Journal of Archaeological Research, Vol. 13, No. 3, September 2005 (© 2005)
DOI: 10.1007/s10814-005-3106-3

New World States and Empires: Economic and Social Organization

Michael E. Smith[1,3] **and Katharina J. Schreiber**[2]

We take a critical perspective in discussing recent publications on the archaeological study of the ancient state-level societies of Latin America. For some topics, such as intensive agriculture and exchange, data are far ahead of theory, whereas for others (e.g., gender and ethnicity), theory has outstripped data. Craft production, a topic that has achieved a good balance of data and theory, is one of the success stories of recent Latin American archaeology. After a discussion of sources of data, we review these and other topics (e.g., consumption patterns, household studies, social organization) in terms of both data and theory. In a second review article, we cover the topics of politics, religion, urbanism, and the processes of change.

KEY WORDS: archaeology; complex societies; states; New World.

INTRODUCTION

The past decade has seen a real explosion in archaeological and documentary research on the state-level societies of the pre-Columbian New World. As in much of contemporary archaeology, there is a tension between the relative prominence and elaboration of data and theory in this area. On the one hand, fieldwork and analysis are proceeding at a rapid clip, often leaving theoretical and conceptual understanding lagging far behind. On the other hand, much current archaeological theorizing is highly speculative in nature, with little connection to the realities of the archaeological record. In the long run, most current interpretations will fall by the wayside, leaving the data as the enduring contributions of archaeological

[1]Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-2402.
[2]Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California 93106-3210.
[3]To whom correspondence should be addressed at Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-2402; e-mail: mesmith@albany.edu.

1059-0161/05/0900-0189/0 © 2005 Springer Science+Business Media, Inc.

research. Nevertheless, our understanding of the past is greatly enhanced by placing current archaeological data within the context of broader anthropological and archaeological models. The perspectives and findings of allied disciplines—history, historical linguistics, paleoclimatology, geomorphology, and others—also can contribute much to our understanding of the past, but archaeologists need to devise better methods and concepts to make this happen.

Much of the variation in the relative prominence of data and theory on New World complex societies relates to the different topics studied by archaeologists. For some topics, such as chemical sourcing of artifacts and reconstructions of paleoclimates and paleoenvironments, the data are far ahead of theory. We currently lack the concepts and theoretical perspectives to make sense out of new scientific data on these topics. Until conceptual advances are made, it is difficult to evaluate these data and their social and cultural contexts. This shortcoming is not unique to the New World, of course, and its rectification requires work on a broader geographical and conceptual level. How can frequencies of imported objects be used to reconstruct the mechanisms and contexts of exchange? How can we identify human responses to climatic change? We now know a lot of facts about many ancient New World cities, for example, but we have a poor understanding of processes of urbanization and its social context. We desperately need comparative analysis and theory building in these areas.

For other topics—spatiality (or spatial practice), agency models, and perhaps ethnicity and gender—theory is moving too fast for data to follow, leading to speculative and ungrounded interpretations. We think that many archaeologists are giving too much attention to the literature in cultural anthropology and social theory on these and other currently fashionable topics, and not devoting enough effort to the development of our own concepts and methods tailored to the nature of the archaeological record and archaeological practice. On the other hand, topics such as craft production, household archaeology, political organization, and mortuary practices are advancing rapidly in both the empirical and conceptual dimensions. These are among the more successful current research topics for New World complex societies and continuing advances can be expected in the future.

In this article we review recent publications on a variety of economic and social topics among the state-level societies of Latin America. In a followup to this article (Smith and Schreiber, in press), we review research on political organization, religion, and urbanism. These articles are updates to "New World Complex Societies: Recent Economic, Social, and Political Studies" (Smith, 1993), and they cover publications between 1992 and 2003. We follow very generally the format of that article but include a number of areas of inquiry that have come to the fore in the most recent decade. We limit our discussion to societies generally classified as states and empires, leaving out chiefdoms for reasons of space. Useful reviews of chiefdom research in Latin America can be found in a number of recent works (Clark, 1997a; Drennan, 1995; Flannery and Marcus, 2000; Grove, 1997; Redmond, 1998; Rosenswig, 2000). To keep some kind of

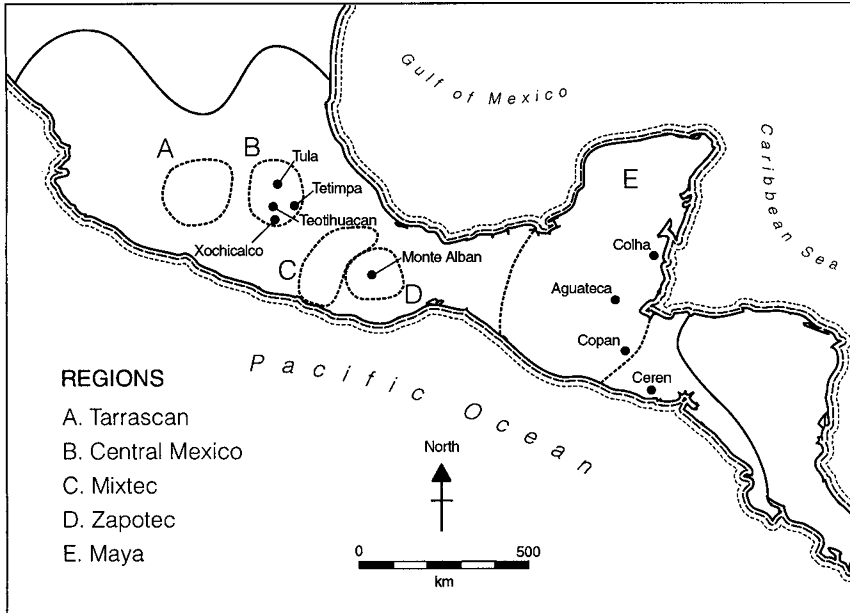

Fig. 1. Major regions and sites in Mesoamerica mentioned in the text.

limit on the bibliography, we avoid citing individual chapters in edited volumes except where necessary to make a specific point. The major regions and sites mentioned in the text are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The past decade has seen a plethora of reference works on ancient New World complex societies. These include scholarly encyclopedias (Carrasco, 2001; Evans and Webster, 2001; Peregrine and Ember, 2001, 2002) and other book-length reference works on Mesoamerica (Gendrop, 1997; Maldonado Jiménez, 1992; Palka, 2000; Winfield Capitaine, 1997). The massive *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* includes two volumes on Mesoamerica (Adams and MacLeod, 2000a, 2000b) and two on South America (Salomon and Schwartz, 1999a, 1999b). Most of the entries are written by specialists, and their bibliographies point the reader to the archaeological literature. Prem (1997) covers all of Latin America in outline format.

Several new or revised overviews of South American and Mesoamerican prehistory have appeared since 1992. Bruhns (1994) and Wilson (1999) cover all of South America, whereas Richardson (1995) and Moseley (2001) focus on the Andes. Recent overviews written for a more general audience (Morris and von

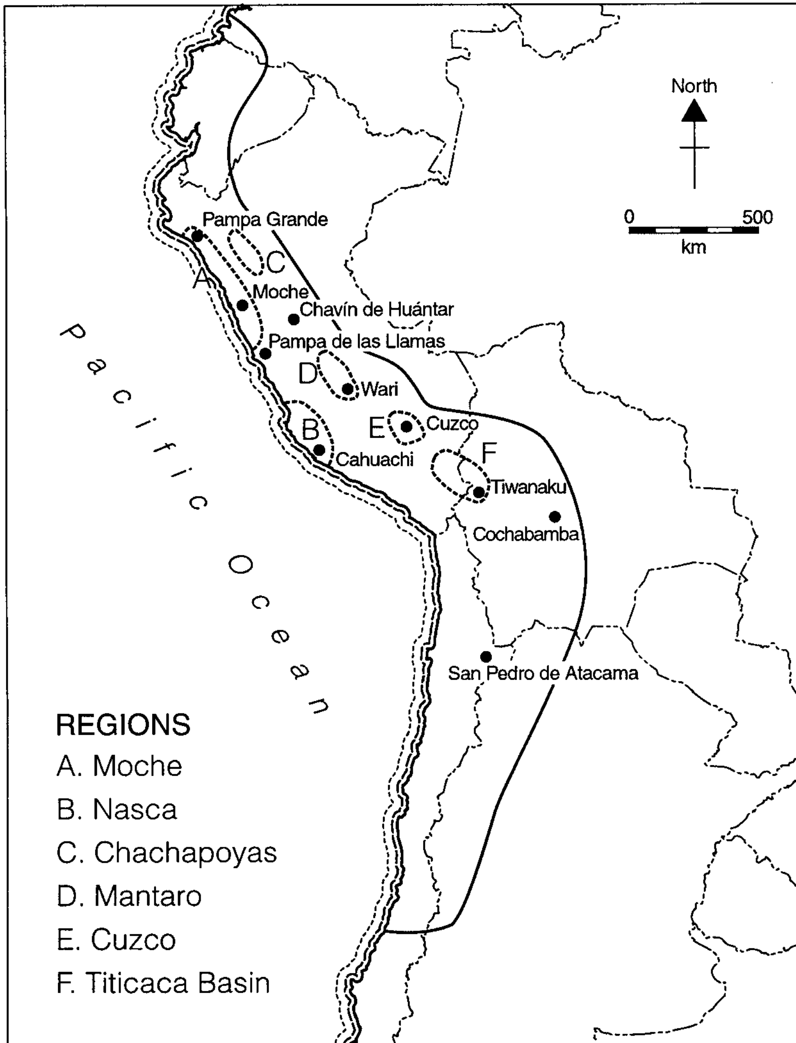

Fig. 2. Major regions and sites in South America mentioned in the text.

Hagen, 1995; von Hagen and Morris, 1998) are useful for university students. For Mesoamerica, Coe continues to revise his two popular textbooks (Coe, 1999; Coe and Koontz, 2002), and two readers targeted at student use have appeared, one reprinting already-published papers (Smith and Masson, 2000) and the other presenting new papers with a "social archaeology" perspective (Hendon and Joyce, 2004). Useful Mesoamerican textbooks on more limited regions or sites include works on Teotihuacan (Pasztory, 1997), the Tarascan state (Pollard, 1993), and

two books on early Zapotec society (Blanton *et al*., 1999; Marcus and Flannery, 1996). Blackwell Publishers initiated a series of book-length treatments of specific New World complex societies, including Tiwanaku (Kolata, 1993), the Moche (Bawden, 1999), Nasca (Silverman and Proulx, 2002), and the Inkas (D'Altroy, 2002) in the Andes and the Aztecs (Smith, 2003a) in Mesoamerica. Ten years later, however, Blackwell discontinued this series (although they continue to publish on Mesoamerica in other series; e.g., Hendon and Joyce, 2004).

Several new Andean regional journals have appeared in the last decade, including *Tawantinsuyu*, devoted to archaeological and historical investigations of the Inka empire, and the *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP*, published by the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, which comprises annual, thematically oriented volumes. Other leading Andean journals include *Chungara*, published in Chile, and the *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina*, published by the Instituto Arqueológico de Estudios Andinos (INDEA) in Lima, Peru. *Andean Past*, published by the Latin American studies Program of Cornell University, is a biennial journal publishing data-oriented research reports. A formerly prominent journal of Andean prehistory, *Ñawpa Pacha*, has been in hiatus since 1990 but is expected to resume publication shortly. *Latin American Antiquity* has taken the lead in publishing theoretically oriented articles and data reports in all areas of Latin American archaeology.

For Mesoamerica, *Ancient Mesoamerica* has emerged (alongside *Latin American Antiquity*) as the premier scholarly journal in English. The German periodical *Mexicon*, with articles in English and Spanish, seems to be changing from a newsletter into a scholarly journal. The top Mexican journals are the technical journal *Arqueología* (published by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia) and the glossy popular magazine *Arqueología Mexicana*. Less visible regional journals that often have crucial articles include the *Boletín de la Escuela de Ciencias Antropológicas de la Universidad de Yucatán* (Yucatán), *Cuadernos del Sur* (Oaxaca), *Expresión Antropológica* (State of Mexico), *Estudios de Cultura Otopame* (north-central Mexico), and *Relaciones* (Michoacán and west Mexico). For Guatemalan archaeology, important journals include *Revista de la Universidad del Valle de Guatemala* and the annual volumes from the *Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala,* published by the Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología, and *Mesoamérica*, published in Spanish in the United States. Important European journals for New World archaeology include the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* (Paris) and the *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* (Madrid).

For professionals and students, review articles by specialists are particularly useful in gaining entry to the literature. A number of review articles have appeared on the ancient Maya (Andrews, 1993; Fash, 1994; Houston, 2000; Lucero, 1999; Marcus, 1995, 2003; Webster, 1999, 2000). Other review articles on Mesoamerica include several on the Olmec (Clark, 1997a; Flannery and Marcus, 2000; Grove, 1997) and articles on Teotihuacan (Cowgill, 1997), Aztec archaeology (Hodge, 1998), and West Mexico (Pollard, 1997). For South America recent review articles

cover Andean archaeology (D'Altroy, 1997), south coast Formative developments (Silverman, 1996), research in Ayacucho (González Carré and Pozzi-Escot, 1992), Moche culture (Quilter, 2002), provincial Inka research (Stanish, 2001b), obsidian research (Burger *et al.*, 2000), northern chiefdoms (Drennan, 1995), and the rise of states (Stanish, 2001a). Aveni (2003) reviews archaeoastronomical research in all parts of the ancient New World. Another set of useful reference works is Internet bibliographies. The FAMSI (Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies) bibliography contains several thousand entries on Mesoamerican archaeology, but its usefulness is hindered by the lack of a means to export data in a standard bibliographic format.

PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE

Intensive Agriculture

Much research on ancient intensive agriculture in the 1970s and 1980s emphasized theory and speculative accounts of the role of population growth in agricultural intensification (e.g., Cohen, 1977). This approach has now been replaced with a significant body of fieldwork addressed at documenting ancient field systems. Two recent masterful syntheses of ancient agricultural systems in South America (Denevan, 2001) and Mesoamerica (Whitmore and Turner, 2001) provide in-depth descriptions of research with extensive bibliographies (see also Doolittle, 2000). South American research on terracing, long a strength of Andean archaeology, has slowed in the past decade, and Mesoamericanists are now catching up in the quantity and quality of fieldwork on terracing. New studies in the Petexbatun region (Dunning and Beach, 1994; Dunning *et al.*, 1997), at Caracol (Chase and Chase, 1998), and other areas of Belize (Beach *et al.*, 2002; Fedick, 1994) show that terracing was far more extensive among the ancient Maya than previously thought (although see Turner, 1983). The ubiquitous Aztec relic terraces in central Mexico have seen little recent attention, however (Smith and Price, 1994). Maya water management has been addressed by Scarborough and others (Scarborough, 2003; Scarborough *et al.*, 1995; Scarborough and Isaac, 1993); additional studies of Mesoamerican irrigation include Hunt (1994), Nichols and Frederick (1993), and Winsborough *et al.* (1996). An important recent article (Dunning *et al.*, 2002) discusses the role of karst depressions (*bajos*) in shaping Maya settlement and land use patterns.

With some exceptions, coastal irrigation systems in South America, like terracing, saw much more fieldwork in the 1970s and 1980s than in the 1990s. In the Nasca region of the Peruvian south coast, Schreiber and Lancho (1995, 2003) have documented the system of subterranean aqueducts, locally called *puquios*, and have placed their initial construction in the mid-first millennium A.D. Initial construction of the *puquios* coincided with a period of cultural upheaval

in Nasca entailing changes in sociopolitical organization, population movement into previously unoccupied regions, aggregation of the population into fewer but larger sites, and an increase in violence. While they disagree with arguments that the *puquios* were entirely a Spanish introduction (Barnes and Fleming, 1991), they do find that a limited number of *puquios* may have been remodeled by the Spanish. In the north coast Moche Valley, Billman has documented the extent of irrigation systems from 1800 B.C. to the time of the Spanish conquest and finds that managerial requirements of irrigation were relatively unimportant in the emergence of the southern Moche state (Billman, 2002).

