

addressed, but perhaps with better chronological control. More serious data issues arise in the case study portion of the Kovacevich chapter on jade production at the Classic Maya site of Cancuen. The jade preform production area there is now very securely dated to only the very end of the occupation, A.D. 790–800, and thus, it is not contemporary with many of the features to which it is, again synchronically, compared in the study. Also the very important imported fine paste ware distribution is not most common at that jade preform workshop area, but fifth in frequency of 11 such concentrations in the site, and there is no hypothesized correlation between those Gulf coast ceramic imports and proposed production areas. Thus, the actual distributions contradict the specific case study conclusions regarding Cancuen craftsperson agency and identity. The chapter does, however, offer a very interesting general synthesis, drawing heavily on ethnohistorical data, on the economic parameters of jade in Mesoamerica, as well as the significant variability in value and nature of what we usually too broadly call “jade.”

Again, in fairness, it is impossible for this reviewer (a Mayanist) to properly assess data and details of methodology of most of the other chapters in this volume (particularly the Andean contributions). However, experts in each subfield and region will need to carefully evaluate those interpretations in each chapter regarding specifics of context and chronology – which is especially necessary given the current popularity of essentially synchronic sociological models which often are forced (usually implicitly) onto diachronic data. Nonetheless, even the above comments do again show that the volume succeeds in its editors’ mission of provoking debate and reassessment of existing positions on production, exchange, and markets.

For lack of space, I can only note that the principle contribution of most articles is to present a rich detail of information on the many differing economic institutions and mechanisms from, and within, different regions. This is seen in the specifics of the chapter by Hirth and Carballo on itinerant obsidian craftspersons, and in the synthesis by Nichols of almost all elements of economy in the Otumba Aztec systems. Similarly, Tokovinine and Beliaev synthesize nearly all linguistic, epigraphic, and iconography information on aspects of Maya economies and particularly the actors in those economies. More on market variability is seen in the chapter by Stanish and Coben who identify the core issue: *what exactly is a market?* They demonstrate that the conceptual distinction between barter and markets is a false one and describe the range of configurations between them. The issue of mechanisms of movement, and their relation to modes of exchange (neglected for Mesoamerica) is explored in both geographical and chronological context by Nielsen. Interregional variability in economic institutions is demonstrated by Topic, reminding us again that overly broad assertions about “Andean” or “Mesoamerican” economies only obscure the dynamic and highly variable nature of such systems.

My final recommendation to readers of this book is to read *all* of the chapters, rather than our usual academic approach of skipping or skimming those not in our sub-

field, discipline, or regions. Insights can be drawn from unexpected areas. For example, Dillehay’s *tour de force* synthesis on Andean mobility and exchange describes economic mechanisms often underestimated in importance or even unidentified – for example, resource sharing and especially the role of not only site location and routes, but even of cyclical residence of sites in order to facilitate exchange. Thus, he reminds us that the studies of economy and of settlement patterns are conceptually and methodologically inseparable. Similarly, the Gutiérrez chapter, seemingly a narrow study of one Aztec period tribute list (a chapter that I usually might have skipped!) has some truly unexpected, but thoroughly documented, elements of great significance to all Pre-Columbian scholars. These include the fact that just one level of bureaucratic intermediaries were raking off over 12% of Aztec tribute and the absolutely astonishing, but well demonstrated, figure that Aztec tribute owed by the Tlapa province of this study increased in 36 years by 947%! Such numbers not only help to explain the instability and constant rebellions in the Mexica hegemonic empire, but indicate, in general, how rapidly and easily tribute, once established, can be raised to unsustainable levels – invoking warfare in any region, probably also including the Classic Maya, Tiwanaku, and elsewhere.

