enfoques multidisciplinarios y interdisciplinarios: la bioarqueología tiene como objetivo central plantear preguntas concretas, desde diferentes perspectivas y ángulos, y diseñar la metodología adecuada para contestar o resolver esas interrogantes.

Este volumen, organizado en tres partes, brinda información sustantiva sobre los procesos de migración, movilidad, filiación biológica, etnicidad e identidad social en dos áreas de Mesoamerica: el Valle de México y la zona maya. Los autores siguen varias líneas de investigación fundamentadas en evidencias empíricas, con la finalidad de conocer las historias biosociales de algunas poblaciones y su interacción. El libro muestra con claridad la complejidad intrínseca al tratar de estudiar aspectos sobre la identidad o la etnicidad de los individuos y las poblaciones: los procesos de movilidad y de migración. Se abordan aspectos sobre mestizaje, utilizando por ejemplo la morfología dental para analizar la filiación biológica y la distancia entre grupos de individuos, como es el caso del trabajo de Cucina y colaboradores. En especial, estos autores discuten el por qué la identificación de estilos arquitectónicos o la presencia de cerámicas alóctonas, u otro tipo de materiales arqueológicos, no son un elemento confiable para hablar de la llegada e integración biológica (mestizaje) de una población con otra, o las causas de la movilidad de algunos individuos. La contribución de Corey Ragsdale y Heather Edgar sobre la migración y la dinámica de las poblaciones en el Valle de México es amplia y bien documentada; utiliza la metodología diseñada con base en la morfología dental para definir la filiación y distancia biológica y los grados de continuidad y reemplazo de los grupos en esa región. Los resultados que obtienen son congruentes con lo planteado desde la etnohistoria y la arqueología sobre las migraciones de grupos chichimecas del norte y occidente de México al final del periodo Clásico. Los investigadores encuentran una continuidad en la población del Preclásico y el Clásico y un remplazo a lo largo del Posclásico. Para Copán, Honduras, Shintaro Suzuki, Vera Tiesler y Douglas Price identifican evidencias de varios tipos de movimientos migratorios y sugieren que hubo una dispersión amplia, de corta distancia desde distintos puntos, durante el Clásico en las Tierras Bajas mayas, lo que generó un asentamiento heterogéneo y multiétnico. Los migrantes eran en su mayoría adultos solos o parejas recientemente unidas, sin hijos, más que familias completas. La región de la costa oriental de Quintana Roo es estudiada por Cucina y colaboradores con la finalidad de ver las posibles relaciones de distancias biológicas entre varios grupos asentados en esa área. Aplican las técnicas de morfología dental en varias series esqueléticas: San Miguelito, El Rey, San Gervasio y una muestra de Zaachila, Oaxaca. Los resultados presentan relaciones de afinidad entre algunos de estos grupos. Sin embargo, debe ser considerado el pequeño tamaño de las muestras en sus interpretaciones.

Andrew Scherer, Charles Golden y Stephen Houston emprenden su investigación bajo tres dimensiones primarias de la identidad social: localidad, linaje y clase. Discuten conceptos centrales en la antropología social y en la etnología, como la "pertenencia" y la "otredad", y muestran la dificultad de analizar la etnicidad y la identidad social en los estudios bioarqueológicos.

El tema de las prácticas funerarias realizadas en cuevas y abrigos rocosos plantea interpretaciones relevantes sobre el significado y motivos de utilizar estos espacios, dependiendo de la identidad social, como es el caso del deposito de niños en cuevas y de adultos en abrigos rocosos. Michael, Wroebel y Biggs discuten sobre la controversia del sacrificio de niños en las cuevas. La metodología que aplican radica en identificar elementos de disrupción biológica e indicadores arqueológicos de cada contexto funerario y ritual. El capítulo final, de Frances Berdan, es una excelente síntesis del contenido del libro. Muestra de manera clara y concreta las diversas vías de análisis del trabajo colaborativo de distintas disciplinas (biología humana, química, genética, demografía, epidemiología, o bien la antropología cultural o social, epigrafía, etnohistoria y etnología). La autora reseña las líneas de investigación definidas en el libro: por una parte la migración y la movilidad, y por la otra la identidad, filiación y distancia biológica; un aspecto esencial es la identificación de la posición social de los individuos y grupos. La descripción, análisis, resultados y nuevas interpretaciones de las distintas interrogantes abordadas en esta obra son un excelente modelo para guiar futuros estudios en Mesoamérica y abren horizontes singulares que, como menciona Willermet, integran ideas, métodos, enfoques teóricos que cruzan diversos campos, perspectivas y disciplinas. De acuerdo con Berdan, quedan muchas más preguntas por resolver y retos complejos para acercarnos a la reconstrucción de las historias de vida y las dinámicas de las poblaciones prehispánicas mesoamericanas.

