

Ultimately, this book provokes us, its readers, to contemplate ritual time, gestures, absences, and ruptures opened by the death of an individual. This is a journey towards confronting our own mortality, and the peoples' of the past. As the motto chosen for the conclusion highlights: Death that closes our eyes, opens our spirit ('La mort qui nous ferme les yeux, nous ouvre l'esprit', Malebranche, p. 325). So where do we want to take our explorations next?

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**FRANK NIKULKA, Archäologische Demographie. Methoden, Daten und Bevölkerung der europäischen Bronze- und Eisenzeiten.** Sidestone Press, Leiden 2016. € 120.00 (Hardback). ISBN 978-90-8890-394-6. € 39.95 (Paperback). ISBN 978-90-8890-393-9. € 9.95 (E-book). 430 pages, 53 figures, 44 tables.

Sidestone Press has become an important publisher of international archaeological literature in the last years. Interesting to note is the business model of a tiered pricing policy, which not only distinguishes between hard- and softcover as well as much cheaper e-books but also offers a free online version on the publisher's website. The publishing programme comprises a wide array of interesting publications, including the book reviewed here, which presents Frank Nikulka's habilitation thesis on archaeological demography. Nikulka submitted his habilitation at the University of Münster in 2003; more recent literature was only added cursory. As he points out in his foreword, his further professional career stood in the way of a timely publication. It should be mentioned in advance that the book is an important contribution to the general discussion of archaeological issues; thus, we can be grateful that Nikulka had the patience to finally publish this study. However, the rapid methodological development in prehistoric archaeology in recent years has surpassed Nikulka's work, and consequently some of its topics already rather belong in research history than in the current debate.

Broadly speaking, the subject of demographic research can be described as the analysis of the development of populations. Therefore, demography is a central issue of archaeological research. For German-language archaeology, however, Nikulka thankfully presents for the first time a monographic publication on the subject. Yet, as will be shown, it does not satisfy the requirements of a systematic reference book for demographic archaeology. The author includes a very wide range of demographic approaches in archaeology in his chapter on methodology, but the focus of his work is on the population development in the European Bronze Age and the pre-Roman Iron Age. With this focus, it seems perfectly legitimate to select various approaches and test their suitability for the study of Bronze and Iron Age societies, but this also leads to some flaws.

The book consists of five major chapters on Archaeological Demography and Palaeodemography (chapter 1, pp. 11–26), a History and Classification of Methods Developed in Europe and America (chapter 2, pp. 27–126), the Methodology of Local and Regional Studies (chapter 3, pp. 127–162), Demographic Data from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages (chapter 4, pp. 163–188), and on Demographic Developments in the Bronze and Iron Ages (chapter 5, pp. 189–260), followed by an Epilogue (pp. 261–264) and summaries in German and English (pp. 265–271). It concludes with 44 tables.

Nikulka explores the subject of archaeological demography, distinguishing it from other varieties of demographic research (chapter 1, pp. 11–26). On the one hand, all demographic disciplines

have in common that they study societies with regard to their composition according to age, sex, and gender and various other social criteria (kinship, ethnicity, etc.); they also study societies with regard to population changes due to birth rate (fertility), death rate (mortality), and migration. On the other hand, however, they differ in their sources, methods, and concepts. While the subject of recent and historical demography already arises from their chronological focus and textual documents, palaeodemography and archaeological demography are based on the archaeological record. Even though Nikulka essentially locates palaeodemography in the field of physical anthropology and the analysis of skeletal data (pp. 17–18), he considers archaeological demography as more comprehensive, as it also includes the analysis of settlements, grave monuments, cult sites, etc. This is a very formal and technical definition, which is also contrary to the way the term palaeodemography is used in one of the seminal works on archaeological demography (G. ACSÁDI / J. NEMESKÉRI, *History of Human Life Span and Mortality* [Budapest 1970]), in which the authors impressively reveal how deeply physical anthropology and archaeology are entangled in their methods and theories. The analysis of physical anthropological data is in any case also part of the core business of archaeological demography and should therefore not be separated out.

