maps and other works of art" (23). Although there is a degree of truth to this claim and many images (particularly the developing genre of landscape painting) blur the boundaries between them, this may be reading too strongly against the surviving evidence. As some of the sources cited even within Carlton's book make clear, maps displayed either in the home or in public spaces often served didactic and marvelous aims quite distinct from the other forms of figural art surrounding them. This is especially true of the mappamundi that make up nearly half of the cited examples found in homes. Federico da Porto's response to the world map seen in the portego of diarist Marino Sanuto, quoted in Carlton's book, was to claim that "Whoever wishes to understand the sea, the earth, and the vast world, should behold this house of yours, learned Marino" (143). The range of maps made in the sixteenth century was broad enough to encompass leisurely pictorial views, newly surveyed bird's-eye vedute, maps charting the paths of recent exploration, and globes and mappamundi illustrating the interrelation of the world's parts. The possible functions in displaying maps in the home could be as broad as those of the figural arts, but that does not necessarily mean the concerns and uses were primarily the same or were received as such.

Carlton's greatest contribution in *Worldly Consumers* is to think of maps as part of a continuum between printers and users, between production and consumption, between multiple iterations and personal interpretation. Her archival work forms a larger picture that studies of individual patrons, cartographers, or collectors might miss: that a mixture of regional and global imagery acted in concert with a wealth of other objects as signifiers of taste, culture, history, and wonder. The sources rarely give specifics about precisely how they were arrayed among the other works, but Carlton's conclusions overwhelmingly convince the reader that maps served an important role in Venetian display culture.

---

**Bridging the Gaps: Integrating Archaeology and History in Oaxaca, Mexico.**

Ed. Danny A. Zborover and Peter Kroefges.

Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015. ix + 428 pp. 120 illus. $75.00.


**Reviewed by:** Joshua D. Englehardt

El Colegio de Michoacán, México

As the title suggests, this volume treats the interdisciplinary integration of material and documentary sources, that is, the archaeological and historical records, specifically regarding the pre-Hispanic societies that inhabited what is now the Mexican state of Oaxaca. Its principal aim is to “bridge the gap” (often created by disciplinary divisions and modern academic boundaries) that exists in the study of these supposedly distinct lines of evidence. As Danny Zborover notes in his introduction, it is frequently assumed that our respective methods of studying the material and historical records should be “epistemologically distinctive” (3). This despite the fact that one “type” of source informs and directly impacts our understanding of the “other,” and both are capable of providing a window onto the same sociocultural structure of the society that created them, even if conceived of as distinct modes of cultural expression. In any case, “archaeology” and “history” are “conceptually loaded” and “taxonomically ambiguous” categories (4). Privileging or strictly adhering to the sources “traditionally” favored in one’s own field (to the exclusion of others) brings us no closer to a more nuanced understanding of the past societies and cultures that constitute the object of study of various related disciplines.
cost to purchasers who never before had had ready access to such works; newly explored regions could be claimed and publicized, given concrete expression in publicly available books and loose-leaf prints; and large multisheet maps could be colored and assembled for permanent display in the home, covering meters of wall space with the latest portrayal of lands both distant and near. Prior to the 1980s, traditional scholarship on early modern printed maps usually concentrated on cartographers, their sources, and their patrons, with the morphological development of a region’s portrayal placed in alignment with the quantification of known data about the territory and the increasing sophistication of tools available to measure it. Reversing this trend, the poststructuralist approach to cartographic studies developed in a series of essays by J. B. Harley (gathered posthumously in *The New Nature of Maps* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001]) claimed maps as texts comprising a language, one with its own codes and silences that functioned outside the prevailing positivistic model. The Harleian turn has produced its gains and losses; the discipline feels more fertile and welcoming to other fields than ever, even if recently there are fewer meaningful studies about the technology of making maps, the means of their circulation, and the ways in which maps were received and used by their public.

