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Sekretær: Andreas Ropeid Sæbø

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Primitive tider
Postboks 6727, St. Olavs plass
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E-post: kontakt@primitive-tider.com
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Forsideillustrasjon: Gravrøys fra førromersk jernalder på tomten til den katolske kirken under utgraving. Til venstre vises en profil kuttet gjennom rasleiren. Foto: C. McLees. Fra artikkelen "Nidarneset før Nidaros. Trondheims landskaps- og bosetningshistorie i perioden 500 f.Kr.-1000 e.Kr." av Cadamarteri *et al*. s.51-73.

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Tiina Äikäs and Anna-Kaisa Salmi (eds.) 2019: *The Sound of Silence: Indigenous Perspectives on the Historical Archaeology of Colonialism*. Berghahn Books, New York and Oxford. 236 p. ISBN: 978-1-78920-329-5/ISBN 978-1-78920-330-1.

Asgeir Svestad
Department of Archaeology, History, Religious Studies and Theology, UiT – The Arctic University of Norway

In what way are we able to grasp colonial encounters in the past? How may archaeology contribute to this discussion? These questions are central to the postcolonial discussion concerning the archaeology of the Indigenous past to which the present book is a welcoming contribution. From the perspective of historical archaeology, it explores the nature of colonial encounters between Indigenous peoples and state powers with case studies from North America, Australia and Fennoscandia.

The book contains an introduction by the editors Tiina Äikäs and Anna-Kaisa Salmi, eight case studies (chapters) written by archaeologists, anthropologists, and other scholars, and, finally, an afterword by Alistair Paterson and Shino Konishi. The case studies combine material culture, written and archival sources, oral histories, and contemporary debate in various ways in their interpretation of colonial encounters that span from c. AD 500 to present.

In the Introduction, the stated aim of the book is to include both emic and etic interpretations in a comparative international perspective with emphasis on indigeneity and the way Indigenous peoples have coped with and resisted European colonialism. According to Äikas and Salmi, rather than claiming to speak in the voice of the Indigenous peoples, the volume seeks to challenge old colonial narratives about the colonizer and the colonized. The volume's nuanced perspectives through the combination of different sources and, especially, the Indigenous perspectives on encounters are claimed to be its greatest achievement.

It is not possible to do justice to all the contributions in a review like this. I shall therefore confine myself to particular comments in reviewing the book's case studies and some general comments in conclusion.

Following provenance, the only example from Aboriginal Australia is Madeline Fowler, Amy Roberts, and Lester-Irabinna Rigney's examination of the role bells have played in Australian colonialism, emphasizing the Aboriginal mission station at Point Pearce/ Burgiyana, South Australia (Chapter 1). Through written records and oral histories, the authors convincingly demonstrate how bells functioned as objects of power in relation to European notions of time and labor, and how these devices meticulously controlled the everyday work and leisure schedule of the Narungga people. Contrary the title of the book, this is an analysis of the power of sound, and as such a very valuable contribution to the novel field of the archaeology of sound.

From different settings appear three case studies from North America. In the first of these, LisaMarie Malischke investigates the Yazoo Bluffs Native peoples' interactions at Fort Saint Pierre in French colonial Louisiana (Chapter

3). With a "politically committed" postcolonial eye, the aim is to understand the Indigenous viewpoint from the written and material record. The ambition is to provide a voice to the voiceless Yazoo of which there are no living members. It is difficult to evaluate what kind of voice the Yazoo is provided with, but Malischke convincingly argues that the archeological remains from the fort testify to peaceful trade relations between the Yazoo and the French colonists, which conveys a nuanced perspective on early colonialism. On the negative side, the study is quite descriptive and lacks a separate conclusion, which leaves it a bit constrained.

In the multi-source investigation (including zooarchaeology) of the Cut Bank Boarding School in Montana, William A. White III and Brandi E. Bethke discuss how the Blackfeet people reclaim and reinterpret the continually used landscape surrounding the boarding school (Chapter 6). In the governmentally run effort to acculturate Native Americans, the school was an element in the shaping of the Blackfeet into idealized versions of European American ranchers, farmers, and housewives. However, research reveals how the people's long-time occupational history and school learning have been used for resisting assimilation efforts and to strengthen tribal community and survival in the non-Native world. Although the chapter is slightly repetitive and one may question to what extent it conveys the Blackfeet point of view, it is a valuable example of how Indigenous peoples may experience the landscape and forced learning as sources of persistence during colonialism.