Made to Order: Painted Ceramics of Ancient Teotihuacan. Cynthia Conides. 2018. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. xvii + 233 pp. $55.00 (cloth), ISBN 9780806160573.

Reviewed by Esther Pasztory, Columbia University

In the history of pottery decoration, stuccoed and painted vessels are a rarity. They were among the

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most prestigious objects of the ancient American city of Teotihuacan in Mexico and add one more question to the mysteries of that great site, which include, but are not limited to, social and political organization, religion, social mobility, craft organization, worldview, gender ideas, art, and language.

Cynthia Conides's new book, *Made to Order: Painted Ceramics of Ancient Teotihuacan*, seeks to approach these big questions through the detailed study of stuccoed vessels. These objects are well known, but until now, no major analysis has been devoted to them. Conides starts out with the common assumption that the stuccoed vessels are derived from or perhaps painted by the same persons who were responsible for the well-known murals. Obviously, murals and vessels have a similar stucco coating, and both are painted with mythological images. Conides, however, demonstrates the many differences between them, such as black versus red outlines, arguing that the stuccoed vessels are related more closely to other pottery forms, such as plano relief, and derive exclusively from ceramic workshops. Such concrete beginnings are very useful.

On the basis of recent iconographic analysis by various scholars, she enters more interpretive territory; she notes that many of the painted scenes on stuccoed vessels represent birds or butterflies or both, subject matter not particularly common in murals. She suggests that this butterfly interest was specific to the users of these vessels, who were likely members of a lower-echelon elite than the ones associated with murals. Most stuccoed vessels are found in tombs in apartment compounds and are common in the later phases of the city (especially late Xolalpan). One of the most useful parts of the book is the individual description of most currently known vessels. She sets up a contrast with the mural paintings and argues that the stuccoed vessels represent a more popular cult practice.

Moving into more imaginative reconstruction, she suggests that most Teotihuacan imagery had to do with internal ranking and status in the city, based especially on headdress forms. Finally, she also opines that Teotihuacan public religion revolved around deities who conferred benefits, such as fertility, on humans who received them with sacrifices in return. In a general sense, this is the basic Mesoamerican paradigm. Whether one agrees with these ideas, all these suggestions are valuable, because they emerge from the detailed study of specific objects and are the conclusions of a scholar who has long pondered them. They offer something to build on.

Despite the fact that Teotihuacan is the largest ancient American city, with pyramids rivaling those of Egypt, and despite its being extensively excavated, in many ways it has resisted easy explanation. Partly this is because it lacks monumental sculpture glorifying gods or the humans likely to have been rulers, as found often in contemporary Maya, Monte Alban, later Aztec, and earlier Olmec representations. Those forms of sculpture provide us with a Mesoamerican narrative of human and divine power, which is unclear at Teotihuacan.

The most distinctive art of Teotihuacan is painting, both on murals and stuccoed vessels, which are perhaps conceived of as miniature murals, thereby indicating the very importance of the painted form. Stuccoed vessels are fragile—once I saw the entire stucco portion fall off a vessel fragment as it was being readied for photography. To be sure, all sculpture in Mesoamerica was probably painted like a mural, and murals exist elsewhere together with sculpture. Still, the Teotihuacan insistence on painting—proved by the fragile stuccoed vessels—is notable.

Conides points out differences in iconography between media, which is helpful in an image system that is non-narrative and descriptive and for which we do not have texts. One of the earliest scholars of Teotihuacan, George Kubler, saw the image system as a language almost literally put together as a grammar (though we do not know the actual language). Most recently, experts agree that Teotihuacan had perishable books and that the images on murals and vessels related to or derived from them. On the murals, the motifs were elaborated into scenes or complex entities, while on the vessels they were abbreviated in emblems. The forms have a generic, but nonspecific similarity to Aztec picture writing. Codices were illustrated on Maya pottery and books, and writing was surely known at Teotihuacan since Teotihuacan is believed to have once conquered the Maya city of Tikal. The idea of books is helpful, but in the end not helpful enough.