In his extraordinary concluding chapter, Isaac expands on the theme of variability and complexity of economic institutions, again especially the overly-broad concept of “market.” Here such institutions are thoroughly explored by Isaac drawing on both Aztec and other Pre-Columbian data in the context of general economic theory. Isaac is able to describe and distinguish the tremendous variability in what we think of as “markets,” “taxes,” “tribute,” and “redistribution” and the many different roles of the state and other actors in such systems. He shows that differing mechanisms, great limitations on markets, and embeddedness of exchange systems are observable even in the contact period Aztec system – often seen as the paramount most “free market” Mesoamerican economy – and with the Inca, long considered the theoretical bastion of state “redistributive” economies.

Given the above critique, it should be clear that this is a lively, insightful, and very important work. The editors and authors are to be congratulated and this *Dumbarton Oaks* volume should be in the library of any scholar of Pre-Columbian studies. Arthur A. Demarest

**Hodder, Ian** (ed.): *Archaeological Theory Today*. 2nd ed. Malden: Polity Press, 2012. 347 pp. ISBN 978-0-7456-5307-5. Price: £ 18.99

The second edition of Hodder’s reader is a welcome addition to the archaeological literature. This new edition has 14 chapters instead of the previous 12, and their composition has been changed. Earlier chapters on cognitive evolution (Mithen), American material culture (Yentsch and Beaudry), and dispersion of the discipline (Shanks) have been replaced and supplemented by chapters on human behavioral ecology (Bird and O’Connell), complex systems in archaeology (Kohler), materiality (Knappett),

symmetrical archaeology (Olsen), and archaeology and indigenous collaboration (Colwell-Chanthaphonh). Some chapters from the first edition have been revised and refocused, e.g., Renfrew's chapter on cognitive archaeology, authorship has changed in some cases, e.g., Shennan's chapter on Darwinian Evolution in place of Leonard's chapter on that subject, and some authorships have been modified, e.g., LaMotta's sole authorship of behavioral archaeology. The chapters cover a range of processual and postprocessual approaches as well as a mix of material and conceptual subjects, all of which have become embedded in archaeological practice for greater or lesser periods of time. There is a praiseworthy even-handedness in the selection of chapters, which offer a set of clearly focused topical overviews that are central to theorizing in our evolving archaeological enterprise.

Hodder's opening chapter bears some discussion because it sets the agenda for the remainder of the volume. This chapter contains much of the material from his first edition, with revisions to accommodate the new chapters in this volume. The chapter is valuable for its crosscutting evaluation of subsequent chapters that highlights the convergences (common threads) and divergences (variations in perspectives) found throughout subsequent chapters. A useful addition to the chapter is Fig. 1.1, which, along with the associated discussion of it, illustrates links between key elements of individual chapter topics. The shortened conclusion effectively highlights disciplinary maturation as well as internal and external discourses and contributions of archaeology.

Chapters 2 and 3 form a pairing that discusses evolutionary theory in archaeology. Shennan sets out the Dual Inheritance Theory (DIT) perspective while Bird and O'Connell set out the Human Behavioral Ecology (HBE) perspective. Discussions in each chapter succinctly describe the characteristics that set one perspective apart from the other.

Chapter 7 (Agency [Theory]; Barrett) continues the discussions begun in chapters 2 and 3. Like HBE and DIT, agency is seen as the means by which the self-aware individual negotiates his/her own best interests in the work aimed explicitly or implicitly at biological reproduction and individual growth. Barrett critiques Giddens' formulation of agency and offers a three-step alternative in which DIT shortcomings are reviewed, the roles of rules and intuitive understanding are discussed, and "identifies human agency with knowledgeable action."

Chapter 4 (Behavioral Archaeology; LaMotta) and chapter 6 (Towards a Cognitive Archaeology; Renfrew) seem to form another pair that each move, in their own way, towards a different level of the archaeological enterprise, with the behavioral approach addressing the relationship between behavior and patterning of material remains in the archaeological record and the cognitive approach taking a processual perspective on the development of human capability to construct meaning as seen through material culture patterning.