It is to the last of these points that Genevieve Carlton’s *Worldly Consumers* is addressed and serves as a welcome return to essential (and nowadays frequently understudied) questions about the very fact of maps’ distribution and exhibition. Carlton’s stated aim is “reconstructing the market for maps to examine how the consumption of maps functioned” (9). Using inventories from Venice and Florence dating from 1464 to 1631, the study seeks to define the placement and display of maps (predominantly printed, often *mappaemundi*, although in most cases the inventories themselves remain frustratingly vague) in private dwellings. While the Florentine inventories do not give a coherent and consistent picture of where in the palace or home such maps were usually displayed (something that Carlton readily acknowledges), the Venetian sources analyzed reveal that maps (estimated here as appearing in at least 10 percent of Venetian homes) usually were placed in the *portego*, the most important room on the *piano nobile* of the Venetian palace. There they appeared alongside and often embedded within an array of paintings and portraits, as well as among sculptures, tapestries, and furniture. Rather than being removed to the study and placed within cabinets, maps in Venice occupied prominent real estate among prized objects and formed part of the decorative self-definition of the family.

Because the inventories rarely specify much about the specific authors, dates, or values of the maps displayed, it can be difficult to make general conclusions about how commonly the cartographic content traced a patron’s personal or familial itinerary, but the sheer numbers presented in this quasi big-data study persuasively argue the regular presence of printed maps on show, forming part of the family’s gallery rather than removed from it. The prominence of printed multisheet maps on display in private homes in the north has long been established, but until Carlton’s study we have had less of a sense of where within the Italian home such maps went after being purchased.

Many of the Italian cartographers producing map prints also made figural and representational prints, most notably the Florentine shop of Francesco Rosselli, whose printmaking business (which tended to make prints from plates on demand rather than keep impressions ready to sell) and its 1528 inventory is the subject of an impressive and insightful chapter. As a result of this linkage, Carlton argues that the distinctions between art and cartography that have often been maintained are overblown and further that “the reception of the two genres was likely similar, as contemporaries saw little distinction between
In this sense, the goals of the volume are both noble and ambitious: to build bridges not only between the peoples identified in documentary records and the material objects that they produced and that survive in the archaeological record, but also among the contemporary fields of inquiry that study them. To achieve this goal, the editors have assembled a collection of fourteen essays from many leading scholars of the Oaxacan material and documentary records. In this brief review, it is not possible to detail substantively or offer specific comments on the content of any of the constituent chapters. Instead, I provide here only the briefest of summaries of the individual contributions and encourage the interested reader to delve deeper into the particulars of these varied studies.

Zborover's introduction provides an excellent synthesis of almost three millennia of literate societies in Oaxaca, in addition to laying the conceptual groundwork and advocating for the integrative approaches presented in the volume. Ron Spores offers examples of the productive integration of archaeological, historical, ethnographic, and linguistic sources in research on Mesoamerica, further illustrating the strength of and necessity for what he labels a “convergent ethnohistorical approach” (65). In chapter 3, John Pohl offers a moving tribute to Bruce Byland via a number of (sometimes humorous) anecdotes regarding their work together and time in the field. Viola König’s chapter details her own interdisciplinary studies with the community of Santa Maria Cuquila, which she identifies as the “jaguar town” of the Codex Egerton (86–89), highlighting how such work can both transform and transfer indigenous knowledge. In the following chapter, Geoffrey and Sharisse McCafferty explore sacred landscapes and female earth or fertility cults, combining multiple lines of evidence and revisiting their seminal article “Engendering Tomb 7 at Monte Albán” (Current Anthropology 35, no. 2 [1994]: 143–66). In chapter 6, the editors have adapted Byland’s own paper from the 2007 conference session that gave rise to the volume. This contribution attempts to reconcile archaeological evidence with documentary data presented in Mixtec codices regarding the identification of two places: “Hill of the Wasp” and “Red and White Bundle.” Michael Lind similarly attempts to synthesize material data and Mixtec codices, specifically treating Mixteca-Puebla polychrome ceramics and their (ritual) functions as depicted in the codices, as well as the regions of provenience of the codices themselves. Carlos Rincón’s chapter combines multiple evidentiary records to reconstruct a dynamic regional history in the Coixtlahuaca basin of the northern Mixteca Alta. Chapter 9, by Stephen Whittington and Andrew Workinger, explores cultural contact, colonialism, and indigenous Mixtec society at Teozacolco. In the following chapter, Bas van Doesburg and Ron Spores integrate pictographic, ethnohistorical, and archaeological evidence to illuminate the history of salt production and trade in the Mixteca Baja. In chapter 11, Liana Jiménez Osorio and Emmanuel Posselt Santoyo provide an intriguing combination of oral narratives and archaeological data in their investigation of the foundation of San Miguel el Grande and the historical settlement patterns of its neighboring areas. Zborover’s chapter 12 details his own investigations of the history and indigenous territorial narratives of the Chontal area of southern Oaxaca, merging multiple evidentiary sources to provide a model for what he calls “an inclusive historical archaeology” (306). Peter Kroefges’s chapter also explores the Chontalpa, seeking to correlate historical events and processes with archaeological materials. In chapter 14, Judith Zeitlin focuses on the integration of material and documentary evidence, as “hidden” and “public” transcripts, respectively, in her study of Rancho Santa Cruz in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec region during the early colonial period. The final chapter, by Viola König and Adam Sellen, highlights the potential of various nineteenth-century
multimedia artifacts, currently in private and museum collections, to elucidate Oaxaca's archaeological past.