In the last study from this continent, Hayes examine white/settler–Dakota conflicts in the memory and heritage of the early 19th century Historic Fort Snelling in Minnesota (Chapter 7). In a thought provoking analysis of present (settler and white scholar) colonialist heritage practices of appropriation of this historic colonial site, Hayes (a non-Native settler scholar herself) aims to bring a sense of justice for the Dakota people whose history of genocide, suppression, and displacement is erased or silenced from the management and public interpretation of the site. Of particular interest is the Scaffold art controversy, related to an installation reminiscent of the (scaffold) hanging of 38 Dakota at the fort in the Dakota War of 1862, the largest mass execution in US history. Despite the artist´s good intention to throw light on a neglected history, it evoked stigma, loss, and trauma among the Dakota people as just another white appropriation of history. Addressing historic erasure and acknowledging of Indigenous voices, the author convincingly argues for the Dakota people's need to reclaim their own history at Fort Snelling.

In a less violent colonial setting, as one of four case studies from Sápmi (the land of the Sámi) and northern Fennoscandia, Inga-Maria Mulk and Tim Bayliss-Smith investigate changes in religious beliefs and practices of Sámi hunting societies AD 500–1800 (Chapter 2). Based on evidence from northern Sweden, particularly objects from sacred places and sacrificial sites, and Tim Insoll´s model of religious conversion through inclusion, syncretism, and displacement, the authors make an overall convincing argument, suggesting variations in the rate at which different Sámi societies progressed before reaching the current Christian "orthodoxy". In conclusion, the authors state that Sámi pre-Christian religious ideas were not static and uniform and that the conversion was not a simple story of colonialism. Unfortunately, this important study is not updated with regard to literature and research and lacks problematization of the evidence, which questions some of its results. For instance, the perception of Iron Age Germanic settling on the coast of northern Norway is based on an obsolete migration theory, contrary to the current archaeological consensus that the Germanic cultural and ethnic affiliation of farmers in these areas was the result of internal development.

From a different angle, Risto Nurmi examines the everyday life involvement of the Sámi in early 17th century mining communities in Swedish Lapland (northern Sweden), which makes one of best chapters of the volume (Chapter 4). Focusing on food culture, ethnicity, and industrialization, the author gives a substantial interpretation of

archaeological sources, establishing a nuanced perspective on the relationships between mining communities and Sámi participants. The chapter demonstrates the importance of archaeology in studying both the mundane effects of colonialism and the state governed development toward "civilization". However, the fact that only "Swedified" or Swedish place names are provided for Sámi sites and places, is strange given the volume's Indigenous focus.

Related to Nurmi's study, appear Ritva Kylli, Anna-Kaisa Salmi, Tiina Äikäs, and Sirpa Aalto's highly commendable investigation of neglected food culture of the Sámi from AD 800 to 18th century (Chapter 5). Combining written records, faunal remains, and pollen and macrofossil data from dwelling sites, marketplaces and mining communities, they show glimpses of Sámi food culture and how it was hybridized through encounters with Scandinavians and Finns. Their well-informed analysis demonstrates how food culture can contribute to our understanding of these encounters as well as of Sámi everyday strategies. As with Nurmi, Sámi place names are missing for the many Sámi sites discussed in the text. They are apparently easy to forget, even in a context where they should obviously be included.

In the final "Sámi" study, Carl-Gösta Ojala briefly presents an analysis of colonial expansion and extractive industry in Sápmi since the 16th century, which brings more nuance to the Swedish early mining colonial history (Chapter 8). The main objective of this chapter is thus to discuss challenges and possibilities of archaeological engagements and entanglements with past and present colonialism. However, I fail to see the overall contribution of this chapter, which is a somewhat repetitive review of well-known issues and perspectives, including a review of the other chapters, rather than, as one would expect, a (tentative) critical discussion of the subject matter. Strangely enough, Paterson and Konishi do a bit of the same reviewing with a few added reflections on Indigenous voices and historical archaeology in the Afterword, although they are invited by the editors to do so from the Australian perspective.

Although the quality of the contributions and the impact of archaeology varies in this book, the quite rare and valuable collection of case studies from Aboriginal Australia, Native North America, and Fennoscandian Sápmi constitutes its strength. One may question its level of critical self-reflection considering the aim to forward Indigenous perspectives. Thus, in agreement with Paterson and Konishi, there is an important distinction between an Indigenous perspective and an archaeologist trying to write from such a viewpoint. In my view, the latter expression characterizes the book, which makes the subtitle somewhat misleading. Further on, knowing that place naming is a typical colonialist activity, the inconsistent use of Indigenous place names is surprising in a volume with the ambition to reflect indigeneity. In accordance, one may also question the use of the English language - the colonialist language *par excellence* – and its consequences for representation and interpretation. Another critical remark concerns the lack of problematization of the very notion of colonialism given the time span examined through the case studies. For instance, the colonialism of the Sámi in Iron Age Fennoscandia is highly disputed and, in any case, do not correspond to the modern colonialist notion. It would have substantiated the volume if the editors had reflected more critically on such issues and the positions represented in this book in the Introduction.

In spite of lack of critical self-reflection, it does not overshadow the book's importance. The volume offers nuanced ways of understanding cultural contact and power relations in colonial encounters, which make a significant contribution to historical and postcolonial archaeology.