Research on raised field agriculture has followed an inverse pattern in comparison with terracing and irrigation: decreasing fieldwork in Mesoamerica (Siemens, 1998; Sluyter, 1994) and more research in the Andes. The focus of research on raised fields in the latter area continues to be the Lake Titicaca basin, where archaeologists have hotly debated a number of issues. For example, were raised fields managed or controlled by the state, or was production organized independently on the household level? What role did raised field agriculture play in the rise and fall of the Tiwanaku state? (e.g., Erickson, 1993; Kolata, 1996; Mathews, 1997; Stanish, 1994). In 1993 Smith (1993, p. 9) suggested that for raised field agriculture, "the jury is still out on its organizational requirements and political implications." Unfortunately, the research and debate on Tiwanaku (and other) raised field systems have still not settled the issue. Agricultural production in the central Peruvian highlands, and intensification of maize production by commoner households under Inka domination, have been documented by Hastorf (1993, 2001).

Lowland tropical gardens and tree crops have become an important focus of research in Mesoamerica (e.g., Anderson, 1993; McKillop, 1994; Pyburn, 1998), some of which explores the nature and implications of urban gardening at Maya sites (e.g., Isendahl, 2002). Particularly important collections and syntheses of ancient Mesoamerican intensive agricultural systems are Fedick (1996) and Whitmore and Turner (2001). Unfortunately, few of these new data have been placed into the context of current theoretical debates on the nature of preindustrial agricultural intensification (e.g., Johnston, 2003; Morrison, 1994; Stone, 2001).

Craft Production

The nature and organization of craft production continues to be a popular topic for New World complex societies. The majority of recent publications are devoted to the technology of particular craft industries, with some limited attention to their social context. Not surprisingly, Mesoamericanists have focused their technological research extensively on obsidian tool production (Aoyama, 1999, 2001; Braswell *et al.*, 1994; Clark, 1997b; Clark and Bryant, 1997; Healan, 1997; Hirth, 1995; Hirth and Andrews, 2002; Otis Charlton, 1993; Parry, 2001). Obsidian

quarries are receiving more detailed attention than in the past (Cruz Antillón, 1994; Darras, 1999; Pastrana, 1998). Production of chert tools at the Maya site of Colha in Belize also continues to be the focus of considerable research (e.g., Hester and Shafer, 1994; King and Potter, 1994; Masson, 2000a).

Some of the most notable advances in the analysis of Mesoamerican craft production and its social implications have occurred in the realms of metallurgy (Hosler, 1994, 1999; Torres Montes and Franco Velázquez, 1996) and textiles (Hendon, 1992; McCafferty and McCafferty, 2000; Nichols *et al.*, 2000; Pohl, 1994; Stark *et al.*, 1998), two crafts with longer histories of research in the Andes (e.g., Benson, 1979; King, 2000). Other craft industries receiving considerable attention in both regions are ceramics (Arnold *et al.*, 1993; Balkansky *et al.*, 1997; Costin and Hagstrum, 1995; Druc, 1998; Foias and Bishop, 1997; Hernández Reyes *et al.*, 1999; Reents-Budet *et al.*, 2000; Shimada, 1994), shell (Feinman and Nicholas, 1993; Owen, 2001; Velázquez Castro, 1999), and rubber (Filloy Nadal, 2001; Hosler *et al.*, 1999).

New World archaeologists have been following Costin's (1991) advice to move beyond the vague and nebulous concept of "specialization" and focus on the individual dimensions of the organization of craft production (for an updated and expanded account see Costin, 2001a). Mesoamericanists have found that most craft production activities took place within the domestic setting (e.g., Feinman, 1999; Feinman and Nicholas, 2000; Iannone and Connell, 2003; McAnany, 1993; Otis Charlton *et al.*, 1993; Sugiura Yamamoto, 1996), and several studies have found evidence for the presence of more than one craft specialty in a single domestic "workshop" location (Feinman, 1999; Feinman and Nicholas, 2000; Widmer, 1991). It appears that many or most craft items were produced in both rural and urban settings (Finsten, 1995; King and Potter, 1994; Nichols, 1994; Nichols *et al.*, 2000; Smith, 2003a, pp. 78–105). The issue of independent versus attached (i.e., sponsored) production was pioneered in Mesoamerica by Brumfiel (1987). The cases of household-level production listed above most likely pertain to independent commoner crafters; other studies have documented likely elite-sponsored production of Classic Maya ceramics (Inomata, 2001; Reents-Budet, 1994) and Aztec lapidary jewelry (Otis Charlton, 1994). Janusek (1999) proposed a third concept—embedded specialization—to describe craft production by corporate groups at Tiwanaku, a pattern that does not easily fit into the independent or attached categories. Ames (1995) had earlier used this same term (embedded specialization) to refer to the production of craft items by elites, a pattern that may describe some of the palace-based crafts in Classic Maya and Mixtec societies. A series of essays on the social identities of crafters (Costin, 1996; Costin and Wright, 1998; R. Joyce, 1993) adds a new dimension to production studies (Costin, 2001a).

In both the Andes (Arnold, 1985; Costin, 2000; Duncan, 2000; Sillar, 2000) and Mesoamerica (D. Arnold, 2000; P. Arnold, 2000; Deal, 1998), ethnoarchaeology has begun to make crucial contributions to understanding the

nature of craft production systems, particularly for pottery. When the advances outlined above and described in greater detail in Costin (2001a) are tallied up, it is clear that archaeologists now have achieved a much stronger understanding of the variation and significance of craft production activities than ever before. Archaeologists have been reluctant, however, to take the next logical step in this line of analysis—to discard the concept of specialization, a vague and misleading term whose usefulness since Costin (1991) has been minimal (Smith, 2004).

Exchange Systems

Smith (1993) noted a decade ago that in the analysis of New World exchange systems, conceptual advances lagged far behind empirical research. Today the situation is no better. Archaeologists continue to rely on the outdated, simplistic, and inadequate trilogy of Karl Polanyi (1957)—reciprocity, redistribution, market exchange—instead of developing more refined and appropriate models of ancient exchange (for discussion, see Smith, 2004). As in the area of craft production, obsidian leads the way in chemical sourcing research. Scholars are generating new data on the geological sources of obsidian artifacts in Mesoamerica (e.g., Healan, 1993; Moholy-Nagy, 1999; Neff *et al.*, 2000), but unfortunately many studies use poor sampling procedures (e.g., Joyce *et al.*, 1995; Santley *et al.*, 2001). These authors do not adequately describe just how they selected the artifacts to analyze, suggesting strongly that they did not use random sampling. Consequently, their results cannot be generalized beyond the (typically small) nonrandom sample of sourced artifacts to wider populations of interest (such as all obsidian from a site or a phase or a region). As Drennan (1996, pp. 89–93) points out, strict adherence to random sampling is not required in order to generate reasonable inferences from sample to population, but archaeologists do need to obtain some kind of quasirandom (unbiased) sample, and they do need to describe explicitly their sampling methods, to avoid the limitations of haphazard sampling. No one has yet attempted a synthesis of Mesoamerican obsidian exchange systems. Methodological research on obsidian sourcing techniques (e.g., Braswell *et al.*, 2000; Glascock *et al.*, 1998) promises to improve research results in the future.

Substantial progress has been made in identifying the physical locations of Andean obsidian sources, previously identified only on the basis of chemical characteristics (e.g., Burger *et al.*, 1998; Jennings and Glascock, 2002). Most significant has been the location of the major Quispisisa source, long thought to be in Huancavelica, in the department of Ayacucho (Burger and Glascock, 2000, 2002). Changes in long-distance exchange of obsidian from preceramic to late prehistoric times are described by Burger *et al.* (2000). Although their analysis, like the Mesoamerican examples mentioned above, suffers from a lack of controlled sampling procedures, they argue that two primary sources of obsidian—the Alca and Chivay sources in Arequipa—were exploited and widely distributed through much of the south-central Andes. They suggest, based on this evidence, that

there were strong ties between the Cuzco region and the Titicaca Basin through all periods, except during the Middle Horizon when exchange patterns were disrupted by the expansion of the Wari and Tiwanaku states.

Ceramic sourcing using neutron activation analysis continues to be popular in Mesoamerica (e.g., Neff, 1992; Neff *et al.*, 1994; Scott and Meyers, 1994). In comparison to the obsidian research, ceramic provenience studies tend to use better sampling methods (Neff, 1993), they tend to use better comparative analogical data for interpretations (Arnold *et al.*, 1999), and they tend to be more explicitly problem oriented. Foias and Bishop (1997), for example, use sourcing data to evaluate alternative models of ceramic production and exchange as they relate to the Classic Maya collapse. In central Mexico, a long-term sourcing study of Aztec ceramics has been particularly successful in documenting several production zones for Aztec black-on-orange ceramics, adding considerably to our understanding of exchange systems in the Basin of Mexico (Hodge *et al.*, 1992, 1993; Nichols *et al.*, 2002). Ceramic sourcing is also making inroads in other parts of Mesoamerica, notably West Mexico (Williams and Weigand, 2001). Unfortunately, ceramic petrography has lagged far behind chemical analysis in Mesoamerica (Kepecs, 1998).

Ceramic sourcing has been slower to gain widespread use in the Andes, but preliminary results from a variety of regions (e.g., Costin, 2001b; D'Altroy and Bishop, 1990; Druc, 1998; Hayashida, 1999; Vaughn and Neff, 2000) indicate that this approach can produce results especially useful for understanding both the production and the distribution of prehistoric ceramics. Chemical sourcing has contributed to significant advances in the study of several other commodities in Mesoamerica, including bronze (Hosler and Macfarlane, 1996; Hosler and Stresser-Péan, 1992) and greenstone or jadeite (Lange, 1993; Seitz *et al.*, 2001).

The analysis of exchange systems at various spatial scales is becoming more common in Mesoamerica. Regional exchange has been the focus of research in several areas, including the Copán Valley of Honduras (Aoyama, 1999, 2001), the Cerén area of El Salvador (Sheets, 2000), northern Belize (Dockall and Shafer, 1993; Lucero, 2001; Santone, 1997), and the Aztec Valley of Mexico (Hodge and Smith, 1994; Parry, 2001). At a larger scale, core-periphery models and various types of world systems approaches have been applied in both Mesoamerica and the Andes (Blanton *et al.*, 1992; Burger and Matos Mendieta, 2002; Carmack, 1996; Goldstein, 2000b; A. Joyce, 1993; Kepecs *et al.*, 1994; Peregrine and Feinman, 1996; Schortman and Urban, 1992; Smith and Berdan, 2003).

Transport techniques and costs are crucial variables in any analysis of long-distance exchange. After several seminal works on this topic in Mesoamerica during the 1980s (e.g., Drennan, 1984; Hassig, 1985), research has unfortunately slowed down considerably (Drennan, 1994). A recent collection on transport in ancient South America (Herrera and Cardale de Schrimpff, 2000) may foretell continuing productive research in that area.

Although many scholars acknowledge government control of exchange as an important variable in structuring ancient economies and societies, New World archaeologists have been slow to explore this issue conceptually or methodologically. Institutional economics (Jones, 1993; North, 1991) and other traditional political economy approaches (Allen, 1997; Hirth, 1996; Roseberry, 1989) offer conceptual tools for addressing economic patterns in ancient states, but progress has been slow among archaeologists (Smith, 2004). Controlled comparisons between the two best-documented New World state economies—the state-dominated redistributive Inka economy and the commercialized Aztec economy—offer a fruitful avenue of analysis (Stanish, 1997). Hirth (1998) proposed a promising material culture model of commercialized exchange (see also Smith, 1999), and if his approach can be extended and refined, it will help put debates about the degree of commercialization of prehistoric economies on a firmer empirical basis. Several of the chapters in Masson and Freidel (2002) address questions of commercialization and state control among the Classic Maya, but it will be difficult to resolve these issues in the absence of better concepts and methods.

THE DOMESTIC SPHERE

Household Archaeology

"Household archaeology" became a significant topic of research in New World archaeology with the appearance of a series of influential works in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g., Bawden, 1982; Flannery, 1976; Wilk and Ashmore, 1988; Wilk and Rathje, 1982). In the face of critiques of these and other studies (e.g., Hendon, 1996; Shanks and Tilley, 1987; Tringham, 1991), enthusiasm waned and many archaeologists stopped talking about "household archaeology" as a distinctive approach. Some grew bored with household archaeology (e.g., "household archaeology, in published form, can be a very pedestrian affair—overdescribed and undertheorized" McAnany, 2002, p. 117), while others published studies dominated by theory-driven speculation about households unencumbered by empirical data on actual houses or domestic activities (e.g., Hutson, 2002; Levi, 2002).

One distressing trend is a continued conceptual sloppiness, first pointed out in Smith's earlier review article (Smith, 1993). To quote that paper, "some archaeologists claim to map and excavate 'households,' when in fact they study houses (artifacts) in order to infer households (behavior). Such imprecise use of terminology only contributes to the conceptual problems that now hold back the archaeology of houses" (Smith, 1993, p. 13). Recent examples of this problem from Latin America include LeCount (2001), Sheets (1992, 2000, 2002), Kievit (1994), and Quattrin (2001). Nevertheless, more and more archaeologists have been excavating and studying houses, and, as Steadman (1996) and others point out, household-scale research provides some of the best data on ancient social and

economic patterns. (Several topics that are part of "household archaeology" are discussed in other sections of this essay.)

Marc Bermann's (1994) study of houses at Lukurmata (Bolivia) and the integration of their residents into the larger economic and political systems of the Tiwanaku region is one of the best recent examples of a rigorous and sophisticated approach to household archaeology in the ancient New World (see also Bermann, 1997). Recent work at the site of Moche (e.g., Pillsbury, 2001; Van Gijseghem, 2001) has focused on households and their role in the urban economy and society. A series of studies of household archaeology in far southern Peru and northern Bolivia, ranging in date from the Middle Horizon to Late Horizon, may be found in a volume edited by Aldenderfer (1993). While most of these studies focus on domestic architecture, some also address issues of ethnicity and household-level production in the context of changing political landscapes.

In Mesoamerica, few monographs on residential excavations have appeared in the past ten years (notable examples include Cobean and Mastache, 1999; Sánchez Alaniz, 2000). Several important collections of papers have been published, however, and we hope that this signals full monographic treatment of these residential excavations in the near future. Santley and Hirth (1993) published a collection of useful studies reporting excavations of houses, interpretations of spatial and social patterns, discussions of formation processes, and ethnohistoric data on houses and households. Several studies on residential excavations in Mesoamerica also are included in Schwartz and Falconer's (1994) comparative study of Mesoamerican and Near Eastern villages.

Some of the most interesting "household" studies in Mesoamerica report the artifactual remains of rapidly abandoned houses. The site of Cerén in El Salvador has long been held up as the closest New World analog to Pompeii as a site quickly buried by volcanic ash (Sheets, 1992), and useful studies of household remains from this site continue to appear (Brown, 2000; Kievit, 1994; Sheets, 2002). Tetimpa in Puebla is another site where volcanic deposition has produced well-preserved remains (Panfil *et al.*, 1998; Plunket and Uruñuela, 1998). Aguateca (Inomata and Stiver, 1998; Inomata *et al.*, 2002) and Xochicalco (González Crespo *et al.*, 1995; Webb and Hirth, 2000) were rapidly abandoned political capitals with rich house floor assemblages. These and other case studies are brought together in Inomata and Webb (2003). Such studies are important not only for their documentation of domestic life (and settlement abandonment) at these sites but also for their implications for understanding houses whose formation processes were not so dramatic (Ashmore, 2000). Other useful studies of formation processes of domestic contexts include Hall (1994) and Webster *et al.* (1997).

The use of domestic archaeological remains to explore the social and economic conditions of households has seen only modest explicit research (Feinman *et al.*, 2002; Johnston and Gonlin, 1998; Masson, 2000b; Sheets, 2000; Smith *et al.*, 1999). In the Andean region households and domestic economy have been

viewed within the context of overarching state-level organization, and archaeological research has been aimed at documenting the effects of changing extraction policies on both elite and nonelite households (Bermann, 1994; D'Altroy and Hastorf, 2001; Kolata, 1993). In central Mexico, major advances have been made in the analysis of household and community organization from ethnohistorical records. Lockhart's (1992) massive volume synthesizes several decades of research on Nahuatl-language documents, and Terraciano's (2001) book covers similar ground for the Mixtec region of Oaxaca. In some areas the data are sufficiently fine grained to permit specialized analyses of topics such as family demography (McCaa, 1996).

Ethnoarchaeological studies are contributing much useful information on the material and spatial correlates of household activities and conditions (P. Arnold, 2000; Parsons, 2001; Pierrebourg, 1999; Sugiura Yamamoto, 1998); among these works Deal's (1998) ceramics study stands out for its comprehensive coverage and explicit focus on archaeologically relevant information. This is one of the most important monographs in recent Mesoamerican studies. Another new development is the application of an explicit built-environment approach, emphasizing spatial behavior patterns, to archaeological data on domestic contexts (Robin, 2002).

