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Crossing Borders and Maintaining Identities: Perspectives on Current Research in South American Historical Archaeology

Introduction

In 2009, the senior author and María Ximena Senatore organized a symposium at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in Toronto, Canada, titled "Crossing Borders and Maintaining Identities." This was designed to discuss the different approaches, theoretical and methodological, undertaken in recent South American historical archaeology research, and to present this exciting work to colleagues working in North America. The present thematic issue of *Historical Archaeology* grew out of this conference session, though—as with many volumes of this nature—not all of the original session contributors appear here, and it has picked up a couple of new contributions along the way.

The present volume focuses on South America specifically rather than Latin America as a whole (though this introduction does occasionally touch upon broader Latin American work). Panama is included, as it was part of Colombia (and its colonial predecessors) until 1903, and strong professional and thematic links exist between Panamanian and Colombian historical archaeology (and indeed broader South American historical archaeology). A recurring theme of this introduction will be that historical archaeology in South America has matured considerably during the last decades, particularly since the 1980s. On a purely practical level, this can be seen in the increasing number of both local and nonlocal research teams working in the area; the diversity of research topics studied by South American scholars; the quantity and quality of this research; and the growth of local journals and publications dedicated wholly or in part to historical archaeology.

The map of South American historical archaeology is nevertheless a fragmented one, with research projects often being undertaken in relative isolation thanks to national, regional, or microregional borders that often artificially divide studies. This is partially a practical matter of transborder dissemination, but also involves linguistic issues, with Portuguese differentiating Brazil from the rest of the continent. As Funari has noted: "Mexican publications are not available in Brazil, neither are Brazilian ones in other countries. This is also true to all the other, smaller countries" (Funari 2007:184). While the phenomenon of isolation has resulted in considerable diversity and originality in South American methodological approaches as well as in analytical and interpretative frameworks, this diversity through geographical isolation is rarely fully represented in English-language publications and is often hidden under a somewhat misleading presumption of academic homogeneity across the continent.

There have been several previous overviews of South American—and broader Latin American—historical archaeology in both Spanish- and English-language publications. Politis's 2003 *American Antiquity* overview of the theoretical and methodological development of Latin American archaeology focused on regions well known to the author. While he discussed the increase in research on historical archaeology in the last two decades and the diversity of topics addressed, his focus was not on historical archaeology specifically (Politis 2003). As a result his overview of historical sites was inevitably incomplete, though many of the overall points made by Politis were insightful and potentially influential.

Within the literature specifically focused on historical archaeology, introductions to the subject can be found in past issues of both *Historical Archaeology* and the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (*IJHA*). Zarankin and Salerno's 2008 paper "'Looking South': Historical Archaeology in South America" offers the most-detailed recent summary of past work on

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the continent in the present journal. The focus of Zarankin and Salerno was primarily (though not exclusively) on Argentina and Brazil, something that at least partially reflected the past international publication record of the regional subdiscipline (Zarankin and Salerno 2008:39–40) and perhaps also reflected the geographical foci of the authors. Their thematic and theoretical approach nonetheless offers a useful counterpoint to the more broadly based geographical focus of the present introduction, and colleagues interested in South American historical archaeology may find it useful to consult both discussions.

Two *IJHA* overviews were written by Funari a decade apart (Funari 1997a, 2007). In the second of these, Funari notes the potentially unique contribution of Latin America to historical archaeology debates through its status as a region that has simultaneously "been a part of the Western World and of its periphery" (Funari 2007:183). This is a point implicitly relevant to several papers in the present issue, such as the contributions from Gaitán Ammann, Rodríguez and Brooks, and Lima. Despite their very different period and geographical scopes, each of these discusses aspects of South American archaeology and material culture as something simultaneously part of and yet conceptually separate from developing global European-dominated trade patterns of the relevant centuries.

