

ports all over the globe, providing him with critical experiences and affording him the opportunity to witness the lives of people very different from his own but who shared some of the same concerns.

Scanandoah became something of a local celebrity because of his varied experiences, especially as a sailor, an inventor, and a vocal contributor to Oneida land claims cases, and was often interviewed by newspaper reporters as a representative and spokesperson for community concerns. Hauptman's numerous excerpts from these news accounts further render his subject's humanity and perspective. The text is augmented by numerous vintage photographs of Scanandoah, his family, and significant places and scenes from his varied, full, and rewarding life, but it is Hauptman's skill as historian and narrator that brings Chapman Scanandoah's story to life.

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Archaeology and Identity on the Pacific Coast and Southern Highlands of Mesoamerica. Edited by **Claudia García-Des Lauriers** and **Michael W. Love**. Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2016. 288 pages. \$60.00 cloth.

As a sociocultural anthropologist who has written about contemporary Maya identities from ethnographic and sociolinguist perspectives, I have always found archaeological takes on identity to be bold. An expansively ambiguous concept, identity is many things to scholars that have, in turn, been the subject of much debate. To study identity is difficult enough when access to people is available through resources such as language, direct observations, and a host of others upon which one can draw conclusions about what identity is, and what it means to those being studied as well as scholars using identity analytically. Archaeologists and historians who handle material that simply lacks any subject statements regarding identity, or any indications of a concept of identity that approximates contemporary popular and academic conceptualizations, face multiple challenges—importantly, to resist the temptation to project and ascribe identities that could not have been part of the conceptual universe being described and analyzed. This edited volume, *Archaeology and Identity on the Pacific Coast and Southern Highlands of Mesoamerica*, offers scholars of identity a number of analytical perspectives that will help archaeologists and historians rethink how to study identity and, better yet, how to use it as a conceptual-analytical theory to help them understand people from the past.

The volume's ten chapters include Claudia García-Des Lauriers and Michael W. Love's introduction, which helps locate the individual chapters within identity studies scholarship and within Mesoamerican studies, and John E. Clark's conclusion, which thinks through and critiques the arguments presented in the other eight chapters. Both introduction and conclusion address the problematics of identity research: the limitations of understanding it as a stable unchanging set of attributes (primordialism); as a cultural, economically, and politically constructed set of changing attributes

(constructivism); as practices embedded in power relations (*habitus*); or as process(es) that indicate dynamic interrelationships among agents, objects, and ideas. This last theoretical conceptualization, drawing from Bruno Latour's Actor Network theory, has the most currency in the discussions included here, but in several of the chapters an important debate about ethnicity in this region of Mesoamerica also plays out.

The authors present quite distinctive subjects regarding a range of questions related to Mesoamerican identity in a temporal span that includes formative to Postclassic periods. Hector Neff's ambitious chapter undertakes a regional-temporal analysis of public displays to demonstrate that one indicator of identity in Postclassic periods—prestige—comes with ecological and material costs. In contrast, Love examines the Preclassic Guatemalan site of La Blanca, arguing that urbanization contributes to the construction of new identities. Addressing the role of public monumental architecture in the Preclassic site of Los Horcones, Chiapas, García-De Lauriers's chapter explains the presence of multiple complex identities that articulate with material influences from Central Mexico and Maya regions. In a similar vein, Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos's analysis of public sculpture argues that art in Cotzumalhuapa served to reflect the fusion identities of Teotihuacán political dominance, of local primordial Maya roots, and of elite economic and political networks that stretched throughout Mesoamerica. Lucia R. Henderson focuses on the significance of Lake Amatitlán and Volcán Pacaya as pilgrimage sites and the offerings made at them, contending that the sacred landscape, and, more specifically, to share these pilgrimage places, fosters identity formation across languages, geographic regions, and ethnicity. Taking up the challenge of identifying what signifies identity or identities, Janine Gasco's study of language use and shift in the Soconusco region of Chiapas in the Postclassic and Postcolonial period illustrates the identity process of inhabitants becoming more alike.

Rudd Van Akkeren likewise takes up the theme of identity in relation to Mexican and Maya influences, but more than any of the other contributors he traces what can be considered more primordial foundations for identity formation and continuity. Attending to lineages and ideologies to get at what may be considered a more emic take, Van Akkeren directly raises an important question: what is "local," especially if the foreign person, thing, or style has been Mayanized after hundreds of years? Geoffrey E. Braswell addresses a specific K'iche'an identity, which, also set in the Postclassic period, is most commonly regarded as an ethnic or ethnolinguistic identity, and indeed, most of the other contributors invoke this concept. Braswell, however, explains why it is problematic to apply a concept of ethnic identity for the case in his chapter, as well as for this collection's other cases of identity construction. He argues that attending to people's goals and plans—the concept of program identities—can better pinpoint subjective identity than a blanket use of ethnicity. K'iche'an people, he asserts, chose a program.

Mesoamericanists already know what several authors illustrate quite clearly: that Mesoamerica was highly integrated economically and politically. But what, the scholars of this collection ask, does the entanglement of local and regional economic and political processes, of languages, and the of iconographic styles represented in material culture—be it architecture, sculpture, or ceramics—mean in terms of identities for

Mesoamericans themselves and as conceptual-theoretical frameworks of analysis for archaeologists?

Clearly, this volume is aimed at archeologists and will appeal to those working in Mesoamerica. However, other scholars of identity should pay attention too. Archaeologists think a lot about the materiality of the people they study and what it means. They are trained to pay attention to the ways that the material world is connected to the ideological, deducing meaning from closely examining the linkages of style and substance to assemblages in place and over time. It is this archaeological perspective that can allow the physical remains of economic, political, and ideological interactions and processes to inform us about identity, but more importantly, it can provide more rigorous ways to study the materiality of identity that will have broad utility for we other scholars of identity.

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California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage. By Elizabeth Kryder-Reid. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016. 355 pages. \$122.50 cloth; \$35.00 paper.

California Mission Landscapes is a welcome and thought-provoking new perspective on California's colonial missions. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid rises to the challenge of exploring the many interests, complex meanings, and multifaceted histories attached to the twenty-one Alta California missions. In doing so, the author weaves a compelling narrative of missions as places of ongoing history, venues of critical reflection, and, as public heritage sites, spaces with the capacity for action and decolonization.

The preface and introduction outline the theoretical framing for the book, which explores mission gardens as "potent ideological spaces" (11) for examining the histories of those who participated in the missions, as well as the fabrications, commemorations, and erasures inscribed on mission landscapes. More than exposé, however, one forward-thinking aspect of the book is to see missions as sites of consciousness and to use "the power of historicizing the origins and practices of injustice and deploying historic sites to spur dialogue about human and civil rights issues" (xi). Forming the core of the book are four chapters: chapter 1 examines "Colonial Mission Landscapes"; chapter 2 the ways heritage, or "a specific perception and use of the past that imply connection or belonging and that are inextricable from structures of power and social inequalities" is invented in the context of California's missions (23); and in chapters 3 and 4, how heritage is cultivated and consumed.

Chapter 2 traces the development of mission gardens since the late 1800s and the role of landscape design in materializing and romanticizing colonial narratives (an appendix further lists plants appearing in mission gardens that helped invent heritage and invite preservation efforts). Focusing on five missions—Santa Barbara, San Fernando, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, and San Antonio de Pala—chapter 2