Ancestor veneration has emerged as a popular topic of analysis in domestic contexts, particularly in Mesoamerica. Most studies, building on McAnany's (1995) seminal monograph, emphasize mortuary remains from tombs in and around the house and their implications for symbolic links between people and their ancestors (Gillespie, 2001; McAnany *et al.*, 1999; Miller, 1995; papers in Silverman and Small, 2002). Related studies of ancestors include Marcus's (1998) analysis of Formative figurines from Oaxaca and Headrick's (1999) speculative discussion of possible mummy bundles at Teotihuacan.

In the Andes ancestor veneration is often assumed, based on documentary evidence of the importance of such practices within Inka society, wherein deceased rulers became honored ancestors, with a large subset of their direct descendants devoted to the cult of their mummy. Working with colonial period documents, Salomon (1995) finds that social groups (*ayllus*) within late prehispanic towns often considered themselves to have been descended from pre-Inka ancestor/heroes. In a Middle Horizon context, Cook (1992) describes a cache of 40 turquoise figurines found at the Wari site of Pikillacta, finds that the characteristics of these figures tie them to ancestor worship, and suggests they may represent the founding ancestors of the Wari polity. More recently, Lau (2002) discusses evidence for village-level public ceremonies that combined feasting and ancestor worship and finds that changes in these practices resulted from sociocultural transformations during the period of Wari domination. Although most archaeological considerations of Andean ancestor worship have been aimed either at very late prehispanic periods, or at state-level societies, Lau's work is evidence that the door may be opening to studies of ancestor veneration in earlier and less complex societies.

Consumption

Archaeological research on consumption has moved beyond questions of what goods and foods were used (What did people eat for dinner? Where did they get their obsidian?) to ask questions about the social uses and cultural significance of goods (Did feasting take place? Did diverse social groups have different uses for obsidian blades?). This broadening of the meaning of consumption follows trends in anthropology (e.g., Appadurai, 1986; Douglas and Isherwood, 1979). Archaeologists cannot abandon the earlier questions of the identification of domestic foods and goods, and these remain important topics (see above for chemical artifact sourcing). Several excellent syntheses of paleoethnobotanical research, featuring New World contexts, have appeared recently (e.g., Hastorf, 1999; Pearsall, 2001). Faunal analysis continues to be an important method (e.g., Burger and Salazar, 2003; Masson, 1999; Middleton *et al.*, 2002; Polaco and Fabiola Guzmán, 1997), and this may be a topic ripe for synthesis. The quality and precision of dietary inferences from bone chemistry continue to improve (Gerry, 1997; Tomczak, 2003; Ubelaker *et al.*, 1995; White, 1999), and scholars also have begun to assemble systematic ethnohistoric and artistic evidence on ancient diet (Coe, 1994). As these empirical advances are synthesized in a broader conceptual framework (e.g., Danforth, 1999; Gumerman, 1997), our understanding of ancient New World consumption patterns will increase dramatically.

One result of the newer social approach to consumption has been a focus on key foods rich with symbolism that were served at important social occasions: public rituals, feasts, state ceremonies, and the like. In Mesoamerica, cacao (Coe and Coe, 1996; Dillinger *et al.*, 2000; Powis *et al.*, 2002) and pulque (Bruman, 2000) are the best-known examples of this category. Bruman's (2000) study of alcohol consumption in ancient Mesoamerica brings to light numerous poorly known local alcoholic beverages from the distant corners of Mexico. The analysis of alcoholic beverages is an important topic, but New World archaeologists have yet to tie the growing empirical data to conceptual models of the significance of alcohol in ancient states (e.g., Arnold, 1999; Dietler, 1990).

In the Andes research has focused on the consumption of both alcohol and psychoactive plants, especially *Anadenanthera colubrina* and San Pedro cactus (*Trichocereus sp.*), and their role in shamanic rituals. A recent volume edited by Torres and Llagostera (2002) includes papers on snuffing practices and artifacts from Tiwanaku-related sites in the southern Andes. Knobloch (2000) has identified images of *A. colubrina* in both Wari and Tiwanaku iconography and suggests that whereas this plant was used as snuff in Tiwanaku, the Wari added it to maize beer (*chicha*) to greatly enhance the effects of that beverage. Several of these studies emphasize the role of ritual in the maintenance of state political power.

In the analysis of domestic consumption of nonfood material items, one of the first questions to consider is the use or function of artifacts. Although more complex analyses of consumption events like feasts depend on accurate functional interpretations, this topic is only in its infancy for New World complex societies. Most studies of ceramic vessel use rely on analogical interpretations of vessel forms (Deal, 1998; Hildebrand and Hagstrum, 1999; Lesure, 1998; Powis *et al.*, 2002; Pratt, 1999), although ethnohistoric sources and native pictorial sources also can provide important insights into the use of vessels (Bray, 2001; Stuart, 2001). Recent studies of lithic tool function, emphasizing microscopic methods of use-wear analysis, include Aoyama (2001) and Rovner and Lewenstein (1997). Functional analysis of ground stone tools (e.g., Biskowski, 2000) lags far behind research in the southwestern United States, and application of some of the methods and approaches from the latter area (Adams, 2002) could significantly advance our knowledge of domestic consumption practices among the ancient complex societies of Latin America.

Feasting has become something of a bandwagon in the past few years. Influential articles by Morris (1979), Clark and Blake (1994), and Gero (1992) established feasts—special meals with distinctive social, political, and/or ceremonial contexts—as an important cultural and political category in the ancient New World. Dietler and Hayden's (2001) important collection, which includes only one article on ancient Latin America, describes the state of the art in feasting research, at least for nonstate societies. A recent collection on ceramic evidence for feasting in ancient states (Bray, 2003b) complements the Dietler and Hayden volume and includes several chapters on states in Mesoamerica and the Andes. These chapters, and other recent studies (e.g., Bray, 2003a; Hastorf, 2003), are refining our knowledge of the kinds of ceramic vessels and foods that were likely used in feasts in different areas and of the nature of the architectural settings where feasts took place (Pohl, 1998).

As many of these studies suggest, feasting can be difficult to identify securely with archaeological data. Sometimes specific archaeological deposits, typically offerings, can be interpreted as the probable remains of one or more feasting events (Bray, 2003b). When working with middens and other secondary refuse deposits, however, it can be difficult or impossible to isolate the remains of feasts (typically fancy or special serving vessels) from the remains of everyday meals in which special serving vessels were used on a regular basis. One recent high-profile article on Maya feasting (LeCount, 2001) is notable for its lack of any specific evidence for feasts at the site in question (Xunantunich), relying instead on simplistic and untested functional interpretations of ceramic vessel forms in refuse deposits (for another study that argues for feasting in the absence of data, see Fox, 1996). All societies seem to have occasional feasts; the challenge is to determine how frequent they were and the nature and level of their sociopolitical impact, if any.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND IDENTITY

Inequality and Social Class

A fascination, or even obsession, with elite culture has always characterized archaeological research on ancient civilizations. In Mesoamerica this interest has intensified in the past decade as scholars have heeded Culbert's (1991, p. 344) call for a renewed "tombs and temples orientation" after two decades of settlement patterns and household research. Palaces, both royal and nonroyal, have become prime foci for excavation and analysis, particularly at Classic Maya sites (Ciudad Ruiz *et al.*, 2001; Hohmann, 1998; Houston, 1998; Reents-Budet *et al.*, 2000; Webster *et al.*, 1998). An important edited collection presents numerous case studies with architectural, artifactual, and glyphic evidence on Classic Maya palaces and court life (Inomata and Houston, 2000/2001). Spencer (2003) reports excavations at the earliest palace yet identified in Oaxaca.

De Vega Nova (1996) excavated part of a large Aztec royal palace at Yautepec, and Elson (1999) analyzed and published data from Vaillant's excavations at the Chiconautla Aztec palace in the 1930s. Documentary evidence on Aztec palaces has been analyzed by Evans (1998), Batalla Rosado (1997), and Smith (2003a, pp. 139–146). It has always been difficult to identify palaces at Teotihuacan, but one likely candidate was recently excavated (Manzanilla and López Luján, 2001). Mesoamerican palaces were large, complex structures that housed numerous social, political, and economic activities. Their analysis would benefit greatly from the application of cross-cultural data and concepts, an approach begun by Sheehy (1996) and Flannery (1998). The heavy emphasis on palace excavations at Maya sites (Christie, 2003; Inomata and Houston, 2000/2001), coupled with research on writing and iconography, threatens to produce a one-sided view of Classic Maya society. Temples and palaces are expensive to excavate, and this trend take resources away from excavations of commoner houses and other nonelite contexts. We hope for a more balanced approach in the future.

Although most of the palace research cited above tends to be narrowly empirical, other recent work takes a more analytical approach to elite culture and its role in society. Essays in Richards and Van Buren (2000) by Joyce, Brumfiel, and Van Buren discuss the dynamics of elite knowledge and actions in ancient Mesoamerica and the Andes. Brumfiel's (1998, 2001b) work on Aztec ideology identifies the crucial element of class interests in the rich symbolism of the imperial capital and its central temple. Evans (2000) and Pohl (1998) address evidence for elite competition and cooperation within the contexts of special palaces. Some of the major issues in the study of elite culture, for example, to what extent were key practices and knowledge restricted to elites, are only starting to be addressed in Mesoamerica. Were Maya commoners literate (Houston, 1994)? Did Aztec commoners know about ancient cities like Teotihuacan (Hamann, 2002;

Smith, 2003b)? Did commoners have significant social power (Joyce *et al.*, 2001)?

The latter question highlights a lack of research dedicated to the social characteristics of ancient commoners. The household studies reviewed above provide much new information on commoner activities and social conditions, but they tend to ignore questions of class, power, and ideology. Chapdelaine (2000, 2001) has begun to explore these issues for urban commoners at Moche, as have D'Altroy and Hastorf (2001) in Inka provincial settings. In Mesoamerica, most of the research linking commoners to class analysis has been done in the context of a simplistic debate over whether there was an ancient "middle class." On one side, Chase and Chase (A. Chase and D. Chase, 1992, 1996) argue that a two-class model does not fit the data on the Classic Maya and thus the Maya had a middle class. Marcus (1992, 1995) replied that the data are consistent with the standard class structure of most agrarian states in which there was variability (in wealth and power) within two fundamental social classes. Unfortunately, no one has presented sufficient data to evaluate these claims empirically for the Classic Maya.

Other scholars have abandoned the study of Classic Maya social classes entirely, turning instead to the vague concept of "heterarchy" as a replacement or alternative (Scarborough *et al.*, 2003). Heterarchy (nonhierarchical or horizontal complexity) is another term for the concept of heterogeneity as discussed long ago by McGuire (1983). One of the important points made by McGuire is that heterogeneity is analytically separate from hierarchy or inequality (vertical complexity), and that both dimensions of complexity need to be considered in any social analysis. Archaeologists riding the "heterarchy" bandwagon, however (Ehrenreich *et al.*, 1995), seem to think that heterogeneity is a substitute for inequality, allowing them to abandon class analysis. In our opinion, use of the concept of "heterarchy" by Mayanists (e.g., Iannone, 2002; Levi, 2002; Scarborough *et al.*, 2003) has not notably improved our understanding of Classic Maya social organization.

A similar debate exists for Aztec class structure. Smith presented quantitative data showing a clear two-class structure (elites and commoners) at rural Aztec sites (Smith, 1992, pp. 359–367), a pattern consistent with the extensive written record on Aztec inequality (Lockhart, 1992; Smith, 2003a, pp. 131–146). Sanders (1992) argues that most Mesoamerican societies had two social classes, although in the final century before Spanish conquest a third class of merchants and artisans was emerging in the imperial capital. Hicks (1999) offers a strange and unconvincing argument for an Aztec middle class based upon first principles. He reasons that elites in agrarian societies need a distinct class of servants and retainers to serve them, and thus any society with an elite class must by definition have a middle class of such people. Smith favors Sanders's views, but more empirical data and better methods are needed to resolve these questions.

Given the importance of social classes and stratification in most social models of agrarian states, the lack of dedicated attention to archaeological methods of measuring wealth, power, status, and social class is distressing. Only a few Latin Americanists target these questions directly and explicitly (e.g., Garraty, 2000; Gerry, 1997; Hirth, 1993; Moore, 1996), although many archaeologists are doing relevant research (e.g., Billman and Feinman, 1999; Chapdelaine, 2001; D. Chase and A. Chase, 1992; Janusek, 1999; McAnany, 1995; Santley and Hirth, 1993), and perhaps the time is near for an analytical synthesis of the archaeology of social class in Latin America.

Corporate Groups

Archaeological and documentary research continues on the Andean *ayllu* and the central Mexican *calpolli*, corporate groups with long histories of scholarship in each area. Whereas earlier scholarship tended toward simplistic debates about whether these residential groups (typically communities) were based on kinship or territory, recent research has addressed issues of variability, resources, and social context. Isbell's (1997) analysis of Andean burial patterns contains the most extensive recent discussion of the nature and origins of the *ayllu*. Other scholarship has focused less on the *ayllu* itself and more on its role within Murra's (1972) model of verticality (e.g., Goldstein, 2000a; Quattrin, 2001; Van Buren, 1996). In central Mexico, Lockhart's (1992, pp. 102–110) identification of social variation between western and eastern Nahua regions resolved many of the seeming contradictions in the historical sources. Rural settlement in the western Nahua zone (the Basin of Mexico and Morelos) was based upon the *calpolli,* a spatially localized community dependent on one or more nobles for access to land. Hare (2000) explores archaeological manifestations of *calpolli* and other ethnohistorically described social units. The *calpolli* was absent or weak in the eastern Nahua area (Puebla and Tlaxcala), where the noble house (*tecali*) took its place as the major corporate group (Chance, 1996, 2000). The archaeological expressions of the latter pattern have yet to be addressed, however.

Chance found that Lévi-Strauss's (1987) "house society" model helps make sense of documentary data from early colonial Puebla, and his paper in *American Anthropologist* (Chance, 2000) joined one by Gillespie (2000) in advocating the usefulness of this model for understanding some Mesoamerican societies. First brought to anthropological prominence by Carsten and Hugh-Jones (1995), the "house society" model describes named corporate groups ("houses") whose identities are linked to a physical or metaphorical house. Recruitment typically includes both kin and nonkin relationships, and the "house" maintains property, both physical and symbolic (names, titles, etc.), which provides multigenerational continuity. Joyce and Gillespie (2000) edited a collection that applies this model to a variety of modern and ancient societies. They argue that the "house" model is a better

fit for Classic Maya royal groups than the traditional lineage interpretation (see also Gillespie, 2001; Joyce, 2000). Their collection (Joyce and Gillespie, 2000) does not include any Andean examples, although the earlier volume (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995) does include two chapters on Amazonian ethnographic cases.

Houston and McAnany (2003) criticize Gillespie and Joyce's application of the house society model to the Classic Maya, arguing instead for a poorly defined "court society" model based on early modern European royalty (Adamson, 1999; Inomata and Houston, 2000/2001). Braswell (2003), on the other hand, makes a strong case for the usefulness of the "house" as an alternative for lineage (Carmack, 1981) as the dominant elite corporate group in the Postclassic polities of the highland Maya. Unfortunately, none of these studies propose a solid methological foundation for identifying "houses" (or lineages) in the archaeological record, nor do they explore the theoretical and comparative implications of the house and lineage models as applied to the Maya or other ancient societies. To avoid the confusion of using the term "house" for the group, Gillespie has suggested (personal communication to Smith, 2003) using Lévi-Strauss's original French term, "maison," for the corporate group, leaving "house" for the residential structures excavated by archaeologists.

Gender

The past decade has seen a veritable explosion in gender studies in archaeology, and New World research holds a prominent place in this literature. This is not to say that sex and gender were not addressed prior to the 1990s, but many earlier studies tended to be art-historically based and aimed at simply identifying male or female imagery in Mesoamerican and Andean art styles. Momentum picked up in mid-1980s (Conkey and Spector, 1984), and by the time the seminal volume *Engendering Archaeology* (Gero and Conkey, 1991) appeared, many researchers found new promise in studies of gender. Moving beyond a focus on the identification of (usually) females in the archaeological record (Bruhns and Stothert, 1999), the study of gender has turned toward the study of gender roles and identities and the social, economic, political, and ideological implications of gender differences. The literature on gender in the complex societies of the New World is too vast to review here, and we refer the reader to a number of excellent edited collections for surveys of the topic (Ardren, 2002; Klein, 2001; Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon, 2002; Sweely, 1999; Wright, 1996). Joyce's (2000) *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica* is particularly notable for its explicit conceptual approach and its creative analysis of archaeological and representational data on ancient gender patterns.