The most spacious chapter of the book is allocated to a review of archaeological demographic research in the last hundred years (chapter 2, pp. 27–126). In 100 pages, Nikulka introduces case studies that, in one way or another, have dealt with the demography of pre-modern, sedentary societies. He contrasts American research with European research, and in comparison, both show interesting differences. Important points of reference for the American discussion are the works of Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) and Esther BOSERUP's seminal book, "The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure" (London 1965), both of which have little resonance in the European discourse. Along with this, there is a strong focus in America on theories for explaining demographic trends, and a special focus on concepts such as population pressure and carrying capacity. Settlement archaeology, ethnographic analogies, and theories of culture also play a central role here. The European discussion clearly follows different priorities. Due to the extraordinary abundance of the archaeological record, a large number of the studies focus on burial data, and as a result, completely different questions arise, such as the representativeness of data. Ethnographic analogies, or even general theorising, play at least a subordinate role in continental European archaeology, as do concepts to explain population-specific changes, such as theories on the emergence of population pressure. Nikulka's overview shows that the various strands of discussion have few overlaps but could still complement each other well.

This compilation on the history and state of research is very extensive, and yet one misses a lot – less specific individual studies (as completeness could never be achieved here), but a number of thematic aspects. For example, presenting European research, Nikulka discusses research into migration and mobility. He is right that migration and mobility are major guiding concepts in 20<sup>th</sup> century archaeology and that the tremendous number of contributions can hardly be overlooked, however, he emphasises exclusively aspects of the proof of migration. Migration is a parameter of demographic processes that requires special attention, but which is scarcely appreciated in Nikulka's work. There are a number of important studies on the demography of migrant societies – i. e. how migrant societies change demographically, or how demographic developments can promote migration processes (e. g. M. GEBÜHR, *Überlegungen zum archäologischen Nachweis von Wanderungen am Beispiel der angelsächsischen Landnahme in Britannien*. Arch. Inf. 20,1, 1997, 11–24; ID., *Angulus desertus?* In: H.-J. Häßler [ed.], *Die Wanderung der Angeln nach England*. 46. Internationales Sachsensymposium im Archäologischen Landesmuseum der Christian-Albrecht-Universität, Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, 3. bis 5. September 1995. Stud. Sachsenforsch. 11 [Oldenburg 1998] 43–85).

In the following chapter 3 (pp. 127–162) titled Methodology of Demographic Case Studies, Nikulka draws together the various methodological aspects of demographic analyses. In doing so, he distinguishes between local studies whose primary aim is to identify population size and regional studies aiming at reconstructing population densities. In addition to the classical issues of settlement and cemetery analysis, he addresses the possibilities of analysing food remains, site catchment analysis as well as the study of single finds, hoards, and votive deposits. The quality of demographic analyses depends on the quality of the archaeological evidence as well as on the representativeness of the data. As a result, particular focus is placed on verification of sources and methodological critique. As Nikulka also makes clear, the archaeological record of settlement sites and burial grounds does not provide snapshots; as a rule, these sites are almost always the result of a series of activities, and consequently have a temporal dimension which is rarely worked out in a resolution that is desirable for demographic analysis. Accordingly, demographic calculations cannot be approached directly through the archaeological record but should rather be based on *a priori* concepts. That being said, theoretical reflection and modelling are not the focus of Nikulka's book, even if this might be justified in the light of the author's own conclusions. While the importance of *a priori* assumptions and concepts for demographic analyses is highlighted, for example, by the controversy on the immigration of Anglo-Saxons in Britain (see J. E. PATTISON, Is it necessary to assume an apartheid-like social structure in Early Anglo-Saxon England? Proc. Royal Soc. B 275, 2008, 2423–2429; M. G. THOMAS ET AL., Integration versus apartheid in post-Roman Britain: A Response to Pattison. Ibid. 2419–2421), Nikulka focuses on emphasising methodology. He warns against too-high expectations concerning the possibilities of archaeological demography, which could only provide approximations on the demography of prehistoric societies and give first insights into population relations.

The actual centrepiece of the work is the analysis of a database compiled of c. 2500 monographs which includes case studies from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages (chapter 4, pp. 163–188). Demographically relevant local and regional information on burial grounds and settlements is recorded in 1385 datasets. The main focus here is on the European Bronze and pre-Roman Iron Age. The aim is to evaluate population sizes and densities in terms of differences in spatial and temporal development. A first overview shows that, although Neolithic population densities were lowest, there was no steady increase in population. The demographic development into the Middle Ages shows significant temporal and regional variations. Above all, the lower values of Iron Age societies compared to those of the Bronze Age are striking.