Overviews of Latin and South American historical archaeology have by no means been restricted to journal articles. Of particular note here are two books of collected papers published in the first decade of the 21st century. *Arquelogía Histórica en América del Sur, los Desafios del Siglo XXI* (Funari and Zarankin 2004) focuses solely on South America and features contributions from many of the influential figures mentioned elsewhere in this introduction. *Arqueología Colonial Latinoamericana* (García Targa 2009) was published—perhaps somewhat counterintuitively—as part of the UK-based British Archaeological Reports International Series in 2009. While the chapter texts of the latter are entirely in Spanish, abstracts are offered in both English and Spanish. That fully 12 of the 18 chapters are on Mexican topics helps to demonstrate the regionality of much Latin and South American research, but there are relevant contributions on Colombia (Gaitán Ammann and Lobo Guerrero 2009), Venezuela (Zucchi 2009), and Argentina (Bárcena 2009; Oliva and Lisboa 2009; Schávelzon 2009).

Most of the rest of this introduction offers another contribution to this growing body of overview literature, with a particular focus on past work relevant to the specific countries represented in this issue rather than all of South America. This latest summary makes no claims to being comprehensive; outlining the historical archaeology of an entire continent in this brief space, especially given the size of some of the individual countries involved, is an impossible task—individual books could be devoted to Brazil and Argentina alone. The focus of this introduction on those countries most relevant to the issue contributors inevitably means that important work from other countries—particularly Uruguay and Chile—is omitted. Nor is the distribution of contributions, with three from Brazil and two from Panama, necessarily representative of the balance of work across the continent. It is nonetheless hoped that this brief overview will help to offer a preliminary introduction regarding the archaeological background to each country, which in turn will help illuminate the range of historical archaeology across the continent as a whole.

A Brief Note on Theory

South American historical archaeology has, over the years, engaged with a range of theoretical approaches. At the risk of oversimplifying an often-complex process that has featured significant geographical variation, many international colleagues will broadly recognize the initial 1980s engagement with processualist models, the search for universal laws within hypothesizing models, and the subsequent later 1990s engagement with more post-processualist approaches that paid more attention to the role of individuals and sociocultural context within interpretation, often—but not always—within a Marxist-influenced framework (Zarankin and Salerno 2008:40). These theoretical debates remain alive and well within South America. However, rather than engage in a detailed discussion of archaeological theory or attempt to impose a single theoretical perspective on the volume as a whole, a deliberate decision has been made to let the individual contributions

to the present issue speak for themselves. This is partially because the diversity of approaches within South American archaeology would make it disingenuous to imply a single approach, and partially because, as South American historical archaeology has matured, individual researchers have become more confident in adopting an implicitly theory-informed approach for their case studies, rather than an explicitly overt theoretical framework.

Despite this qualification, at least one important aspect of South American theory-informed approaches is worth stressing. There is perhaps a temptation in the Northern Hemisphere, particularly North America, to interpret developments in historical archaeology theory solely through the lens of such influential figures as South (1977), Leone (1984; 1995), McGuire (1992), and Orser (1996). These and other scholars have unquestionably had influence in South America; Orser and South have gone farther by often directly engaging with the continent, whether via direct research (Orser 1994, 1996) or, in South's case, editing the now-defunct journal *Historical Archaeology in South America* for three years in the 1990s (Zarankin and Salerno 2008:40). Yet even where points of influence and engagement exist historical archaeology has rarely, if ever, developed identically on different continents. In Australia, for example, historical archaeologists have developed both methodological approaches, such as in plowzone archaeology (Brooks et al. 2009), and theoretical approaches, such as in interpretations of urban space (Lawrence and Davies 2011:251–278), that may take influences from and engage with work from other continents but do so from within a specifically Australian framework.