A cautionary tale suggesting some of the complexities of reconstructing patterns of ancient gender is provided by work on the status of Aztec women. Although there is considerable evidence on the topic, including Spanish and native-language

documents, pictorial codices, public art, and archaeological artifacts and architecture, scholars cannot agree on the interpretation of that evidence. Some portray Aztec women as oppressed and downtrodden (Rodríguez-Shadow, 1997, 1999), subject to tighter limits, harsher penalties, and more negative stereotypes than men (Brumfiel, 1996, 2001a). Others, however, see Aztec women as far more independent and powerful, with roles and statuses complementary to those of men (Burkhart, 1997; Hendon, 1999; Joyce, 2000, pp. 168–169; Kellogg, 1995; Marcos, 1998; G. McCafferty and S. McCafferty, 1999; S. McCafferty and G. McCafferty, 1988). The resolution of this and other questions in the analysis of gender in the past will require advances in empirical evidence, theoretical constructs, and methodological linkages between the two.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a tough topic for archaeologists. We do not know the conditions that determine whether ethnicity will or will not be expressed in material objects in any given circumstance. Without that knowledge, we cannot know whether observed variation in ceramics, house style, or any other material category was because of ethnic differences or other factors. Perhaps because of this uncertainty, many archaeologists have resorted to three simplistic assumptions to study ethnicity archaeologically (Jones, 1997): (1) all members of an ethnic group use the same types and styles of material objects; (2) ethnic groups stay in the same location for long periods of time, interrupted only by mass migrations to other areas; and (3) for long periods of time ethnic groups do not change their use of particular artifact types and styles. All of these assumptions are contradicted by abundant evidence (e.g., Emberling, 1997; Jones, 1997; Wells, 2001), making the archaeological study of ethnicity difficult or impossible in many areas.

The most successful archaeological studies of ethnicity in the New World have concentrated on ethnic enclaves. In these situations groups of people deliberately settled among people of a foreign ethnic identity for specific economic or political reasons (Spence, 1996). In the Andes enclaves are an important part of Murra's verticality model, and they have been the focus of much ethnohistoric and archaeological research (e.g., Aldenderfer, 1993; Goldstein, 2000a; Murra, 1995; Sutter, 2000; Van Buren, 1996). Unfortunately, as Van Buren (1996) points out, many of Murra's original assumptions, based on a reading of ethnohistoric documents and pertaining to the period of early contact between Andean and European societies, have been uncritically incorporated into archaeological investigations of highland-coastal relations in earlier periods. Indeed, in some regions of northern Chile and far southern Peru, this model drives virtually all research, as researchers seek to find enclaves of highlanders living on or near the desert coast, thus homogenizing interpretations of vastly different cultural and temporal contexts.

In Mesoamerica, the best-known example of an enclave is the so-called "Zapotec barrio" at Teotihuacan, where a group of people probably from Oaxaca lived for many generations with distinctive material culture and ritual practices (Rattray, 2001; Spence, 1992, 1996). Other possible ethnic enclaves in Mesoamerica are discussed by Spence (1996), Santley *et al.* (1987), and Hernández Reyes (1990). In the Andes important new strides in bioarchaeology are allowing archaeologists to address issues of ethnicity and migration using human osteological remains. Cranial vault modification, a practice occurring in infancy, and one that results in a permanent and visible cranial shape in one's adult years, may be an important clue to ethnic identity. Most bioarchaeological research along these lines to date has been aimed at understanding the relationship between Tiwanaku and regions under its influence (Blom *et al.*, 1998; Hoshower *et al.*, 1995; Torres-Rouff, 2002)

Analyses of social identities other than (or in addition to) ethnicity include Schortman *et al.* (2001), Hendon (2000), and the essays in Chesson (2001). Costin and Wright (1998) published an excellent collection of papers on "craft and social identity" that includes several New World case studies, and a new collection on colonies and colonization addresses various realms of identity in Mesoamerica and the Andes (Stein, n.d.). In part 2 of this series, we address the issue of ethnicity in relation to language groups and language change (Smith and Schreiber, in press).

CONCLUSIONS

The literature reviewed in this article covers a wide range of variation in the relative importance of data and theory. Some of this variation is associated with regional research traditions and other variation is topical in origin. Research on Andean complex societies continues to be more descriptive than analytical, whereas many Mesoamericanists are active users of current archaeological, anthropological, and social theory. Some Andeanists would argue that the Andes are unique among the regions of early state formation, so much so that comparative models or concepts like "city," "state," or "empire" cannot be applied to the Andean situation. Other Andeanists, in contrast, take a comparative, anthropological perspective on the societies they study. Within Mesoamerica, the greatest variation is found within the field of Maya studies. There is a long-standing scholarly trend of emphasizing the uniqueness of the Maya; sometimes this take the form of particularistic studies of Classic Maya sites that eschew comparisons, and sometimes this takes the form of asserting an enduring essence of "Mayaness" (for comment, see Smith and Schreiber, in press). On the other hand, many Mayanists today work within a comparative, anthropological framework.

The balancing of data and theory in archaeology can be a difficult and contentious endeavor. Recent research shows that the various topics addressed by archaeologists working on ancient New World states and empires fall at different

places along a continuum of the relative contributions of data and theory. In our opinion, topics like intensive agriculture and exchange are currently overburdened with data and in desperate need of adequate theory to advance understanding and interpretation. Topics like gender and ethnicity, on the other hand, have too much theory and not enough relevant data right now. Although archaeological research on consumption is on the upswing and work on social class is declining, both are important topics that need much more work in both data and theory, as does the realm of household-level analysis. Finally, we feel that the analysis of craft production is one of the recent success stories for the ancient states of the New World, due in part to the achievement of a good balance of data and theory.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank Mark Aldenderfer, Valerie Andrushko, Corina Kellner, Marilyn Masson, Scott Speal, Christina Torres-Rouff, and Hendrik Van Gijseghem for bibliographic help. The comments of Gary Feinman and five anonymous referees helped improve the article considerably, as did the copyediting of Linda Nicholas, and we are grateful.

REFERENCES CITED

Adams, J. L. (2002). *Ground Stone Analysis: A Technological Approach,* University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Adams, R. E. W., and MacLeod, M. J. (eds.) (2000a). *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas. Volume II, Mesoamerica, part 1*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Adams, R. E. W., and MacLeod, M. J. (eds.) (2000b). *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas. Volume II, Mesoamerica, part 2*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Adamson, J. (ed.) (1999). *The Princely Courts of Europe, 1500–1750*, Wiedenfield and Nicholson, London.

Aldenderfer, M. S. (ed.) (1993). *Domestic Architecture, Ethnicity and Complementarity in the South-Central Andes*, University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.

Allen, R. (1997). Agriculture and the origins of the state in ancient Egypt. *Explorations in Economic History* **34:** 134–154.

Ames, K. M. (1995). Chiefly power and household production on the Northwest Coast. In Price, T. D., and Feinman, G. M. (eds.), *Foundations of Social Inequality*, Plenum, New York, pp. 155–187.

Anderson, E. N. (1993). Gardens in tropical America and tropical Asia. *Biotica* **1:** 81–102.

Andrews, A. P. (1993). Late Postclassic Lowland Maya archaeology. *Journal of World Prehistory* **7:** 35–69.

Aoyama, K. (1999). *Ancient Maya State, Urbanism, Exchange, and Craft Specialization: Chipped Stone Evidence from the Copán Valley and the La Entrada Region, Honduras/Estado, urbanismo, intercambio, y especialización artesanal entre los Mayas antiguos: evidencia de lítica menor del Valle de Copán y la región de La Entrada, Honduras,* Memoirs in Latin American Archaeology, Vol. 12, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

Aoyama, K. (2001). Classic Maya state, urbanism, and exchange: Chipped stone evidence of the Copán Valley and its hinterland. *American Anthropologist* **103:** 346–360.

Appadurai, A. (1986). Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value. In Appadurai, A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 3–63.

Ardren, T. (ed.) (2002). *Ancient Maya Women*, AltaMira, Walnut Creek, CA.

Arnold, B. (1999). 'Drinking the feast': Alcohol and the legitimation of power in Celtic Europe. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* **9:** 71–93.
Arnold, D. (1985). *Ceramic Theory and Cultural Proceses,* Cambridge University Press, New York.
Arnold, D. E. (2000). Does standardization of ceramic pastes really mean specialization? *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* **7:** 333–376.
Arnold, D. E., Neff, H. A., Bishop, R. L., and Glascock, M. D. (1999). Testing interpretive assumptions of neutron activation analysis: Contemporary pottery in Yucatán, 1964–1994. In Chilton, E. S. (ed.), *Material Meanings: Critical Approaches to the Interpretation of Material Culture*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp. 61–84.
Arnold, P. J., III (2000). Working without a net: Recent trends in ceramic ethnoarchaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **8:** 105–129.
Arnold, P. J., III, Pool, C. A., Kneebone, R. R., and Santley, R. S. (1993). Intensive ceramic production and Classic-period political economy in the Sierra de los Tuxtlas, Veracruz, Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **4:** 175–191.
Ashmore, W. (2000). Leaving home abruptly. *Mayab* **13:** 108–112.
Aveni, A. F. (2003). Archaeoastronomy in the ancient Americas. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **11:** 149–191.
Balkansky, A. K., Feinman, G. M., and Nicholas, L. M. (1997). Pottery kilns of ancient Ejutla, Oaxaca, Mexico. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **24:** 139–160.
Barnes, M., and Fleming, D. (1991). Filtration-gallery irrigation in the Spanish New World. *Latin American Antiquity* **2:** 48–68.
Batalla Rosado, J. J. (1997). El palacio real mexica: análisis iconográfico escriturario. In Jansen, M., and Reyes García, L. (eds.), *Códices, caciques y comunidades*, Cuadernos de Historia Latinoamericana, Vol. 5, Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos, Leiden, pp. 65–101.
Bawden, G. (1982). Community organization reflected by the household: A study of pre-Columbian social dynamics. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **9:** 165–182.
Bawden, G. (1999). *The Moche,* Blackwell, Oxford.
Beach, T. P., Luzzadder-Beach, S., Dunning, N. P., Hageman, J., and Lohse, J. C. (2002). Upland agriculture in the Maya lowlands: Ancient Maya soil conservation in Northwestern Belize. *Geographical Review* **92:** 372–397.
Benson, E. P. (ed.) (1979). *Pre-Columbian Metallurgy of South America*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC.
Bermann, M. (1994). *Lukurmata: Household Archaeology in Prehispanic Bolivia,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
Bermann, M. (1997). Domestic life and vertical integration in the Tiwanaku hinterland. *Latin American Antiquity* **8:** 93–112.
Billman, B. R. (2002). Irrigation and the origins of the southern Moche state on the North Coast of Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* **13:** 371–400.
Billman, B. R., and Feinman, G. M. (eds.) (1999). *Settlement Pattern Studies in the Americas: Fifty Years Since Virú*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
Biskowski, M. (2000). Maize preparation and Aztec subsistence economy. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **11:** 293–306.
Blanton, R. E., Feinman, G. M., Kowalewski, S. A., and Nicholas, L. M. (1999). *Ancient Oaxaca: The Monte Albán State,* Cambridge University Press, New York.
Blanton, R. E., Kowalewski, S. A., and Feinman, G. M. (1992). The Mesoamerican world-system. *Review* **15:** 419–426.
Blom, D. E., Benedikt, H., Keng, L., Lozada C., M. C., and Buikstra, J. E. (1998). Tiwanaku "colonization": Bioarchaeological implications for migration in the Moquegua Valley, Peru. *World Archaeology* **30:** 238–261.
Braswell, G. E. (2003). Highland Maya polities. In Smith, M. E., and Berdan, F. F. (eds.), *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp. 45–49.
Braswell, G. E., Andrews, E. W. V., and Glascock, M. D. (1994). The obsidian artifacts of Quelepa, El Salvador. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **5:** 173–192.
Braswell, G. E., Clark, J. E., Aoyama, K., McKillop, H. I., and Glascock, M. D. (2000). Determining the geological provenance of obsidian artifacts from the Maya region: A test of the efficacy of visual sourcing. *Latin American Antiquity* **11:** 269–282.

Bray, T. L. (2001). Inca iconography: The art of empire in the Andes. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* **38:** 169–178.
Bray, T. L. (2003a). Inka pottery as culinary equipment: Food, feasting, and gender in imperial state design. *Latin American Antiquity* **14:** 3–28.
Bray, T. L. (ed.) (2003b). *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, Kluwer, New York.
Brown, L. A. (2000). From discard to divination: Demarcating the sacred through the collection and curation of discarded objects. *Latin American Antiquity* **11:** 319–334.
Bruhns, K. O. (1994). *Ancient South America,* Cambridge University Press, New York.
Bruhns, K. O., and Stothert, K. E. (1999). *Women in Ancient America,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Bruman, H. J. (2000). *Alcohol in Ancient Mexico,* University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
Brumfiel, E. M. (1987). Elite and utilitarian crafts in the Aztec state. In Brumfiel, E. M., and Earle, T. K. (eds.), *Specialization, Exchange, and Complex Societies*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 102–118.
Brumfiel, E. M. (1996). Figurines and the Aztec state: Testing the effectiveness of ideological domination. In Wright, R. P. (ed.), *Gender and Archaeology*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, pp. 143–166.
Brumfiel, E. M. (1998). Huitzilopochtli's conquest: Aztec ideology in the archaeological record. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* **8:** 3–14.
Brumfiel, E. M. (2001a). Asking about Aztec gender: The historical and archaeological evidence. In Klein, C. F. (ed.), *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, pp. 57–86.
Brumfiel, E. M. (2001b). Aztec hearts and minds: Religion and the state in the Aztec empire. In Alcock, S., D'Altroy, T., Morrison, K., and Sinopoli, C. (eds.), *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 283–310.
Burger, R. L., and Glascock, M. D. (2000). Locating the Quispisisa obsidian source in the Department of Ayacucho, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* **11:** 258–268.
Burger, R. L., and Glascock, M. D. (2002). Tracking the source of Quispisisa obsidian from Huancavelica to Ayacucho. In Isbell, W. H., and Silverman, H. (eds.), *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, Kluwer Academic/Plenum, New York, pp. 341–368.
Burger, R. L., and Matos Mendieta, R. (2002). Atalla: A center on the periphery of the Chavín horizon. *Latin American Antiquity* **13:** 153–177.
Burger, R. L., Mohr Chávez, K. L., and Chávez, S. J. (2000). Through the glass darkly: Prehispanic obsidian procurement and exchange in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia. *Journal of World Prehistory* **14:** 267–312.
Burger, R. L., and Salazar, L. C. (eds.) (2003). *The 1912 Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition Collections from Machu Picchu: Human and Animal Remains*, Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 85, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
Burger, R. L., Schreiber, K. J., Glascock, M. D., and Cencho, J. (1998). The Jampatilla osidian source: Identifying the geological source of pampas type obsidian artifacts from Southern Peru. *Andean Past* **5:** 225–239.
Burkhart, L. M. (1997). Mexica women on the home front: Housework and religion in Aztec Mexico. In Schroeder, S.,Wood, S., and Haskett, R. (eds.), *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, pp. 25–54.
Carmack, R. M. (1981). *The Quiché Mayas of Utatlan: The Evolution of a Highland Guatemala Kingdom,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Carmack, R. M. (1996). Mesoamerica at Spanish contact. In Carmack, R. M., Gasco, J., and Gossen, G. H. (eds.), *The Legacy of Mesoamerica: History and Culture of a Native American Civilization*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, pp. 80–121.
Carrasco, D. (ed.) (2001). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures: The Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*, Oxford University Press, New York.
Carsten, J., and Hugh-Jones, S. (eds.) (1995). *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
Chance, J. K. (1996). The barrios of colonial Tecali: Patronage, kinship, and territorial relations in a Central Mexican community. *Ethnology* **35:** 107–139.