In a detailed analysis, Nikulka traces the development of population sizes, which are differentiated in terms of time and region. In opposition to earlier statements, he concludes that no clear population increase, or decrease, is observable from the Neolithic to the beginning of the Common Era. As a rule, Central and Northern European societies were characterised by population densities of 5–6 persons per square kilometre. Higher population densities in certain case studies are the result of methodological peculiarities and region-specific exceptions – the latter applies, for example, to well-known places like Biskupin or the Heuneburg. There is no doubt that a considerable concentration of population is also to be expected in the case of the Latène period oppida, but the actual population size can hardly be estimated here (see also the discussion paper by R. SCHUMANN in this issue of Germania). If no development trends can be identified, it remains unclear whether regionally distinctive social differentiations will have a demographic impact. This is partly due to the disparate archaeological record, but also in part, as Nikulka concludes, to the untapped potential of demographic research. Therefore, his work can only be a starting point for further research.

In the Epilogue (pp. 261–264), Nikulka briefly goes into more recent – i. e. published after 2002 – studies and research approaches to the demography of Bronze and Iron Age societies. In the

future, the focus here will be more on isotopy and genetics. The book is completed with a concise German and English summary, an abundant bibliography, and an extensive series of tables.

The book fills a thematic gap in the German-language archaeological literature. It is worth reading and, in many aspects, inspiring and helpful. It is also much appreciated that Nikulka has dealt with a subject matter that, although at the core of archaeological research, has clearly taken a back seat in the trend-setting topics of archaeological debate over the past three decades. And so, it is thanks to Nikulka that this topic is getting the attention it deserves. Nevertheless, those who expect a reference book or standard work on archaeological demographics will be disappointed, as the title is misleading. Ultimately, the book is about identifying population sizes and population densities, which is, however, only a subset of demographic research. Much is left out which has already been discussed fruitfully in numerous other archaeological studies. The subjects of fertility and mortality, but also marriage age, are constitutive factors for demography that have a lasting impact on population sizes. Historical demography clearly demonstrates how the average marriage age influences population development (e. g. A. E. IMHOF, *Einführung in die Historische Demographie* [München 1977] 74–76), as the age of marriage – at least the age of incipient reproduction – can indirectly be approached archaeologically by increased mortality of women in childbirth (M. GEBÜHR ET AL., *Das Gräberfeld von Neubrandenburg. Beobachtungen zum anthropologischen und archäologischen Befund*. Hammaburg N. F. 9, 1989, 85–107, esp. 100–103; St. BURMEISTER, *Geschlecht, Alter und Herrschaft in der Späthallstattzeit Württembergs*. Tübinger Schr. Ur- u. Frühgesch. Arch. 4 [Münster 2000] 89f.; H. DERKS, *Gräber und “Geschlechterfragen” – Studie zu den Bestattungssitten der älteren Römischen Kaiserzeit*. Arch. Ber. 24 [Bonn 2012] 187–192). Other aspects need to be discussed as well: foster parents, for example, are not only evidenced for the ancient Celtic societies (R. KARL, *Altkeltische Sozialstrukturen*. *Archaeolingua* 18 [Budapest 2006] 437–440) but have also recently been verified archaeologically for the Hallstatt and La Tène periods (N. MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL ET AL., *In der Obhut von Verwandten? Die Zirkulation von Kindern und Jugendlichen in der Eisenzeit Mitteleuropas*. In: R. Karl / J. Leskowiak [eds], *Interpretierte Eisenzeiten. Fallstudien, Methoden, Theorie. Tagungsbeiträge der 6. Linzer Gespräche zur interpretativen Eisenzeitarchäologie*. *Stud. Kulturgesch. Oberösterreich*. 42 [Linz 2015] 9–42). These are just a few selected examples. The field of demographic archaeology is much more comprehensive and richer than briefly touched on here and discussed in Nikulka's study. Even if we limit our perspective to Nikulka's own focus on population size and density, studies such as those mentioned above on migration and marriage age should still be taken into account.

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**UDO RECKER / KLAUS-DIETER KLEEFELD / PETER BURGGRAAF (eds), Kulturlandschaftsmanagement. Planung – Perspektiven – Vermittlung.** Fundberichte aus Hessen supplement 9. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Hessen, hessenARCHÄOLOGIE, Wiesbaden 2017. € 49.90. ISBN 978-3-7749-4031-4. 318 pages with 171 illustrations.

Landscape management has been a challenge for both heritage practitioners and planners in Europe and around the world for many decades. Since the 1970s, a series of international charters and conventions have dealt with the topic and given recommendations for good practice, such as the UNESCO World Heritage Convention of 1972; the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe, 1985; the Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage, 1990; and, of course, the European Landscape Convention, 2000.