Another unique feature of this painting tradition is the location of the murals, which are found mainly on the walls of apartment compounds. (Murals were also found on the exterior of buildings, but were more perishable.) The about 2,500 masonry apartment compounds are a rare form of habitation in Mesoamerica and suggest a well-to do population. The political organization of Teotihuacan has been controversial; although it is generally assumed to have been like that of the Aztecs, the city has also been assumed to have had a powerful despotic ruler, though apparently not one commemorated in images. I once raised the possibility that Teotihuacan had some kind of collective leadership, such as a council government or a republic at one time or another. Recent excavations

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searching for a grand ruler burial have failed to find proof of a despotic ruler, and it is now generally believed that Teotihuacan had some sort of collective organization. Conides does not enter this debate, but it is relevant to her discussion of status and rank symbols on pottery.

The calibration of collective organization and ranking is now an important issue in Teotihuacan studies. There are many "egalitarian" features at Teotihuacan, such as the apartment compounds or the composite censers with mold-made *adornos*. At the same time there are clear status differences within the apartment compounds, and indeed these are shown in the costumes and headdresses of the mostly human elite figures in representations. With the exception of one such headdress—the tassel headdress, which is clearly elite but its exact significance is not entirely clear—the others cannot be ordered into statuses and/or families or clans as yet. We are still dealing with generalities.

Our understanding of Teotihuacan affects our understanding of all of ancient America as a whole and has allowed me to see collective and cooperative features elsewhere. With detailed studies like that of Conides, we can put a bit of flesh on the bones.

The Origins of Maya States. LOA TRAXLER and ROBERT J. SHARER, editors. 2016. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia. xxi + 681 pp., 124 illustrations. $69.95 (hardcover), ISBN 9781934536865.

Reviewed by Timothy W. Pugh, Queens College, City University of New York

Loa Traxler and Robert Sharer's *The Origins of Maya States* makes a substantial contribution to the study of early social complexity in the Preclassic Maya Lowlands. It also explores related developments in adjacent cultural areas that reveal larger trends. This book is currently the most complete sourcebook on the Maya Preclassic period (1000 BC–AD 200).

Astrid Runggaldier and Norman Hammond's chapter presents a fascinating history of the application of the concept of the state to the Maya world. After examining related developments regarding urbanization, kingship, and ideology, they conclude that the nature of Maya states remains disputed, with its characterizations ranging from small and weak to regional. This is a salient point; perhaps we need to reconsider old arguments that some Maya states, even in the Classic period, are better classified as chiefdoms.

David Grove summarizes social complexity in Preclassic central Mexico. Although the Early Preclassic period site of Tlatilco was destroyed, Grove defines a "Tlatilco culture" of sites in the region having similar ceramics. An overemphasis on Olmec influence has negatively affected studies in this region: several Tlatilco culture sites, including Early Preclassic Chalcatzingo, include distinct public architecture, and although less than 5% of Tlatilco culture ceramics have Olmec motifs, these ceramics are the most studied of the assemblage. In the Middle Preclassic period, Chalcatzingo, likely the central site of a chiefdom, had public architecture, Olmec-style sculpture, and some "southern" characteristics such as stelae and Mamom (Maya)-like ceramics. Two other sites in the area also had these characteristics, but Olmec styles disappeared with the decline of these three sites around 500 BC. A fourth center, Cuicuilco, which is poorly known since its burial by lava, continued until the end of the Late Preclassic, later than previously believed. Although poorly understood, the beginnings of Teotihuacan were focused on natural springs and "hydraulic agriculture" and seem to reflect influences from several areas including Pueblo-Tlaxcala.

Ann Cyphers argues for multiple reasons that San Lorenzo was a center of a state: the labor to move stone for sculpture implies a higher level of organization than is typical in a chiefdom; the skill to produce the monuments indicates specialization; and most of the monuments may depict rulers. Furthermore, the distribution of various types of monuments indicates at least three levels in the settlement hierarchy, though varied site sizes in San Lorenzo's hinterland may demonstrate additional levels. Finally, Cyphers agrees with earlier studies suggesting that colossal heads were recycled from thrones, indicating a priori associations with rulership. The labor organization required to build up the San Lorenzo center, inequality in residential architecture, complex exchange networks, and workshops suggest immense complexity.

John Clark's contribution covers Middle and Late Preclassic developments west of the Maya region. He does not imagine the "Maya," "Olmec," and others as "monolithic entities," given that they were never politically unified with firm boundaries. Clark explores several dimensions of social complexity, including settlement planning, monumentality, exchange, social inequality, and hegemony. These data indicate that kingdoms developed throughout the area in the Middle Preclassic period and that larger polities emerged in the Late Preclassic. In the Middle Preclassic, the Olmec seem to have promulgated a particular arrangement of ceremonial architecture and to have strongly influenced many sites, perhaps by creating alliances