Chapter 5 (Complex Systems and Archaeology; Kohler) and chapter 8 (Archaeologies of Place and Landscape; Thomas) each present an approach to one aspect of

the archaeological record. Kohler traces the emergence of systems applications in archaeology and the role of simulation modeling, and he advocates the importance of this endeavor in the archaeological examination of many human societies. Systemic models, simulation, and computation are useful heuristic devices, but, as clarified years ago by Merilee Salmon, they are not explanatory in and of themselves. They are an "approach" that is usefully applied alongside theory. Similarly, the geographical locus and physical surroundings of people are considered by Thomas from a phenomenological perspective. The personal experiences of place and landscape, and the meanings attributed to them, lie at the core of this chapter. Rather than places and landscapes being seen as externalized objects, they become, in Thomas' perspective, a body of meaningful relationships between people and their surroundings that provide a context for people's daily lives.

Chapter 9 (Materiality; Knappett) and chapter 10 (Symmetrical Archaeology; Olson) are new to this volume and represent interesting additions. Knappett's Materiality chapter reminds readers that, despite the mentalist aspects of subjectivity, multivocality, agency, and interpretation that are so common in contemporary archaeological theorizing, we do, after all, deal with physical objects. These objects can be seen as embodying material relations, social relations, vitality, and plurality, and they can be considered from micro- to macro-levels. An argument is made for the inorganic vitality of objects, which, while seeming somewhat metaphysical, is said to be partially accessible via "affordances" and "constraints" of the materials themselves. This approach enables links to be made between materials and materiality. Olsen's chapter on "Symmetrical Archaeology" advocates a transcendence of culture/nature, human/nonhuman, past/present dichotomies. Contrary to Childe, Olsen asserts that "man" does not make himself; rather, humans live in, and are part of a world that coevolves and that humans are defined as much by their human and nonhuman surroundings as they define those surroundings. "Things" have innate, non-substitutable properties that are intrinsic to those "things" in addition to the attribution of characteristics to those "things" by humans because of culturally filtered properties or networks of relationships in which "things" are involved. Olsen concludes that archaeology is crucially positioned to study things, and he reworks the dictum of Willey and Phillips, stating that "[a]rchaeology is archaeology or it is nothing."

Chapter 11 (The Social Life of Heritage; Meskell) is useful for the focus that it brings to the manipulation of the past for present purposes. Heritage, in its broadest sense, plays a role in relations between rich and poor, global and local, majority and minority, and archaeologists must recognize these multiple dimensions in their research practice and in their ethics. Archaeology thus becomes a social and political act as much as does a museum display or a UN convention. One is reminded of Walt Kelly's Pogo cartoon, "We have seen the enemy, and he is us."

Chapter 12 (Post-Colonial Archaeology; Gosden) and chapter 13 (Archaeology and Indigenous Collaboration; Colwell-Chanthaphonh) are an interesting and use-

ful pairing that consider archaeological practice from two sides of the fence. Gosden speaks to what nonindigenous archaeologists encounter and what they might profitably consider as they engage in their profession. Colwell-Chanthaphonh speaks to what it has been like and what it could/should be like for indigenous people to be involved in archaeology. Both authors stress understanding, respect, and dialogue in mutually beneficial outcomes from examinations of the past. Archaeology in postcolonial countries, especially in former British colonies with which this writer is familiar, has a special context that is not encountered by archaeologists who excavate their own ancestral cultures (and bodies).

Chapter 14 (Archaeological Visualization; Moser) theorizes the production and meaning of archaeological images. Beginning with Renaissance practice and following it into the 21st century, Moser identifies the ways in which the illustrator and the illustration are key elements in the methodology and interpretation of the archaeological record. There is message and meta-message in archaeological visualizations, there are differing interpretations that archaeologists and the general public put on archaeological images, and “image travel” may dramatically alter the original intent of the illustration.