Chance, J. K. (2000). The noble house in colonial Puebla, Mexico: Descent, inheritance, and the Nahua tradition. *American Anthropologist* **102:** 485–502.
Chapdelaine, C. (2000). Struggling for survival: The urban class of the Moche site, north coast of Peru. In Bawden, G., and Reycraft, R. M. (eds.), *Environmental Disaster and the Archaeology of Human Response*, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 7, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, pp. 121–142.
Chapdelaine, C. (2001). The growing power of a Moche urban class. In Pillsbury, J. (ed.), *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XL, Vol. 63, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, pp. 69–87.
Chase, A. F., and Chase, D. Z. (1992). Mesoamerican elites: Assumptions, definitions, and models. In Chase, D. Z., and Chase, A. F. (eds.), *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, pp. 3–17.
Chase, A. F., and Chase, D. Z. (1996). A mighty Maya nation: How Caracol built an empire by cultivating its "middle class." *Archaeology* **49**(5): 66–72.
Chase, A. F., and Chase, D. Z. (1998). Scale and intensity in Classic period Maya agriculture: Terracing and settlement at the "garden city" of Caracol, Belize. *Culture and Agriculture* **20**(2/3): 60–77.
Chase, D. Z., and Chase, A. F. (eds.) (1992). *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Chesson, M. S. (ed.) (2001). *Social Memory, Identity, and Death: Anthropological Perspectives on Mortuary Rituals*, Archeological Papers, Vol. 10, American Anthropological Association, Washington, DC.
Christie, J. J. (ed.) (2003). *Maya Palaces and Elite Residences: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, University of Texas Press, Austin.
Ciudad Ruiz, A., Iglesias Ponce de León, M. J., and Martínez Martínez, M. d. C. (eds.) (2001). *Reconstruyendo la ciudad maya: el urbanismo en las sociedades antiguas*, Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas, Madrid.
Clark, J. E. (1997a). The arts of government in early Mesoamerica. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **26:** 211–234.
Clark, J. E. (1997b). Prismatic blademaking, craftsmanship, and production: An analysis of obsidian refuse from Ojo de Agua, Chiapas, Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **8:** 137–159.
Clark, J. E., and Blake, M. (1994). The power of prestige: Competitive generosity and the emergence of rank societies in lowland Mesoamerica. In Brumfiel, E. M., and Fox, J. W. (eds.), *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 17–30.
Clark, J. E., and Bryant, D. D. (1997). A technological typology of prismatic blades and debitage from Ojo de Agua, Chiapas, Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **8:** 111–136.
Cobean, R. H., and Mastache, A. G. (1999). *Tepetitlán: A Rural Household in the Toltec Heartland/Tepetitlán: Un espacio doméstico rural en el area de Tula,* University of Pittsburgh Latin American Archaeology Publications, Pittsburgh, and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.
Coe, M. D. (1999). *The Maya,* 6th ed., Thames and Hudson, New York.
Coe, M. D., and Koontz, R. (2002). *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs,* 5th ed., Thames and Hudson, New York.
Coe, S. D. (1994). *America's First Cuisines,* Universitiy of Texas Press, Austin.
Coe, S. D., and Coe, M. D. (1996). *The True History of Chocolate,* Thames and Hudson, New York.
Cohen, M. N. (1977). *The Food Crisis in Prehistory: Overpopulation and the Origins of Agriculture,* Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
Conkey, M. W., and Spector, J. D. (1984). Archaeology and the study of gender. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* **7:** 1–38.
Cook, A. G. (1992). The stone ancestors: Idioms of imperial attire and rank among Huari figurines. *Latin American Antiquity* **3:** 341–364.
Costin, C. L. (1991). Craft specialization: Issues in defining, documenting, and explaining the organization of production. *Archaeological Method and Theory* **3:** 1–56.
Costin, C. L. (1996). Exploring the relationship between gender and craft in complex societies: Methodological and theoretical issues of gender attribution. In Wright, R. P. (ed.), *Gender and Archaeology*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, pp. 111–140.

Costin, C. L. (2000). The use of ethnoarchaeology for the archaeological study of ceramic production. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* **7:** 377–403.
Costin, C. L. (2001a). Craft production systems. In Feinman, G. M., and Price, T. D. (eds.), *Archaeology at the Millennium: A Sourcebook*, Kluwer, New York, pp. 273–328.
Costin, C. L. (2001b). Production and exchange of ceramics. In D'Altroy, T. N., and Hastorf, C. A. (eds.), *Empire and Domestic Economy*, Plenum, New York, pp. 203–242.
Costin, C. L., and Hagstrum, M. B. (1995). Standardization, labor investment, skill, and the organization of ceramic production in late prehistoric highland Peru. *American Antiquity* **60:** 619–639.
Costin, C. L., and Wright, R. P. (eds.) (1998). *Craft and Social Identity*, Archeological Papers, Vol. 8, American Anthropological Association, Washington, DC.
Cowgill, G. L. (1997). State and society at Teotihuacan, Mexico. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **26:** 129–161.
Cruz Antillón, R. (1994). *Análisis arqueológico del yacimiento de obsidiana de Sierra de las Navajas, Hidalgo,* Colección Científica, Vol. 281, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.
Culbert, T. P. (1991). Maya political history and elite interaction: A summary view. In Culbert, T. P. (ed.), *Classic Maya Political History: Hieroglyphic and Archaeological Evidence*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 311–346.
D'Altroy, T. N. (1997). Recent research on the central Andes. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **5:** 3–74.
D'Altroy, T. N. (2002). *The Incas,* Blackwell, Oxford.
D'Altroy, T. N., and Bishop, R. L. (1990). The provincial organization of Inka ceramic production. *American Antiquity* **55:** 120–138.
D'Altroy, T. N., and Hastorf, C. A. (eds.) (2001). *Empire and Domestic Economy*, Plenum, New York.
Danforth, M. E. (1999). Nutrition and politics in prehistory. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **28:** 1–25.
Darras, V. (1999). *Tecnologías prehispánicas de la obsidiana: los centros de producción de la región de Zináparo-Prieto, Michoacán,* Cuadernos de Estudios Michoacanos, Vol. 9, Centre D'Études Mexicaines et Centroaméricanes, Mexico City.
de Vega Nova, H. (1996). Proyecto de investigación arqueológico en Yautepec, Morelos. In *Memoria, III Congreso Interno del Centro INAH Morelos, Acapantzingo, Cuernavaca, 1994*, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Centro INAH Morelos, Cuernavaca, Morelos, pp. 149–168.
Deal, M. (1998). *Pottery Ethnoarchaeology in the Central Maya Highlands,* University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
Denevan, W. M. (2001). *Cultivated Landscapes of Native Amazonia and the Andes*, Oxford University Press, New York.
Dietler, M. (1990). Driven by drink: The role of drinking in the political economy and the case of Iron Age France. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **9:** 352–406.
Dietler, M., and Hayden, B. (eds.) (2001). *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
Dillinger, T. L., Barriga, P., Escárcega, S., Jiménez, M., Salazar Lowe, D., and Grivetti, L. E. (2000). Food of the gods, cure for humanity? A cultural history of the medicinal and ritual use of chocolate. *The Journal of Nutrition* **130 (**Supplement): 2057S–2072S.
Dockall, J. E., and Shafer, H. J. (1993). Testing the producer-consumer model for Santa Rita Corozal, Belize. *Latin American Antiquity* **4:** 158–179.
Doolittle, W. E. (2000). *Cultivated Landscapes of Native North America,* Oxford University Press, New York.
Douglas, M., and Isherwood, B. (1979). *The World of Goods: Toward an Anthropology of Consumption,* Basic Books, New York.
Drennan, R. D. (1984). Long-distance transport costs in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica. *American Anthropologist* **86:** 105–112.
Drennan, R. D. (1994). What can be learned by estimating human energy costs? *Ancient Mesoamerica* **5:** 209–212.
Drennan, R. D. (1995). Chiefdoms in northern South America. *Journal of World Prehistory* **9:** 301–340.
Drennan, R. D. (1996). *Statistics for Archaeologists: A Commonsense Approach,* Plenum, New York.
Druc, I. C. (1998). *Ceramic Production and Distribution in the Chavín Sphere of Influence,* British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Vol. 731, Archaeopress, Oxford.

Duncan, R. J. (2000). *Crafts, Capitalism, and Women: The Potters of La Chamba, Colombia,* University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
Dunning, N. P., and Beach, T. (1994). Soil erosion, slope management, and ancient terracing in the Maya lowlands. *Latin American Antiquity* **5:** 51–69.
Dunning, N. P., Beach, T., and Rue, D. (1997). The paleoecology and ancient settlement of the Petexbatun region, Guatemala. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **8:** 255–266.
Dunning, N. P., Luzzadder-Beach, S., Beach, T., Jones, J. G., Scarborough, V. L., and Culbert, T. P. (2002). Arising from the bajos: The evolution of a neotropical landscape and the rise of Maya civilization. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **92:** 267–283.
Ehrenreich, R. M., Crumley, C. M., and Levy, J. E. (eds.) (1995). *Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies*, Archeological Papers, Vol. 6, American Anthropological Association, Washington, DC.
Elson, C. M. (1999). An Aztec palace at Chiconautla, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* **10:** 151–167.
Emberling, G. (1997). Ethnicity in complex societies: Archaeological perspectives. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **5:** 295–344.
Erickson, C. L. (1993). The social organization of Prehispanic raised field agriculture in the Lake Titicaca Basin. In Scarborough, V., and Isaac, B. (eds.), *Economic Aspects of Water Management in the Prehispanic New World*, Research in Economic Anthropology, Supplement, Vol. 7, JAI Press, Greenwich, CT, pp. 369–426.
Evans, S. T. (1998). Sexual politics in the Aztec palace: Public, private, and profane. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* **33:** 166–183.
Evans, S. T. (2000). Aztec royal pleasure parks: Conspicuous consumption and elite status rivalry. *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* **20:** 206–228.
Evans, S. T., and Webster, D. L. (eds.) (2001). *Archaeology of Ancient Mexico and Central America: An Encyclopedia*, Garland, New York.
Fash, W. L. (1994). Changing perspectives on Maya civilization. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **23:** 181–208.
Fedick, S. L. (1994). Ancient Maya agricultural terracing in the Upper Belize River area: Computer-aided modeling and the results of initial field investigations. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **5:** 107–128.
Fedick, S. L. (ed.) (1996). *The Managed Mosaic: Ancient Maya Agriculture and Resource Use*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
Feinman, G. M. (1999). Rethinking our assumptions: Economic specialization at the household scale in ancient Ejutla, Oaxaca, Mexico. In Skibo, J. M., and Feinman, G. M. (eds.), *Pottery and People: A Dynamic Interaction*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp. 81–98.
Feinman, G. M., and Nicholas, L. M. (1993). Shell-ornament production at Ejutla: Implications for highland-coastal interaction in ancient Oaxaca. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **4:** 103–119.
Feinman, G. M., and Nicholas, L. M. (2000). High-intensity household-scale production in ancient Mesoamerica: A perspective from Ejutla, Oaxaca. In Feinman, G. M., and Manzanilla, L. (eds.), *Cultural Evolution: Contemporary Viewpoints*, Kluwer, New York, pp. 119–144.
Feinman, G. M., Nicholas, L. M., and Haines, H. R. (2002). Houses on a hill: Classic period domestic life at El Palmillo, Oaxaca, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* **13:** 251–278.
Filloy Nadal, L. (2001). Rubber and rubber balls in Mesoamerica. In Whittington, E. M. (ed.), *The Sport of Life and Death: The Mesoamerican Ballgame*, Thames and Hudson, New York, pp. 20–31.
Finsten, L. (1995). *Jalieza, Oaxaca: Activity Specialization at a Hilltop Center,* Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 48, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.
Flannery, K. V. (ed.) (1976). *The Early Mesoamerican Village*, Academic Press, New York.
Flannery, K. V. (1998). The ground plans of archaic states. In Feinman, G. M., and Marcus, J. (eds.), *Archaic States*, School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM, pp. 15–57.
Flannery, K. V., and Marcus, J. (2000). Formative Mexican chiefdoms and the myth of the "mother culture." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **19:** 1–37.
Foias, A. E., and Bishop, R. L. (1997). Changing ceramic production and exchange in the Petexbatun region, Guatemala: Reconsidering the Classic Maya collapse. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **8:** 275–292.
Fox, J. G. (1996). Playing with power: Ballcourts and political ritual in southern Mesoamerica. *Current Anthropology* **37:** 483–509.
Garraty, C. P. (2000). Ceramic indices of Aztec eliteness. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **11:** 323–340.

Gendrop, P. (1997). *Diccionario de arquitectura mesoamericana,* Editorial Trillas, Mexico City.
Gero, J. (1992). Feasts and females: Gender ideology and political meals in the Andes. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* **25:** 1–16.
Gero, J., and Conkey, M. (eds.) (1991). *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, Blackwell, Oxford.
Gerry, J. P. (1997). Bone isotope ratios and their bearing on elite privilege among the Classic Maya. *Geoarchaeology* **12:** 15–30.
Gillespie, S. D. (2000). Rethinking ancient Maya social organization: Replacing "lineage" with "house." *American Anthropologist* **102:** 467–484.
Gillespie, S. D. (2001). Personhood, agency, and mortuary ritual: A case study from the ancient Maya. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **20:** 73–112.
Glascock, M. D., Braswell, G. E., and Cobean, R. H. (1998). A systematic approach to obsidian source characterization. In Shackley, M. S. (ed.), *Archaeological Obsidian Studies: Method and Theory*, Plenum, New York, pp. 15–65.
Goldstein, P. S. (2000a). Communities without borders: The vertical archipelago and diaspora communities in the southern Andes. In Canuto, M. A., and Yaeger, J. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Communities*, Routledge, New York, pp. 182–209.
Goldstein, P. S. (2000b). Exotic goods and everyday chiefs: Long-distance exchange and indigenous sociopolitical development in the South Central Andes. *Latin American Antiquity* **11:** 335–362.
González Carré, E., and Pozzi-Escot, D. (1992). Arqueología regional de Ayacucho: balance y bibliografía básica. *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* **6**(21): 173–196.
González Crespo, N., Garza Tarazona, S., de Vega Nova, H., Mayer Guala, P., and Canto Aguilar, G. (1995). Archaeological investigations at Xochicalco, Morelos: 1984 and 1986. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **6:** 223–236.
Grove, D. C. (1997). Olmec archaeology: A half century of research and its accomplishments. *Journal of World Prehistory* **11:** 51–101.
Gumerman, G., IV (1997). Food and complex societies. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* **4:** 105–139.
Hall, B. A. (1994). Formation processes of large earthen mounds in La Mixtequilla, Veracruz, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* **5:** 31–50.
Hamann, B. (2002). The social life of pre-sunrise things: Indigenous Mesoamerican archaeology. *Current Anthropology* **43:** 351–382.
Hare, T. S. (2000). Between the household and the empire: Structural relationships within and among Aztec communities and polities. In Canuto, M. A., and Yaeger, J. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Communities*, Routledge, New York, pp. 78–101.
Hassig, R. (1985). *Trade, Tribute, and Transportation: The Sixteenth Century Political Economy of the Valley of Mexico,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Hastorf, C. A. (1993). *Agriculture and the Onset of Political Inequality Before the Inka,* Cambridge University Press, New York.
Hastorf, C. A. (1999). Recent research in paleoethnobotany. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **7:** 55–103.
Hastorf, C. A. (2001). Agricultural production and consumption. In D'Altroy, T. N., and Hastorf, C. A. (eds.), *Empire and Domestic Economy*, Plenum, New York, pp. 155–178.
Hastorf, C. A. (2003). Andean luxury foods: Special food for the ancestors, deities, and the elite. *Antiquity* **77:** 545–554.
Hayashida, F. (1999). Style, technology and state production: Inka pottery manufacture in the Leche Valley. *Latin American Antiquity* **10:** 337–352.
Headrick, A. (1999). The Street of the Dead . . . it really was: Mortuary bundles at Teotihuacan. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **10:** 69–86.
Healan, D. M. (1993). Local versus non-local obsidian exchange at Tula and its implications for post-Formative Mesoamerica. *World Archaeology* **24:** 449–466.
Healan, D. M. (1997). Pre-Hispanic quarrying in the Ucareo-Zinapécuaro obsidian source area. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **8:** 77–100.
Hendon, J. A. (1992). Hilado y tejido en la época prehispánica: tecnología y relaciones sociales de la producción textil. In Asturias de Barrios, L., and Fernández García, D. (eds.), *La indumentaria*

y el tejido mayas a través del tiempo, Museo Ixchel del Traje Indígena de Guatemala, Guatemala City, pp. 7–16.

Hendon, J. A. (1996). Archaeological approaches to the organization of domestic labor: Household practices and domestic relations. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **25:** 45–61.