This volume is a fitting tribute to the legacy of Bruce Byland, whose own work is exemplary of the integrative approaches espoused in the contributions. Many chapters recount the authors' interactions with Byland himself, adding a degree of poignancy to the collection. That said, the work is not without some minor issues. The chapters are of disparate lengths (some as short as ten pages, others as long as fifty), which makes some contributions seem somewhat out of place. Likewise, the chapters by Ron Spores and John Pohl would seem better placed at the end of the collection, especially given the lack of a concluding chapter as such. Finally, only a few chapters offer meaningful discussions of the ramifications of the integrative approach they espouse or engage the potential theoretical-methodological pitfalls of such a strategy (e.g., the dangers of a "direct historical approach" in archaeology; cf. Kroefges [344]). Although I agree that conjunctive approaches that seek to integrate multiple lines of evidence are the most fruitful avenues of investigation, one feels that perhaps more emphasis could have been placed throughout on fully unpacking the proposition itself and its implications, although the case studies certainly illustrate the potentialities and value of such an approach. Despite these quibbles, or perhaps because of them, this volume would be an excellent resource for stimulating theoretical discussion in advanced seminars on historiography or archaeological theory and practice, among other topics. In that sense, this volume is most definitely a success and worthy of a place on the bookshelf of any scholar of Oaxacan and wider Mesoamerican archaeology and history.

Forms of Association: Making Publics in Early Modern Europe.

Ed. Paul Yachnin and Marlene Eberhart.

Reviewed by: Rudolph P. Almasy
West Virginia University

Forms of Association is an extraordinary tribute to Richard Helgerson. The volume of fourteen essays, as well as a lucid and helpful "Afterword: Richard Helgerson and Making Publics" by Paul Yachnin, is divided into four parts, reflecting to a large measure Helgerson's own "wide-ranging curiosity" (5) and intellectual rigor. The volume has a wonderful coherence not only because of the exploration of how publics were made or developed but also because each essay emerges, in one way or another, from the insights and influence of Richard Helgerson.

The essays also emerge from the work that was done through the "making public" project (2005–10) at McGill University and Helgerson's own involvement in the interdisciplinary initiative "Making Publics: Media, Markets, and Association in Early Modern Europe" (MaPs). In one sense this volume reflects the value of Helgerson's work and extends that work; in another sense it respectfully (almost lovingly) challenges that work. As Yachnin concludes, Helgerson "enabled so much of the scholarship" in the volume because he provided "much of the political and ethical foundation" for these readings and because "Helgerson did so much of the original hard thinking about publics" (309–10). The editors describe the volume as a "memorial Festschrift." Although it might be useful to know something of Helgerson's Forms of Nationhood, Adulterous Alliances, and A Sonnet from Carthage, such familiarity is not necessary since all these essays are complete in themselves in