, and an astonishing 9,214 hoe flakes. The best-known set of artifacts from Grossmann is a cache of 70 stone axe heads in a single pit, capped with a hypertrophic, 46-centimeter-long, nine-kilo monster axe. Grossmann is certainly not like a generic bottomland community, but what is it?

Alt tries to answer that question in the final chapter, and she hopes that the answer will help reveal not