Hendon, J. A. (1999). Multiple sources of prestige and the social evaluation of women in Prehispanic Mesoamerica. In Robb, J. E. (ed.), *Material Symbols: Culture and Economy in Prehistory*, Occasional Papers, Vol. 26, Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, pp. 257–276.

Hendon, J. A. (2000). Round structures, household identity, and public performance in Preclassic Maya society. *Latin American Antiquity* **11:** 299–301.

Hendon, J. A., and Joyce, R. (eds.) (2004). *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Hernández Reyes, C. (1990). Un enclave zapoteco en el Valle del Mezquital. *Atalaya (Universidad Autónoma de Hidalgo)* **1:** 3–10.

Hernández Reyes, C., Cobean, R. H., Mastache, A. G., and Suárez, M. E. (1999). Un taller de alfareros en la antigua ciudad de Tula. *Arqueología* **22:** 69–88.

Herrera, L., and Cardale de Schrimpff, M. (eds.) (2000). *Caminos precolombinos: las vías, los ingenieros y los viajeros*, Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, Bogotá.

Hester, T. R., and Shafer, H. J. (1994). The ancient Maya craft community at Colha, Belize, and its external relationships. In Schwartz, G., and Falconer, S. (eds.), *Archaeological Views from the Countryside: Village Communities in Early Complex Societies*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC, pp. 48–63.

Hicks, F. (1999). The middle class in ancient central Mexico. *Journal of Anthropological Research* **55:** 409–427.

Hildebrand, J. A., and Hagstrum, M. B. (1999). New approaches to ceramic use and discard: Cooking pottery from the Peruvian Andes in ethnoarchaeological perspective. *Latin American Antiquity* **10:** 25–46.

Hirth, K. G. (1993). Identifying rank and socioeconomic status in domestic contexts: An example from central Mexico. In Santley, R. S., and Hirth, K. G. (eds.), *Prehispanic Domestic Units in Western Mesoamerica*, CRC Press, Boca Raton, FL, pp. 121–146.

Hirth, K. G. (1995). The investigation of obsidian craft production at Xochicalco, Morelos. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **6:** 251–258.

Hirth, K. G. (1996). Political economy and archaeology: Perspectives on exchange and production. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **4:** 203–240.

Hirth, K. G. (1998). The distributional approach: A new way to identify marketplace exchange in the archaeological record. *Current Anthropology* **39:** 451–476.

Hirth, K. G., and Andrews, B. (eds.) (2002). *Pathways to Prismatic Blades: A Study in Mesoamerican Core-Blade Technology*, Monographs, Vol. 45, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

Hodge, M. G. (1998). Archaeological views of Aztec culture. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **6:** 197–238.

Hodge, M. G., Blackman, M. J., and Minc, L. D. (1992). A compositional perspective on ceramic production in the Aztec empire. In Neff, H. (ed.), *Chemical Characterization of Ceramic Pastes in Archaeology*, Prehistory Press, Madison, WI, pp. 203–220.

Hodge, M. G., Neff, H., Blackman, M. J., and Minc, L. D. (1993). Black-on-orange ceramic production in the Aztec empire's heartland. *Latin American Antiquity* **4:** 130–157.

Hodge, M. G., and Smith, M. E. (eds.) (1994). *Economies and Polities in the Aztec Realm*, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, State University of New York, Albany.

Hohmann, H. (1998). *A Maya Palace in Mexico: Structure IV at Becan, Campeche,* Academic Publishers, Graz, Austria.

Hoshower, L., Buikstra, J. E., Goldstein, P. S., and Webster, A. D. (1995). Artificial cranial deformation at the Omo M10 site: A Tiwanaku complex from the Moquegua Valley, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* **6:** 145–164.

Hosler, D. (1994). *The Sounds and Colors of Power: The Sacred Metallurgical Technology of Ancient West Mexico,* MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Hosler, D. (1999). Recent insights into the metallurgical technologies of ancient Mesoamerica. *Journal of the Minerals, Metals, and Material Society* **51**(5): 11–14.
Hosler, D., Burkett, S. L., and Tarkanian, M. J. (1999). Prehistoric polymers: Rubber processing in ancient Mesoamerica. *Science* **284:** 1988–1991.
Hosler, D., and Macfarlane, A. (1996). Copper sources, metal production and metals trade in Late Postclassic Mesoamerica. *Science* **273:** 1819–1824.
Hosler, D., and Stresser-Péan, G. (1992). The Huastec region: A second locus for the production of bronze alloys in ancient Mesoamerica. *Science* **257:** 1215–1220.
Houston, S. D. (1994). Literacy among the pre-Columbian Maya: A comparative perspective. In Boone, E. H., and Mignolo, W. D. (eds.), *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC, pp. 27–49.
Houston, S. D. (2000). Into the minds of the ancients: Advances in Maya glyph studies. *Journal of World Prehistory* **14:** 121–201.
Houston, S. D. (ed.) (1998). Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 7th and 8th October 1994, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC.
Houston, S. D., and McAnany, P. A. (2003). Bodies and blood: Critiquing social construction in Maya archaeology. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **22:** 26–41.
Hunt, R. C. (1994). Irrigation in Cuicatlán: The question of Río Grande waters. In Marcus, J., and Zeitlin, J. F. (eds.), *Caciques and Their People: A Volume in Honor of Ronald Spores*, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 89, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, pp. 163–187.
Hutson, S. R. (2002). Built space and bad subjects: Domination and resistance at Monte Albán, Oaxaca, Mexico. *Journal of Social Archaeology* **2:** 53–80.
Iannone, G. (2002). Annales history and the ancient Maya state: Some observations on the "dynamic model." *American Anthropologist* **104:** 68–78.
Iannone, G., and Connell, S. V. (eds.) (2003). *Perspectives on Ancient Maya Rural Complexity*, Monograph, Vol. 49, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.
Inomata, T. (2001). The power and ideology of artistic creation: Elite craft specialists in Classic Maya society. *Current Anthropology* **42:** 321–349.
Inomata, T., and Houston, S. D. (eds.) (2000/2001). *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya. Volume 1, Theories, Themes, and Comparisons. Volume 2, Case Studies*, Westview, Boulder, CO.
Inomata, T., and Stiver, L. R. (1998). Floor assemblages from burned structures at Aguateca, Guatemala: A study of Classic Maya households. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **25:** 431–452.
Inomata, T., Triadan, D., Ponciano, E., Pinto, E., Terry, R. E., and Eberl, M. (2002). Domestic and political lives of Classic Maya elites: The excavation of rapidly abandoned structures at Aguateca, Guatemala. *Latin American Antiquity* **13:** 305–330.
Inomata, T., and Webb, R. W. (eds.) (2003). *The Archaeology of Settlement Abandonment in Middle America*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
Isbell, W. H. (1997). *Mummies and Mortuary Monuments: A Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Social Organization,* University of Texas Press, Austin.
Isendahl, C. (2002). *Common Knowledge: Lowland Maya Urban Farming at Xuch,* Studies in Global Archaeology, Vol. 1, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Uppsala, Uppsala.
Janusek, J. W. (1999). Craft and local power: Embedded specialization in Tiwanaku cities. *Latin American Antiquity* **10:** 107–131.
Jennings, J., and Glascock, M. D. (2002). Description and method of exploitation of the Alca obsidian source, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* **13:** 107–117.
Johnston, K. J. (2003). The intensification of pre-industrial cereal agriculture in the tropics: Boserup, cultivation lengthening, and the Classic Maya. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **22:** 126–161.
Johnston, K. J., and Gonlin, N. (1998). What do houses mean? Approaches to the analysis of Classic Maya commoner residences. In Houston, S. D. (ed.), *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, pp. 141–186.
Jones, S. (1997). *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present,* Routledge, New York.
Jones, S. R. H. (1993). Transaction costs, institutional change, and the emergence of a market economy in later Anglo-Saxon England. *Economic History Review* **46:** 658–678.

Joyce, A. A. (1993). Interregional interaction and social development on the Oaxaca coast. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **4:** 67–84.

Joyce, A. A., Bustamante, L. A., and Levine, M. N. (2001). Commoner power: A case study from the Classic period collapse on the Oaxaca coast. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* **8:** 343–385.

Joyce, A. A., Elam, J. M., Glascock, M. D., Neff, H., and Winter, M. (1995). Exchange implications of obsidian source analysis from the lower Rio Verde Valley, Oaxaca, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* **6:** 3–15.

Joyce, R. A. (1993). Women's work: Images of production and reproduction in pre-Hispanic southern Central America. *Current Anthropology* **34:** 255–274.

Joyce, R. A. (2000). *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica,* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Joyce, R. A., and Gillespie, S. D. (eds.) (2000). *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Kellogg, S. (1995). The woman's room: Some aspects of gender relations in Tenochtitlan in the late pre-Hispanic period. *Ethnohistory* **42:** 563–576.

Kepecs, S. (1998). Diachronic ceramic evidence and its social implications in the Chikinchel region, Northeast Yucatan, Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **9:** 121–136.

Kepecs, S., Feinman, G. M., and Boucher, S. (1994). Chichén Itzá and its hinterland: A world-systems perspective. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **5:** 141–158.

Kievit, K. A. (1994). Jewels of Cerén: Form and function comparisons for the earthen structures of Joya de Cerén, El Salvador. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **5:** 193–208.

King, E., and Potter, D. (1994). Small sites in prehistoric Maya socioeconomic organization: A perspective from Colha, Belize. In Schwartz, G., and Falconer, S. (eds.), *Archaeological Views from the Countryside: Village Communities in Early Complex Societies*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC, pp. 64–90.

King, H. (2000). *Rain of the Moon: Silver in Ancient Peru,* Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Klein, C. F. (ed.) (2001). *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC.

Knobloch, P. J. (2000). Wari ritual power at Conchopata: An interpretation of *Anadananthera colubrina* iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* **11:** 387–402.

Kolata, A. L. (1993). *The Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization,* Blackwell, New York.

Kolata, A. L. (ed.) (1996). *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization, Volume 1, Agroecology*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

Lange, F. W. (ed.) (1993). *Precolumbian Jade: New Geological and Cultural Interpretations*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Lau, G. F. (2002). Feasting and ancestor veneration at Chinchawas, north Highlands of Ancash, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* **13:** 279–304.

LeCount, L. J. (2001). Like water for chocolate: Feasting and political ritual among the Late Classic Maya at Xunantunich, Belize. *American Anthropologist* **103:** 935–953.

Lesure, R. G. (1998). Vessel form and function in an Early Formative ceramic assemblage from coastal Mexico. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **25:** 19–36.

Levi, L. J. (2002). An institutional perspective on Prehispanic Maya residential variation: Settlement and community at San Estevan, Belize. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **21:** 120–141.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1987). The concept of "house." In Lévi-Strauss, C. (ed.), *Anthropology and Myth: Lectures 1951–1982*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 151–152.

Lockhart, J. (1992). *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

Lucero, L. J. (1999). Classic lowland Maya political organization: A review. *Journal of World Prehistory* **13:** 211–263.

Lucero, L. J. (2001). *Social Integration in the Ancient Maya Hinterlands: Ceramic Variability in the Belize River Area,* Anthropological Research Papers, Vol. 53, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe.

Maldonado Jiménez, D. (ed.) (1992). *Arqueología, arquitectura y etnohistoria: bibliografía del Morelos prehispánico*, Cuadernos de Arquitectura Prehispánica, Vol. 17, Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City.

Manzanilla, L., and López Luján, L. (2001). Exploraciones en un posible palacio de Teotihuacan: El Proyecto Xalla (2000–2001). *Mexicon* **23:** 58–61.
Marcos, S. (1998). Embodied religious thought: Gender categories in Mesoamerica. *Religion* **28:** 371–382.
Marcus, J. (1992). *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
Marcus, J. (1995). Where is lowland Maya archaeology headed? *Journal of Archaeological Research* **3:** 3–54.
Marcus, J. (1998). *Women's Ritual in Formative Oaxaca: Figurine-Making, Divination, Death and the Ancestors,* Memoirs, Vol. 33, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
Marcus, J. (2003). Recent advances in Maya archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **11:** 71–148.
Marcus, J., and Flannery, K. V. (1996). *Zapotec Civilization: How Urban Society Evolved in Mexico's Oaxaca Valley,* Thames and Hudson, New York.
Masson, M. A. (1999). Animal resource manipulation in ritual and domestic contexts at Postclassic Maya sites. *World Archaeology* **31:** 93–120.
Masson, M. A. (2000a). The economic organization of Late and Terminal Classic period Maya stone tool craft specialist workshops at Colha, Belize. *Lithic Technology* **26:** 29–48.
Masson, M. A. (2000b). *In the Realm of Nachan Kan: Postclassic Maya Archaeology at Laguna de On, Belize,* University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
Masson, M. A., and Freidel, D. A. (eds.) (2002). *Ancient Maya Political Economies*, AltaMira, Walnut Creek, CA.
Mathews, J. E. (1997). Population and agriculture in the emergence of complex society in the Bolivian altiplano: The case of Tiwanaku. In Manzanilla, L. (ed.), *Emergence and Change in Early Urban Societies*, Plenum, New York, pp. 245–271.
McAnany, P. A. (1993). Resources, specialization, and exchange in the Maya lowlands. In Ericson, J. E., and Baugh, T. G. (eds.), *The American Southwest and Mesoamerica: Systems of Prehistoric Exchange*, Plenum Press, New York, pp. 213–245.
McAnany, P. A. (1995). *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society,* University of Texas Press, Austin.
McAnany, P. A. (2002). Rethinking the great and little tradition paradigm from the perspective of domestic ritual. In Plunket, P. (ed.), *Domestic Ritual in Ancient Mesoamerica*, Monograph, Vol. 46, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, pp. 115–119.
McAnany, P. A., Storey, R., and Lockard, A. K. (1999). Mortuary ritual and family politics at Formative and Early Classic K'axob, Belize. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **10:** 129–146.
McCaa, R. (1996). Matrimonia infantil, cemithualtin (familias complejas) y el antiguo pueblo nahua. *Historia Mexicana* **46:** 3–70.
McCafferty, G. G., and McCafferty, S. D. (1999). The metamorphosis of Xochiquetzal: A window on womanhood in pre- and post-conquest Mexico. In Sweely, T. L. (ed.), *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, Routledge, London, pp. 103–125.
McCafferty, S. D., and McCafferty, G. G. (1988). Powerful women and the myth of male dominance in Aztec society. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* **7:** 45–59.
McCafferty, S. D., and McCafferty, G. G. (2000). Textile production in Postclassic Cholula, Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **11:** 39–54.
McGuire, R. H. (1983). Breaking down cultural complexity: Inequality and heterogeneity. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* **6:** 91–142.
McKillop, H. (1994). Ancient Maya tree cropping: A viable subsistence adaptation for the island Maya. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **5:** 129–140.
Middleton, W. D., Feinman, G. M., and Nicholas, L. M. (2002). Domestic faunal assemblages from the Classic period Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico: A perspective on the subsistence and craft economies. *Journal of Archaeological Science* **29:** 233–250.
Miller, A. G. (1995). *The Painted Tombs of Oaxaca, Mexico: Living With the Dead,* Cambridge University Press, New York.
Moholy-Nagy, H. (1999). Mexican obsidian at Tikal, Guatemala. *Latin American Antiquity* **10:** 300–313.

