

itself suggests that site workers *knew* that there was additional knowledge to be had, beyond their experiential expertise and significant traditional knowledge. This is the moment the book shifts to focus on the agency and critique coming from the community of labor. Whether it is the accusation that the knowledge was kept from them, or as in the case of Çatal Höyük, where they were willing to show hospitality but not willing to be interviewed about what it meant to excavate at the site, there is space within the text for the agency of the community to be recognized. This is the place within the text where “non-knowledge” could have been characterized as strategic rather than lucrative.

The link to capital and the notion of something being lucrative makes murky what could be seen as a strategic anticolonial response. Foregrounding money shifts the tenor of this recognition of postcolonial agency. Be that as it may, Allison Mickel’s book does a heavy lift, recognizing communities of labor and forcing us all to think more equitably about all of our community partners as we conduct archaeological research.

Change and Archaeology. RACHEL J. CRELLIN. 2020. Routledge, New York. xvi + 250 pp. \$160.00 (hardcover), ISBN 978-1-13829-254-3.

Reviewed by Benjamin Alberti, Framingham State University

Change and Archaeology could have been an impenetrable theoretical text, but it is not. Rachel Crellin has written a book that is gratifyingly easy to read, the heart of which is a call to write alternative archaeological grand narratives of change—“ontostories”—in a way that is both postanthropocentric (decentering the human) and posthumanist (decentering white everyman). There are strong elements of theoretical and political corrective in the book, given that it aims to provide a more accurate account of how the world really works and emphasizes the situatedness and therefore ethical responsibility of all academic work. Archaeologists must tell better stories and in ways that allow past alterity to emerge.

Change and Archaeology is divided into three parts. Part I introduces seven hurdles to understanding change, some well known (“block-time” approaches), others less so (billiard-ball causation or anthropocentrism). Part II provides a clear overview and critique of archaeological approaches to change. Three themes—time, scale, and biography—are given one chapter each. The case studies are well chosen and explained,

providing solid teaching material (Arthur Joyce’s study of Monte Albán, or Craig Cipolla’s work at Brothertown, New York, for example). Crellin’s style of critique is balanced and evenhanded, even as authors fall foul of the seven sins.

Part III contains Crellin’s own theory of change. The method—mapping flows of materials, both human and nonhuman—is active intervention, the creation of connections in contrast to the passive tracing of evidence. Foundational assumptions that ground her approach are adopted from the assemblage theory of Gilles Deleuze and his interpreters—Manuel DeLanda and Jane Bennett—which include a world built on relations rather than essences, motion as the norm (staticity is an achievement), and change as constant. Following Bennett, assemblages are ad hoc groupings of diverse, vibrant materials. Deleuze and DeLanda provide the more specific conceptual vocabulary increasingly familiar to archaeologists. Territorialization and deterritorialization describe how assemblages incorporate new components or lose coherence, while assemblages also have both expressive (meaningful) and material elements.

Crellin is well aware of the potential problem that some of the imagery—“flow,” “flat ontology”—encourages us to think in very generalized ways. Flow, for example, suggests the unidirectional movement of lots of the same kind of stuff, making it difficult to imagine concrete instances of change and local causality. Her answer is to emphasize that change occurs at different scales and tempos. DeLanda’s “phase transition” is particularly useful in emphasizing that marked changes that we recognize archaeologically—such as the transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age in Europe—are the results of the accumulation of multiple, multiscalar, polytemporal causes.

Chapter 8, “Becoming Metal,” is an in-depth case study of the introduction of copper and bronze into Britain and Ireland, and it is a major strength of the book. In contrast to the conventional view of metal’s introduction as the result of migrating populations, Crellin challenges the ceramic and aDNA/isotope-driven narratives of wholesale population replacement by focusing on the qualities and potentials of metal itself. The result is a fascinating, fine-grained story of local adaptation and change in which stone, metal, and humans feature equally. Metal needed to fit existing ways of doing things. Local communities in Britain and Ireland had long traditions of stone quarrying and working, and a “bridging object” in the form of the polished stone axe. Copper and bronze, therefore, were not initially “metals” in the way we experience them. Rather, they were a “stoney kind of