So it is no surprise that South America, too, has developed its own distinctive approaches. Without attempting to imply a deliberate unifying theme, it is notable how many of the papers in the present volume involve either relationships between dominant and dominated groups, or the impact of conflict; sometimes they involve both. Enslaved populations, slavers, indigenous groups, and manifestations of state and local power—and the often conflicted relationships between these different groups—all feature prominently. Even in the Venezuelan case study, where research focuses on material culture unambiguously associated with an elite household, discussion arises from the impact of conflict and war on material culture distributions in the post-colonial state. Likewise, the Panama Viejo site-management case study involves an abandoned city whose present-day iconic status at least in part stems from its 1671 sack by the pirate Henry Morgan.

Domination and conflict are hardly themes that are unique to South America. It is nonetheless hard not to draw the conclusion that, whatever the specific variations between individual case studies, these are particularly important themes within South American historical archaeology. Furthermore, the continent's complex history of dictatorship, conflict, oppressive regimes, multifaceted racial inequality, and economic indebtedness—and the consequent search for both freedom and economic progress—is one of the more significant reasons behind the importance of these themes within South American historical archaeology. It is perhaps unsurprising given this background that one of the most significant recent South American contributions to the burgeoning international field of contemporary 20th- and 21st-century archaeology is a book on archaeological approaches toward the study of 20th-century political repression and resistance (Funari et al. 2010). This is not to attempt to negatively and unfairly stereotype South America as a continent of violence, strife, and poverty; but the research foci of South American archaeologists—and their theoretical approaches to those foci—necessarily have to be understood through the continent's often difficult history.

A Brief Country-by-Country Overview

Panama

Panama has long been a center for vibrant and influential historical archaeology of an importance arguably out of proportion to its small size. As was the case in both the United Kingdom and North America (Brooks 2005:3–6), ceramics were an early focus of attention. As early as 1962, John Goggin outlined a ceramic typology based on excavations in Panama Viejo (Old Panama) that would prove useful as a chronological marker across colonial Latin American sites, though this work would only be formally published posthumously in 1968.

Goggin's assistant George Long also undertook research in Panama Viejo (Long 1967), engaging in a detailed study of the important Panamanian majolica ceramics type. Fairbanks (1966) also published a short article on these ceramics in *American Antiquity*.

However, the beginnings of historical archaeology as an established local discipline in Panama really date to the 1980s. The role of Panama Viejo as one of the major centers of local historical archaeology, the innovative site management structure, and some of the research being undertaken there are covered in some detail elsewhere in this issue in the contributions by Martín and Rovira, and Gaitán Ammann. The prominence of Panama Viejo should not detract from other colonial-site projects undertaken elsewhere in the country in the 1980s and 1990s as the discipline established itself. Examples include research undertaken at Nata de los Caballeros (Breece 1997) and Portobello (Rovira 1991, 1992, 1996; Suárez 1993). Not all of Panama's colonial historical archaeology is oriented towards Spain, and Horton has undertaken work at Scotland's quixotic but historically important 17th-century Darien colony (Horton 2009). It was nonetheless the foundation of a permanent program of archaeological research at Panama Viejo that helped to consolidate Panamanian historical archaeology (Cooke and Rovira 1981; Rovira 1981, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1991, 1994, 1995; Rovira and Martín 2008). Archaeological excavation continues in the Old Quarter to this day as new urban development associated with millionaire investment and a national real-estate boom impinges on the outer boundaries of this internationally important UNESCO World Heritage Site (Martín and Mendizábal 2009).

Venezuela

Venezuelan historical archaeology began in the late 1940s when a team led by Pablo Vila initiated research at the 16th-century site of Nueva Cádiz, the first Spanish city in what would become Venezuela, on the island of Cubagua (Vila 1948). This work was subsequently expanded by José María Cruxent, initially in cooperation with the same John Goggin who had also been active in Panama (Cruxent 1955; Cruxent and Rouse 1958; Cruxent and Rolando 1961). Cruxent's work at the site would later lead to him working closely with Kathleen Deagan at La Isabela (Deagan and Cruxent 2002). The development of historical archaeology as an established discipline in Venezuela, however, dates to the 1980s. Perhaps the best-known research is the archaeological program in the capital Caracas led by Mario Sanoja and Iraida Vargas (Vargas and Vivas 1999; Sanoja and Vargas 2002). Between 1987 and 2000, Sanoja and Vargas coordinated an extensive multiple-site urban research program in the city, all with a theoretical orientation towards social archaeology. At the same time, they developed further projects on urban Maracaibo (Sanoja and Vargas 2008) and Capuchin missions (Sanoja and Vargas 2005) in Venezuela. While this work offers a potentially important contribution to a social historical archaeology in South America (Vargas 2006), its impact has so far—perhaps regrettably—been limited to the regional level.

