

Foraging in the Past: Archaeological Studies of Hunter-Gatherer Diversity

Ashley K. Lemke (editor)

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Foraging in the Past is an eight-chapter volume that provides case studies on past hunter-gatherers. Covering both broad and focused topics, different geographic locations and environments, and several time periods spanning the Paleolithic to the Holocene, the chapters hang together in terms of their study of hunter-gatherers, commitment to data (ethnographic and archaeological) and human behavioral ecology. Beyond this, the chapters have little to do with one another, and there is no discussant chapter to tie everything together. But make no mistake: that seems to be the very point that Lemke is making, and she makes it well. Lemke (Chapter 1) argues that, in terms of hunter-gatherer diversity, the ethnographic record—which should only serve as a model against which archaeological data be compared—is merely the portion of floating ice visible above the water. The vast volume of ice beneath the water represents hunter-gatherer diversity as represented by the archaeological record. Lemke's opening chapter is thus like a hypothesis, and she supports it with the careful selection of case studies that follow.

For this reviewer, Garvey (Chapter 2) provides arguably the strongest paper in the volume due to its clarity, structure, and conclusions (although all the papers in the volume are strong). Examining environmental, ecological, and social mechanisms, Garvey tests whether these mechanisms resulted in the cultural complexity differences (specifically with respect to tailored clothing) between the Unangan of Alaska's Aleutian Islands and the Yamana of Tierra del Fuego. The chapter concludes with an honest and enlightening discussion of alternative hypotheses and analytical caveats.

Lemke (Chapter 3) and Rademaker and Moore (Chapter 4) then take the reader from underwater lake beds to the tops of mountains, respectively. Lemke's underwater research on Paleoindians in the North American Great Lakes is well known, and she furthers it in her chapter by cleverly using the ethnographic record to make an archaeological case for prehistoric hunting architecture, but then

subsequently illustrating differences between ethnographic and archaeological caribou hunters. Rademaker and Moore ask how and why the Andean Puna was settled and demonstrate that habitat productivity explains well differences in site occupation intensity. Indeed, strong with the volume's overall theme, Rademaker and Moore's clear predictions and thorough assessment of archaeological data allow them to show diversity in mobility and sedentism among these early South American settlers.

Roberts et al. (Chapter 5), Stewart and Mitchell (Chapter 6), and Kitagawa et al. (Chapter 7) examine ethnographic and archaeological hunter-gatherers in Sri Lankan rainforests, sub-Saharan African highlands, and Central European river valleys. The diversity of analyzed data in these chapters is impressive, ranging from isotopes, to faunal remains, to radiocarbon dates, to rock art. Finally, Kuhn and Stiner (Chapter 8) cap the volume off with a measured and illuminating discussion of archaeologists' impressions of Middle and Upper Paleolithic foragers, and how these impressions can change (or not) as new data are acquired.

Overall, *Foraging in the Past* is well-edited, well-cited, clean-looking, and usable. This reviewer very much appreciated the citations being listed at the end of every chapter, and that the volume's contributors appear to have been able to cite research to their heart's content. The tables and figures are clear and informative, as is the volume's index.

In many ways, I believe this volume was risky. On the surface it appears to be a hodge-podge of hunter-gatherer manuscripts that have little to do with one another. The reward—for both Lemke and the reader—only occurs when the entire volume is digested. Not only does the volume robustly make the point that the archaeological record can, and will, contribute to our understanding of hunter-gatherer diversity, it suggests that this contribution will unavoidably be achieved because *most hunter-gatherer diversity is in the archaeological record and has yet to be documented*. A bold conclusion to be sure, and one that should excite any archaeologist not only in its promise, but its likelihood.