Moore, J. D. (1996). *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes: The Archaeology of Public Buildings, Cambridge* University Press, New York.
Morris, C. (1979). Maize beer in the economics, politics, and religion of the Inca empire. In Gastineau, C. F., Darby, W. J., and Turner, T. B. (eds.), *Fermented Food Beverages in Nutrition*, Academic Press, New York, pp. 21–34.
Morris, C., and von Hagen, A. (1995). *The Inca Empire and Its Andean Origins,* Abbeville Press, New York.
Morrison, K. D. (1994). The intensification of production: Archaeological approaches. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* **1:** 111–159.
Moseley, M. E. (2001). *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru,* revised ed., Thames and Hudson, New York.
Murra, J. V. (1972). El "control vertical" de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas. In Murra, J. V. (ed.), *Visita de la Provincia de León de Huánuco en 1562*, Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizan, Huánuco, pp. 427–276.
Murra, J. V. (1995). Did tribute and markets prevail in the Andes before the European invasion? In Larson, B., and Harris, O. (eds.), *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC, pp. 57–72.
Neff, H. (1993). Theory, sampling, and technical studies in archaeological ceramic analysis. *American Antiquity* **58:** 23-44.
Neff, H. (ed.) (1992). *Chemical Characterization of Ceramic Pastes in Archaeology*, Prehistory Press, Madison, WI.
Neff, H., Bove, F. J., Robinson, E. J., and Arroyo L., B. (1994). A ceramic compositional perspective on the Formative to Classic transition in southern Mesoamerica. *Latin American Antiquity* **5:** 312–332.
Neff, H., Glascock, M. D., Charlton, T. H., Otis Charlton, C. L., and Nichols, D. L. (2000). Provenience investigation of ceramics and obsidian from Otumba. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **11:** 307–322.
Nelson, S. M., and Rosen-Ayalon, M. (eds.) (2002). *In Pursuit of Gender: Worldwide Archaeological Approaches*, AltaMira, Walnut Creek, CA.
Nichols, D. L. (1994). The organization of provincial craft production and the Aztec city-state of Otumba. In Hodge, M. G., and Smith, M. E. (eds.), *Economies and Polities in the Aztec Realm*, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, State University of New York, Albany, pp. 175–193.
Nichols, D. L., Brumfiel, E. M., Neff, H., Hodge, M., Charlton, T. H., and Glascock, M. D. (2002). Neutrons, markets, cities, and empires: A 1000-year perspective on ceramic production and distribution in the Postclassic Basin of Mexico. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **21:** 25–82.
Nichols, D. L., and Frederick, C. D. (1993). Irrigation canals and chinampas: Recent research in the northern Basin of Mexico. In *Research in Economic Anthropology, Supplement*, Vol. 7, JAI Press, Greenwich, CT, pp. 123–150.
Nichols, D. L., McLaughlin, M. J., and Benton, M. (2000). Production intensification and regional specialization: Maguey fibers and textiles in the Aztec city-state of Otumba. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **11:** 267–292.
North, D. C. (1991). Institutions. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* **5:** 97–112.
Otis Charlton, C. L. (1993). Obsidian as jewelry: Lapidary production in Aztec Otumba, Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **4:** 231–243.
Otis Charlton, C. L. (1994). Plebians and patricians: Contrasting patterns of production and distribution in the Aztec figurine and lapidary industries. In Hodge, M. G., and Smith, M. E. (eds.), *Economies and Polities in the Aztec Realm*, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, State University of New York, Albany, pp. 195–219.
Otis Charlton, C. L., Charlton, T. H., and Nichols, D. L. (1993). Aztec household-based craft production: Archaeological evidence from the city-state of Otumba, Mexico. In Santley, R. S., and Hirth, K. G. (eds.), *Prehispanic Domestic Units in Western Mesoamerica: Studies of the Household, Compound, and Residence*, CRC Press, Boca Raton, FL, pp. 147–171.
Owen, B. (2001). The economy of metal and shell wealth goods. In D'Altroy, T. N., and Hastorf, C. A. (eds.), *Empire and Domestic Economy*, Plenum, New York, pp. 265–293.
Palka, J. W. (2000). *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Mesoamerica,* Historical Dictionaries of Ancient Civilizations and Historical Eras, Vol. 2, Scarecrow Press, Lanham, MD.

Panfil, M. S., Gardner, T. W., and Hirth, K. G. (1998). Late Holocene stratigraphy of the Tetimpa archaeological sites, northeast flank of Popocatepetl volcano, central Mexico. *Geological Society of America, Bulletin* **111:** 202–218.

Parry, W. J. (2001). Production and exchange of obsidian tools in Late Aztec city-states. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **12:** 101–112.

Parsons, J. R. (2001). *The Last Saltmakers of Nexquipayac, Mexico: An Archaeological Ethnography,* Anthropological Papers, Vol. 92, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Pastrana, A. (1998). *La explotación azteca de la obsidiana en la Sierra de las Navajas,* Colección Científica, Vol. 383, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.

Pasztory, E. (1997). *Teotihuacan: An Experiment in Living,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Pearsall, D. M. (2001). *Paleoethnobotany: A Handbook of Procedures,* 2nd ed., Academic Press, Orlando, FL.

Peregrine, P. N., and Ember, M. (eds.) (2001). *Encyclopedia of Prehistory, Volume 5, Middle America*, Kluwer, New York.

Peregrine, P. N., and Ember, M. (eds.) (2002). *Encyclopedia of Prehistory, Volume 6, South America*, Kluwer, New York.

Peregrine, P. N., and Feinman, G. M. (eds.) (1996). *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, Prehistory Press, Madison, WI.

Pierrebourg, F. d. (ed.) (1999). *L'espace domestique maya: une approche ethnoarchéologique au Yucatan (Mexique)*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Vol. S764, Archaeopress, Oxford.

Pillsbury, J. (ed.) (2001). *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XL, Vol. 63, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Plunket, P., and Uruñuela, G. (1998). Preclassic household patterns preserved under volcanic ash at Tetimpa, Puebla, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* **9:** 287–309.

Pohl, J. M. D. (1994). Weaving and gift exchange in the Mixtec codices. In Johnson, G., and Sharon, D. (eds.), *Cloth and Curing, Continuity and Exchange in Oaxaca*, San Diego Museum Papers, Vol. 32, San Diego Museum of Man, San Diego, pp. 3–14.

Pohl, J. M. D. (1998). Themes of drunkenness, violence, and factionalism in Tlaxcalan altar paintings. *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* **33:** 184–207.

Polaco, Ó. J., and Fabiola Guzmán, A. (1997). *Arqueoictiofauna mexicana,* Colección Científica, Vol. 352, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.

Polanyi, K. (1957). The economy as instituted process. In Polanyi, K., Arensberg, C. M., and Pearson, H. W. (eds.), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Henry Regnery, Chicago, pp. 243–270.

Pollard, H. P. (1993). *Tariacuri's Legacy: The Prehispanic Tarascan State,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Pollard, H. P. (1997). Recent research in West Mexican archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **5:** 345–384.

Powis, T. G., Valdez, F., Jr., Hester, T. R., Hurst, W. J., and Tarka, S. M., Jr. (2002). Spouted vessels and cacao use among the preclassic Maya. *Latin American Antiquity* **13:** 85–106.

Pratt, J. A. F. (1999). Determining the function of one of the New World's earliest pottery assemblages: The case of San Jacinto, Colombia. *Latin American Antiquity* **10:** 71–85.

Prem, H. J. (1997). *The Ancient Americas: A Brief History and Guide to Research,* Kurbjuhn, K., trans., University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Pyburn, K. A. (1998). Smallholders in the Maya lowlands: Homage to a garden variety ethnographer. *Human Ecology* **26:** 267–286.

Quattrin, D. W. (2001). *Prehispanic Chiefdoms in the Valle de la Plata, volume 4: Vertical Economy, Interchange, and Social Change During the Formative Period/Cacicazgos prehispánicos del Valle de la Plata, tomo 4: economía vertical, intercambio, y cambio social durante el período Formativo,* Memoirs in Latin American Archaeology, Vol. 11, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

Quilter, J. (2002). Moche politics, religion, and warfare. *Journal of World Prehistory* **16:** 145–195.

Rattray, E. C. (2001). *Teotihuacan: cerámica, cronología y tendencias culturales/Ceramics, Chronology and Cultural Trends,* Arqueología de México, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, and University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

Redmond, E. (ed.) (1998). *Chiefdoms and Chieftaincy in the Americas*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Reents-Budet, D. (1994). *Painting the Maya Universe: Royal Ceramics of the Classic Period,* Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
Reents-Budet, D., Bishop, R. L., Taschek, J. T., and Ball, J. W. (2000). Out of the palace dumps: Ceramic production and use at Buenavista del Cayo. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **11:** 99–122.
Richards, J., and Van Buren, M. (eds.) (2000). *Order, Legitimacy, and Wealth in Ancient States*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
Richardson, J. B. (1995). *People of the Andes,* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.
Robin, C. (2002). Outside of houses: The practices of everyday life at Chan Noohol, Belize. *Journal of Social Archaeology* **2:** 245–268.
Rodríguez-Shadow, M. J. (1997). *La mujer azteca,* 3rd ed., Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, Toluca.
Rodríguez-Shadow, M. J. (1999). La condición social de las mujeres mexicas en vísperas de la conquista española. In Rodríguez-Shadow, M., and Barba de Piña Chán, B. (eds.), *Chalchihuite: homenaje a Doris Heyden*, Colección Científica, Vol. 387, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, pp. 227–238.
Roseberry, W. (1989). *Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy,* Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ.
Rosenswig, R. M. (2000). Some political processes of ranked societies. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **19:** 413–460.
Rovner, I., and Lewenstein, S. (1997). *Maya Stone Tools of Dzibilchaltún, Yucatán, and Becán and Chicanná, Campeche,* Vol. 65, Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, New Orleans.
Salomon, F. (1995). 'The beautiful grandparents': Andean ancestor shrines and mortuary ritual as seen through colonial records. In Dillehay, T. D. (ed.), *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, pp. 315–353.
Salomon, F., and Schwartz, S. B. (eds.) (1999a). *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas: Volume III, South America, Part 1*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
Salomon, F., and Schwartz, S. B. (eds.) (1999b). *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas: Volume III, South America, Part 2*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
Sánchez Alaniz, J. I. (2000). *Las unidades habitacionales en Teotihuacan: el caso de Bidasoa,* Colección Científica, Vol. 421, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.
Sanders, W. T. (1992). Ranking and stratification in Prehispanic Mesoamerica. In Chase, D. A., and Chase, A. F. (eds.), *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, pp. 278–291.
Santley, R. S., Barrett, T. P., Glascock, M. D., and Neff, H. (2001). Pre-Hispanic obsidian procurement in the Tuxtla mountains, southern Veracruz, Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **12:** 49–64.
Santley, R. S., and Hirth, K. G. (eds.) (1993). *Prehispanic Domestic Units in Western Mesoamerica: Studies of the Household, Compound, and Residence*, CRC Press, Boca Raton, FL.
Santley, R. S., Yarborough, C., and Hall, B. (1987). Enclaves, ethnicity, and the archaeological record at Matacapan. In Auger, R., Glass, M. F., MacEachern, S., and McCartney, P. H. (eds.), *Ethnicity and Culture*, Archaeological Association, University of Calgary, Calgary, pp. 85–100.
Santone, L. (1997). Transport costs, consumer demand, and patterns of intraregional exchange: A perspective on commodity production and distribution from Northern Belize. *Latin American Antiquity* **8:** 71–88.
Scarborough, V. L. (2003). *The Flow of Power: Ancient Water Systems and Landscapes,* School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM.
Scarborough, V. L., Becher, M. E., Baker, J. L., Harris, G., and Valdez, F., Jr. (1995). Water and land at the ancient Maya community of La Milpa. *Latin American Antiquity* **6:** 98–119.
Scarborough, V. L., and Isaac, B. L. (eds.) (1993). *Economic Aspects of Water Management in the Prehispanic New World*, Research in Economic Anthropology, Supplement, Vol. 7, JAI Press, Greenwich, CT.
Scarborough, V. L., Valdez, F., Jr., and Dunning, N. (eds.) (2003). *Heterarchy, Political Economy, and the Ancient Maya: The Three Rivers Region of the East-Central Yucatán Peninsula*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
Schortman, E. M., and Urban, P. A. (eds.) (1992). *Resources, Power, and Interregional Interaction*, Plenum, New York.

Schortman, E. M., Urban, P. A., and Ausec, M. (2001). Politics with style: Identity formation in Prehispanic southeastern Mesoamerica. *American Anthropologist* **103:** 312–330.

Schreiber, K. J., and Lancho Rojas, J. (1995). The puquios of Nasca. *Latin American Antiquity* **6:** 229–254.

Schreiber, K. J., and Lancho Rojas, J. (2003). *Irrigation and Society in the Peruvian Desert: The Puquios of Nasca,* Lexington Books, Lanham, MD.

Schwartz, G. M., and Falconer, S. E. (eds.) (1994). *Archaeological Views from the Countryside: Village Communities in Early Complex Societies*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

Scott, D. A., and Meyers, P. (eds.) (1994). *Archaeometry of Pre-Columbian Sites and Artifacts*, Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.

Seitz, R., Harlow, G. E., Sisson, V. B., and Taube, K. E. (2001). "Olmec blue" and Formative jade sources: New discoveries in Guatemala. *Antiquity* **75:** 687–688.

Shanks, M., and Tilley, C. (1987). Social archaeology. In Shanks, M., and Tilley, C. (eds.), *Social Theory and Archaeology*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, pp. 29–60.

Sheehy, J. J. (1996). Ethnographic analogy and the royal household in 8th century Copan. In Mastache, A. G., Parsons, J. R., Santley, R. S., and Serra Puche, M. C. (eds.), *Arqueología Mesoamericana: Homenaje a William T. Sanders*, Vol. 2, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, pp. 253–276.

Sheets, P. D. (1992). *The Ceren Site: A Prehistoric Village Buried by Volcanic Ash in Central America,* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York.

Sheets, P. D. (2000). Provisioning the Ceren household: The vertical economy, village economy, and household economy in the southeastern Maya periphery. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **11:** 217–230.

Sheets, P. D. (ed.) (2002). *Before the Volcano Erupted: The Ancient Cerén Village in Central America*, University of Texas Press, Austin.

Shimada, I. (ed.) (1994). *Tecnología y organización de la producción de cerámica prehispánica en los Andes*, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Siemens, A. H. (1998). *A Favored Place: San Juan River Wetlands, Central Veracruz, A.D. 500 to the Present,* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Sillar, B. (2000). *Shaping Culture: Making Pots and Constructing Households: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Pottery Production, Trade and Use in the Andes,* British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Vol. S883, Archaeopress, Oxford.

Silverman, H. (1996). Formative period on the south coast of Peru: A Critical Review. *Journal of World Prehistory* **10:** 95–146.

Silverman, H., and Proulx, D. (2002). *The Nascas,* Blackwell, Oxford.

Silverman, H., and Small, D. B. (eds.) (2002). *The Space and Place of Death*, Archeological Papers, Vol. 11, American Anthropological Association, Washington, DC.

Sluyter, A. (1994). Intensive wetland agriculture in Mesoamerica: Space, time and form. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **84:** 557–584.

Smith, M. E. (1992). *Archaeological Research at Aztec-Period Rural Sites in Morelos, Mexico. Volume 1, Excavations and Architecture/Investigaciones arqueológicas en sitios rurales de la eépoca azteca en Morelos, tomo 1, excavaciones y arquitectura,* Memoirs in Latin American Archaeology, Vol. 4, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

Smith, M. E. (1993). New world complex societies: Recent economic, social, and political studies. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **1:** 5–41.

Smith, M. E. (1999). Comment on Hirth's "distribution approach." *Current Anthropology* **40:** 528–530.

Smith, M. E. (2003a). *The Aztecs,* 2nd ed., Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Smith, M. E. (2003b). What did Mesoamerican commoners think about "pre-sunrise things"?: Comment on Hamann. *Current Anthropology* **44:** 271.

Smith, M. E. (2004). The archaeology of ancient state economies. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **33:** 73–102.

Smith, M. E., and Berdan, F. F. (eds.) (2003). *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Smith, M. E., Heath-Smith, C., and Montiel, L. (1999). Excavations of Aztec urban houses at Yautepec, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* **10:** 133–150.