Overall, Hodder’s second edition provides valuable and interesting updates and advances in archaeological theorizing. There is a balance of perspectives and topics that recommends this volume to the reader. Predictably, not all topics and perspectives can be addressed in a single volume, so such areas as critical theory, practice theory, and gender theory are not found. As well, the reader might wonder why complex systems receive attention as theory when they are identified as conceptual approaches by philosophers of science. While Shennan’s chapter on “Darwinian Cultural Evolution” and Bird and O’Connell’s chapter on “Human Behavioral Ecology” do justice to the dual inheritance and optimization versions of neo-Darwinism, the selectionist/evolutionary archaeology version, found in the first edition (Leonard), is not included. Such a chapter would have made a useful juxtaposition of the competing versions of Darwinian theory in archaeology. Readers of this volume are nevertheless presented with a mix of theorizing on the synchronic and diachronic aspects of archaeological practice, so they have a number of resources available to them. As well, the extensive bibliographies that accompany the chapters provide fertile ground for broader and deeper reading. Perhaps one of the more useful criteria one can apply to a series of chapters such as this is the question, “Would you use it in your class?” The answer in this case is, “Yes, it is assigned reading.” Gregory G. Monks

**Holmes, Seth M.:** *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies. Migrant Farmworkers in the United States.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. 264 pp. ISBN 978-0-520-27514-0. (California Series in Public Anthropology, 27) Price: £ 19.95

In this ethnography, Seth Holmes unveils the hidden association between the agricultural production of “fresh

fruit” in the United States and the suffering of Mexican migrant farmworkers, resulting in migrants’ “broken bodies.” The author exposes social injustices that are part of today’s globalized agriculture and often considered a natural state of affairs. In the tradition of Paul Farmer and other physician-anthropologists, he argues that these injustices result in health problems that are not adequately addressed because of the decontextualized and depoliticized nature of medicine.

After chapter 1, the introduction to this publication, chapter 2 explores migration dynamics. Holmes argues that the migrant workers, indigenous Triqui from Mexico, experience their labor migration as anything but voluntary. Crossing the border is not a choice associated with high risks but rather a process necessary to survive as life at home was made impossible by structural forces. The author strongly emphasizes that only an ethnography that pays attention to the participant-observers’ own bodily experiences during fieldwork comprehends the nuances of the everyday lives of migrant laborers, without which an understanding of these structural forces and the suffering they cause to migrants would remain incomplete. An ethnographer of labor migration, suffering, and health needs to follow the Triqui farmworkers from their home in Mexico, across the dangerous border into the United States, to the farms. Holmes underscores this approach to ethnography through reference to Paul Stoller’s “sensuous scholarship” and Margaret Lock and Nancy Scheper-Hughes’ concept of a “mindful body.” Chapter 3 then describes the labor segregation in American agriculture that leads to highly structured hierarchies of ethnicity and citizenship, deepening the suffering of migrant laborers who are at the bottom of these hierarchies. Chapter 4 draws on experiences of Triqui farmworkers to analyze illness as the manifestation of various forms of violence: (1) structural violence resulting from social inequalities; (2) symbolic violence, which, according to Pierre Bourdieu, is symptomatic of the interrelations of social structures of inequalities and perceptions, justifying the suffering of migrant workers because structural violence is considered as natural; (3) political violence that is often targeted physical violence; and (4) everyday violence that Nancy Scheper-Hughes describes as micro-interactional expressions of violence. Chapter 5 describes the processes through which violence leads to ill health and critiques the acontextual lenses, the “medical gaze,” through which healthcare providers tend to view their patients, often blaming the victims of various forms of violence for their ill health and associated behavior. When physicians focus on diseased organs or treat the patient as a physical body, they ignore the social and personal realities of the patient, who remain largely silent. Holmes argues that a different approach is needed: “witnessing,” in which patients are treated as whole persons, recognizing too that larger political, economic, and social forces are fundamental causes of physiological, psychological, and social suffering. Chapter 6 then analyzes the normalization of social and health inequalities as examples of symbolic violence. Finally, the concluding chapter addresses the possibility of hope, resistance, and change. Holmes