a metal" (p. 223), only later giving way to a new type of substance as skill and experience disrupted received practices and meanings. Things are messy and complex, Crellin insists: "becoming metallic" was a slow, varied, and locally diverse process. I think this excellent case study is the answer to Crellin's worry that a relational approach might be taken as more descriptive than interpretive. Description per se is not a problem (Marylin Strathern—never short of an analysis—claimed that all she was after was an adequate description). The problems arise when the description is made to fit a theory rather than the theory being in service to a description. Assemblage theory enables Crellin to provide a far better description, partly because the theoretical concepts are treated lightly.

Change and Archaeology is a book that fits the theoretical moment perfectly. There are questions that could be debated. Is there a "really real" time that misaligns with our measurements of it? Why adopt Deleuze or DeLanda rather than the equally relational Vine Deloria? (Crellin's answer is a refusal to use other peoples' ontologically committed worlds as resources for hers.) Should flat ontology be a starting point, or is it that our methods are ontologically flat? How much "alterity" does any all-encompassing theory allow for? These questions, however, do nothing to detract from the strengths of the book. It is a clear and accessible application of the most archaeologically workable aspects of assemblage theory to the crucial question of change in archaeology.

Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits: Inside the Fight to Reclaim Native America's Culture. CHIP COLWELL. 2019. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. viii + 348 pp. \$19.00 (paperback), ISBN 978-0-226-68444-4.

Reviewed by Craig N. Cipolla, Tufts University

Chip Colwell is editor in chief of *SAPIENS*, a magazine that writes about anthropology for the wider world. Before stepping into that role, he was senior curator of anthropology at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science. Consequently, a significant portion of Colwell's career has been dedicated to making anthropology and archaeology *matter* for wide audiences consisting of much more than academics. This is a delicate balancing act. We want to share our work with the wider world, but we also want to avoid sacrificing the nuance, specificity, and rigor of our respective research agendas. Between these two realms lies a yawning gap that many archaeologists

never even consider approaching. Instead, they take shelter in the comfort of their own research programs, replete with cultures of specialized jargon that all but guarantee their impenetrability for nonspecialists (sometimes even for fellow archaeologists!). *Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits* successfully transcends this gap, obliterating the lines between academic and popular writing. More than this, it does so in regard to an absolutely critical topic that archaeologists, museum professionals, students, and members of the general public—especially those of us living in settler states—will undoubtedly benefit from reflecting upon.

Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits is about repatriation in the United States, but it confronts more than just that. To tell this story, Colwell masterfully weaves together multiple histories, perspectives, and scales. Repatriation in the United States concerns histories of Indigenous peoples, settler colonialism, looting and collection, museums, the discipline of anthropology, and so much more. A fulsome understanding requires knowledge of multiple peoples and social collectives ensnared in these histories—and these perspectives are far from black and white: an Indigenous activist barging into a politician's office in disgust of the way Indigenous human remains are treated when disturbed by a construction project; a non-Indigenous person employed by a tribe to retrieve human remains and reinter them; an Indigenous family nudged to sell items of cultural patrimony due to the hardships of settler colonialism. Colwell explores these perspectives and brings them into productive dialogue with his narrative. He does so by nimbly moving between scales—using his own firsthand experiences as an archaeologist and museum curator to lead the reader through a big and multifaceted history through which repatriation, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), and Indigenous and collaborative, community-based research emerged.

The book is organized into four main parts (consisting of six chapters each), each of which focuses on an important repatriation case study: Zuni Ahayu:da, Sand Creek scalps, Tlingit ceremonial regalia, and Calusa skulls. The Zuni case charts the important role that Zuni peoples played in repatriation before NAGPRA, but it also provides a clear example of where the universalized preservation ethic of museums does violence to local worlds and the important beings that reside in them (namely Ahayu:da). The violence and racism of the Sand Creek example will shock the reader, but Colwell shows how repatriation can help begin healing the wounds left behind by such injustices. The Tlingit example brings to light issues of cultural patrimony, scrutinizing cases where individuals