Smith, M. E., and Masson, M. A. (eds.) (2000). *The Ancient Civilizations of Mesoamerica: A Reader*, Blackwell, Oxford.
Smith, M. E., and Price, T. J. (1994). Aztec-period agricultural terraces in Morelos, Mexico: Evidence for household-level agricultural intensification. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **21:** 169–179.
Smith, M. E., and Schreiber, K. J. (in press). New world states and empires: Politics, religion, and urbanism. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **14**.
Spence, M. W. (1992). Tlailotlacan, a Zapotec enclave in Teotihuacan. In Berlo, J. C. (ed.), *Art, Ideology, and the City of Teotihuacan*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, pp. 59–88.
Spence, M. W. (1996). A comparative analysis of ethnic enclaves. In Mastache, A. G., Parsons, J. R., Santley, R. S., and Serra Puche, M. C. (eds.), *Arqueología Mesoamericana: Homenaje a William T. Sanders*, Vol. 1, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, pp. 333–353.
Spencer, C. S. (2003). War and early state formation in Oaxaca, Mexico. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **100:** 11185–11187.
Stanish, C. (1994). The hydraulic hypothesis revisited: A theoretical perspective on Lake Titicaca Basin raised field agriculture. *Latin American Antiquity* **5:** 312–332.
Stanish, C. (1997). Nonmarket imperialism in the Prehispanic Americas: The Inka occupation of the Titicaca Basin. *Latin American Antiquity* **8:** 195–216.
Stanish, C. (2001a). The origin of state societies in South America. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **30:** 41–64.
Stanish, C. (2001b). Regional research on the Inca. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **9:** 213–242.
Stark, B. L., Heller, L., and Ohnersorgen, M. A. (1998). People with cloth: Mesoamerican economic change from the perspective of cotton in south-central Veracruz. *Latin American Antiquity* **9:** 7–36.
Steadman, S. R. (1996). Recent research in the archaeology of architecture: Beyond the foundations. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **4:** 51–93.
Stein, G. J. (ed.) (n.d.). *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*, School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM.
Stone, G. D. (2001). Theory of the square chicken: Advances in agricultural intensification theory. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* **42:** 163–180.
Stuart, D. (2001). Hieroglyphs on Maya vessels. In Houston, S., Chinchilla Mazariegos, O., and Stuart, D. (eds.), *The Decipherment of Ancient Maya Writing*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, pp. 474–485.
Sugiura Yamamoto, Y. (1996). Tecnología de lo cotidiano. In Lombardo, S., and Nalda, E. (eds.), *Temas mesoamericanos*, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, pp. 51–70.
Sugiura Yamamoto, Y. (ed.) (1998). *La caza, la pesca y la recolección: etnoarqueología del modo de subsistencia lacustre en las ciénegas del Alto Lerma*, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City.
Sutter, R. C. (2000). Prehistoric genetic and cultural change: A bioarchaeological search for pre-Inka altiplano colonies in the coastal valleys of Moquegua. *Latin American Antiquity* **11:** 43–70.
Sweely, T. L. (ed.) (1999). *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, Routledge, New York.
Terraciano, K. (2001). *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries,* Stanford University Press, Stanford.
Tomczak, P. (2003). Prehistoric diet and socioeconomic relationships within the Osmore Valley of southern Peru. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* **22:** 262–278.
Torres, C. M., and Llagostera, A. (eds.) (2002). *Archaeology of Hallucinogens in the Andean Region*, special issue of *Eleusis: Piante e composti psicoattivi* (*Journal of Psychoactive Plants and Compounds*, new series), **5**.
Torres Montes, L., and Franco Velázquez, F. (1996). La metalurgía tarasca: producción y uso de los metales en Mesoamérica. In Lombardo, S., and Nalda, E. (eds.), *Temas mesoamericanos*, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, pp. 71–110.
Torres-Rouff, C. (2002). Cranial vault modification and ethnicity in the Middle Horizon San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. *Current Anthropology* **43:** 163–171.
Tringham, R. (1991). Households with faces: The challenge of gender in prehistoric architectural remains. In Gero, J. M., and Conkey, M. W. (eds.), *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 93–131.

Turner, B. L., II (1983). *Once Beneath the Forest: Prehistoric Terracing in the Río Bec Region of the Maya Lowlands,* Westview Press, Boulder, CO.

Ubelaker, D., Katzenberg, M., and Doyon, L. (1995). Status and diet in precontact highland Ecuador. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* **97:** 403–411.

Van Buren, M. (1996). Rethinking the vertical archipelago: Ethnicity, exchange, and history in the south central Andes. *American Anthropologist* **98:** 338–351.

Van Gijseghem, H. (2001). Household and family at Moche, Peru: An analysis of building and residence patterns in a Prehispanic urban center. *Latin American Antiquity* **12:** 257–273.

Vaughn, K. J., and Neff, H. (2000). Moving beyond iconography: Neutron activation analysis of ceramics from Marcaya, Peru, an early Nasca domestic site. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **27:** 75–90.

Velázquez Castro, A. (1999). *Tipología de los objetos de concha del Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlán: Proyecto Templo Mayor, 20 aniversario,* Serie Arqueología, Colección Científica, Vol. 392, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.

von Hagen, A., and Morris, C. (1998). *The Cities of the Ancient Andes,* Thames and Hudson, New York.

Webb, R. W., and Hirth, K. G. (2000). Rapidly abandoned households at Xochicalco, Morelos, Mexico. *Mayab* **13:** 88–102.

Webster, D. (1999). The archaeology of Copan, Honduras. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **7:** 1–54.

Webster, D. (2000). The not so peaceful civilization: A review of Maya war. *Journal of World Prehistory* **14:** 65–119.

Webster, D., Fash, B., Widmer, R., and Zeleznik, S. (1998). The Skyband Group: Investigation of a Classic Maya elite residential complex at Copan, Honduras. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **25:** 319–343.

Webster, D., Gonlin, N., and Sheets, P. (1997). Copan and Cerén: Two perspectives on ancient Mesoamerican households. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **8:** 43–62.

Wells, P. S. (2001). *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians: Archaeology and Identity in Iron Age Europe,* Duckworth, London.

White, C. D. (ed.) (1999). *Reconstructing Ancient Maya Diet*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Whitmore, T. M., and Turner, B. L., II (2001). *Cultivated Landscapes of Middle America on the Eve of Conquest,* Oxford University Press, New York.

Widmer, R. J. (1991). Lapidary craft specialization at Teotihuacan: Implications for community stucture at 33:S3W1 and economic organization in the city. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **2:** 131–147.

Wilk, R. R., and Ashmore, W. (eds.) (1988). *Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Wilk, R. R., and Rathje, W. L. (eds.) (1982). *Archaeology of the Household: Building a Prehistory of Domestic Life,* special issue of *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 25(6).

Williams, E., and Weigand, P. C. (eds.) (2001). *Estudios cerámicos en el occidente y norte de México*, El Colegio de Michoacán and Instituto Michoacano de Cultura, Morelia.

Wilson, D. J. (1999). *Indigenous South Americans of the Past and Present: An Ecological Perspective,* Westview Press, Boulder, CO.

Winfield Capitaine, F. (1997). *Bibliografía arqueológica de Veracruz,* Universidad Veracruzana, Xalapa, Mexico.

Winsborough, B. M., Caran, S. C., Neely, J. A., and Valastro, S. J. (1996). Calcified microbial mats date prehistoric canals: Radiocarbon assay of organic extracts from travertine. *Geoarchaeology* **11:** 37–50.

Wright, R. P. (ed.) (1996). *Gender and Archaeology*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RECENT LITERATURE

Balkansky, A. K., Kowalewski, S. A., Pérez Rodríguez, V., Pluckhahn, T. J., Smith, C. A., Stiver, L. R., Beliaev, D., Chamblee, J. F., Heredia Espinoza, V. Y., and Santos Pérez, R. (2002). Archaeological

survey in the Mixteca Alta of Oaxaca, Mexico. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **27:** 365–390.

Bowser, B. J. (2000). From pottery to politics: An ethnoarchaeological study of political factionalism, ethnicity, and domestic pottery style in the Ecuadorian Amazon. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* **7:** 219–248.

Braswell, G. E. (ed.) (2003). *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, University of Texas Press, Austin.

Brumfiel, E. M. (ed.) (1994). *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, Monographs in Economic Anthropology, Vol. 11, University Press of America, Lanham, MD.

Cackler, P. R., Glascock, M. D., and Chiarulli, B. M. (1999). Chipped stone artefacts, source areas, and provenance studies of the northern Belize chert-bearing zone. *Journal of Archaeological Science* **26:** 389–398.

Centro INAH Morelos. (1996). *Memoria III Congreso Interno del Centro INAH Morelos*, Cuernavaca, Mexico.

Claasen, C., and Joyce, R. A. (eds.) (1997). *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Clark, J. E. (ed.) (1994). *Los olmecas en Mesoamérica*, Equilibrista, Mexico City.

Clark, J. E., and Pye, M. E. (eds.) (2000). *Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica*, Studies in the History of Art, Vol. 58, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Darras, V., Faugère Kalfon, B., Durlet, C., Liot, C., Reveles, J., Bérumen, R., Cervantés, O., Caillard, C., and David, C. (1999). Nouvelles recherches sur la culture Chupícuaro (Guanajuato, Mexique). *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* **85:** 343–351.

Dixon, B., Hasemann, G., Gómez, P., Brady, J., and Beaudry-Corbett, M. (1998). Multiethnicity or multiple enigma: Archaeological survey and cave exploration in the Río Tagua drainage, Honduras. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **9:** 327–340.

Dreiss, M. L., Brown, D. O., Hester, T. R., Glascock, M. D., Neff, H., and Stryker, K. (1993). Expanding the role of trace-element studies: Obsidian use in the Late and Terminal Classic periods at the lowland Maya site of Colha, Belize. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **4:** 271–284.

Feinman, G. M., Nicholas, L. M., and Haines, H. R. (2002). Houses on a hill: Classic period domestic life at El Palmillo, Oaxaca, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* **13:** 251–278.

Fisher, C. T., Pollard, H. P., and Frederick, C. D. (1999). Intensive agriculture and socio-political development in the Lake Patzcuaro Basin, Michoacan, Mexico. *Antiquity* **73:** 642–649.

Ford, A., Stross, F., Asaro, F., and Michel, H. V. (1997). Obsidian procurement and distribution in the Tikal-Yaxha intersite area of the central Maya lowlands. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **8:** 101–110.

Freidel, D. A. (1993). The jade ahau: Toward a theory of commodity value in Maya civilization. In Lange, F. W. (ed.), *Precolumbian Jade: New Geological and Cultural Interpretations*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, pp. 149–165.

Gallegos Ruiz, R., Gallegos Téllez Rojo, J. R., and Pastrana Flores, G. M. (eds.) (1997). *Antología de documentos para la historia de la arqueología de Teotihuacán*, Serie Arqueología, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.

García Cook, A., Merino Carrión, B. L., and Mirambell S. L. (1996a). *Antología de Tizatlán,* Serie Arqueología, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.

García Cook, A., Merino Carrión, B. L., and Mirambell S. L. (1996b). *Antología de Tlaxcala,* Serie Arqueología, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.

Gillespie, S. D. (1994). Llano del Jícaro: An Olmec monument workshop. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **5:** 231–242.

Gorenstein, S., and Foster, M. S. (eds.) (2000). *Greater Mesoamerica: The Archaeology of West and Northwest Mexico*, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Gose, P. (2000). The state as a chosen woman: Brideservice and the feeding of tributaries in the Inca empire. *American Anthropologist* **102:** 84–97.

Guderjan, T. H. (1995). Maya settlement and trade on Ambergris Cay, Belize. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **6:** 147–160.

Gustafson, L. S., and Trevelyan, A. M. (eds.) (2002). *Ancient Maya Gender Identity and Relations*, Bergin and Garvey, Westport, CT.

Hostettler, U., and Restall, M. (eds.) (2001). *Maya Survivalism*, Acta Mesoamericana, Vol. 12, Verlag Anton Saurwein, Markt Schwaben, Germany.

Jacobs, J. S. (1995). Ancient Maya wetland agricultural fields in Cobweb Swamp, Belize: Construction, chronology, and function. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **22:** 175–190.

Joyce, R. A. (2000). Girling the girl and boying the boy: The production of adulthood in ancient Mesoamerica. *World Archaeology* **31:** 473–483.

Lesure, R. G. (1997). Early Formative platforms at Paso de la Amada, Chiapas, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* **8:** 217–236.

Lesure, R. G. (1999a). On the genesis of value in early hierarchical societies. In Robb, J. E. (ed.), *Material Symbols: Culture and Economy in Prehistory*, Occasional Papers, Vol. 26, Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, pp. 23–55.

Lesure, R. G. (1999b). Platform architecture and activity patterns in an early Mesoamerican village in Chiapas, Mexico. *Journal of Field Archaeology* **26:** 391–406.

Liot, C. (2000). *Les salines préhispaniques du bassin de Sayula (Occident du Mexique): milieu et techniques,* Paris Monographs in American Archaeology, 6, BAR International Series, Vol. 849, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

Lorenzo, J. L. (1998). *La arqueología y México,* Mirambell S., L. ed., trans., Serie Arqueología, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.

Marcos, S. (1998). Embodied religious thought: Gender categories in Mesoamerica. *Religion* **28:** 371–382.

Masson, M. A. (2001). Changing patterns of ceramic stylistic diversity in the pre-Hispanic Maya lowlands. *Acta Archaeologica* **72:** 159–188.

Matos Moctezuma, E. (ed.) (1995). *La pirámide del sol, Teotihuacán: Antología*, Instituto Cultural Domecq, Mexico City.

Mayer, E. (2002). *The Articulated Peasant: Household Economies in the Andes,* Westview, Boulder, CO.

McAnany, P. A., and López Varela, S. L. (1999). Re-creating the Formative Maya village of K'axob. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **10:** 147–168.

McKillop, H. (1996). Ancient Maya trading ports and the integration of long-distance and regional economies. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **7:** 49–62.

McKillop, H. (2002). *Salt: White Gold of the Ancient Maya,* University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Nava L., E. F. (ed.) (2002). *Otopames: memoria del primer coloquio, Querétaro, 1995*, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City.

Neff, H., Bishop, R. L., Sisson, E. B., Glascock, M. D., and Sisson, P. R. (1994). Neutron activation analysis of Late Postclassic polychrome pottery from central Mexico. In Nicholson, H. B., and Quiñones Keber, E. (eds.), *Mixteca-Puebla: Discoveries and Research in Mesoamerican Art and Archaeology*, Labyrinthos, Culver City, CA, pp. 117–141.

Nichols, D. L., Spence, M. W., and Borland, M. D. (1991). Watering the fields of Teotihuacan: Early irrigation at the ancient city. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **2:** 119–130.

Novella, R., Martínez González, J., and Moguel Cos, M. A. (2002). *La costa norte de Michoacán en la época prehispánica,* BAR International Series, Vol. 1071, Archaeopress, Oxford.

Oland, M. H. (1999). Lithic raw material sources at the southern end of the Freshwater Creek drainage: A view from Laguna de On, Belize. *Lithic Technology* **24:** 91–110.

Rattray, E. C. (ed.) (1998). *Rutas de intercambio en Mesoamérica: III Coloquio Pedro Bosch-Gimpera*, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City.

Rattray, E. C., and Harbottle, G. (1992). Neutron activation analysis and numerical taxonomy of thin orange ceramics from the manufacturing sites of Río Carnero, Puebla, Mexico. In Neff, H. (ed.), *Chemical Characterization of Ceramic Pastes in Archaeology*, Prehistory Press, Madison, WI, pp. 221–232.

Rice, D. S. (ed.) (1993). *Latin American Horizons*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC.

Robin, C. (2003). New directions in Classic Maya household archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Research* **11:** 307–356.

Rojas, J. L. D. (1998). *La moneda indígena y sus usos en la Nueva España en el siglo XVI,* Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Mexico City.

Schroeder, S., Wood, S., and Haskett, R. (eds.) (1997). *Indian Women of Early Mexico*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Serra Puche, M. C. (2000). Identidad en Xochitécatl, Tlaxcala, México. *Estudios de Cultura Otopame* **2:** 15–28.
Spence, M. W. (1996). Commodity or gift: Teotihuacan obsidian in the Maya region. *Latin American Antiquity* **7:** 21–39.
Stanish, C. (1992). *Ancient Andean Political Economy,* University of Texas Press, Austin.
Sugiura Yamamoto, Y. (1998a). Desarrollo histórico en el Valle de Toluca antes de la conquista española: proceso de conformación pluriétnica. *Estudios de Cultura Otopame* **1:** 99–122.
Sugiura Yamamoto, Y. (ed.) (1998b). *Historia general del Estado de México, vol. 1: geografía y arqueología*, Gobierno del Estado de México and El Colegio Mexiquense, Toluca.
Uruñuela y Ladrón de Guevara, G., and Plunket Nagoda, P. (1998). Áreas de actividad en unidades domésticas del Formativo terminal en Tetimpa, Puebla. *Arqueología* **20:** 3–20.
Valdez, F., Liot, C., Acosta, R., and Emphoux, J. P. (1996). The Sayula Basin: Lifeways and salt-flats of central Jalisco. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **7:** 171–186.
Wailes, B. (ed.) (1996). *Craft Specialization and Social Evolution: In Memory of V. Gordon Childe*, University Museum Monograph, Vol. 93, University Museum, Philadelphia.
Williams, E. (2002). Salt production in the coastal area of Michoacan, Mexico: An ethnoarchaeological study. *Ancient Mesoamerica* **13:** 237–254.
Williams, E. (2003). *La sal de la tierra: etnoarqueología de la producción salinera en el occidente de México,* El Colegio de Michoacán, Zamora.