In 1993, the Cultural Heritage Institute (Spanish acronym IPC) was created to protect Venezuela's national heritage and to design policies to manage the nation's cultural resources. Most subsequent historical archaeology projects have been undertaken at buildings formally classified as National Heritage sites, following the principles of "scientific" restoration, where detailed documentation of the restoration was a priority over archaeological excavation (Molina 2005a). Most of the reports were, regrettably, never published. However, the important research undertaken in 1991 on the road (the Camino Real) between Caracas and its port at La Guaira, and the structures linked with that route, has been published (Amodio et al. 1997). The Rodriguez and Brooks contribution to the present issue also grew out of a rescue-archaeology project in the colonial center of the northeastern city of Barcelona (Rodríguez 2004).

Over the last decade, the themes examined in Venezuelan historical archaeology and the methodological approaches used have been encouragingly diverse, despite limited publication opportunities. Zucchi's work on Roman Catholic (usually, but not always, Franciscan) colonial sites in Zulia, Falcón, and Anzoátegui states has been the subject of multiple publications in this journal (Zucchi 1997, 2006) and elsewhere (Zucchi 2003, 2009). Recently, the IPC has funded a new archaeological research program at the 18th-century San Carlos Barracks

in Caracas (Flores 2007). Luis Molina of the Central University of Venezuela studied industrial technological developments between the 18th and 20th centuries at a Caracas Valley sugar plantation (Molina 2005b). Publication of the Antczaks' innovative work on the 17th- and 18th-century Dutch and Anglo-American salt mines of La Tortuga Island (Antczak et al. 2011) is still forthcoming as of this writing. Despite this high-quality work, there is little doubt that the economic situation in Venezuela has impacted archaeology in recent years, placing constraints not just on the ability of local and national authorities to support archaeology prior to development, but also on the number of archaeologists available to carry out what little work is available.

Colombia

Colombia does not feature in a contribution to the present volume, but as the home nation of one of the editors offers some useful further points of comparison within South America. The beginnings of historical archeology in this country date back to 1948, with the search for and exploration of Santa Maria la Antigua del Darién, the first Spanish city on the South American mainland (Arcila 1986). Some years later, Miguel Méndez designed a plan of archaeological intervention in the historic quarter of Popayán after the city's devastating 1983 earthquake (Méndez 1989, 1990, 1991). Unfortunately, this was neither consolidated nor followed up on as part of longer-term urban research program.

In the 1990s archaeological research on Colombian historical sites gradually became more established. Initially, much of this research had its roots in isolated undergraduate theses focused on restoration work and similar research (Martín 2001, 2008; López 2002). In the same decade, however, Monika Therrien initiated an ongoing long-term historical archaeology research program examining issues of material culture, identity, and heritage within Colombian urban contexts. Her work was designed to make otherwise-isolated urban research relevant to developing urban programs across multiple Colombian cities, such as Cartagena, Villa de Leyva, Ocaña, and the capital Bogotá (Therrien 1995, 1996, 1996/1997, 1998, 1999, 2001/2002, 2002, 2007, 2008; Therrien et al. 2002; Therrien and Jaramillo 2004). Her work has also provided an important training base for new scholars in historical archaeology, as demonstrated by the published research growing out of related undergraduate and graduate theses (Gaitán Ammann 2001/2002; Lamo and Therrien 2001/2002; Lobo Guerrero 2001/2002).

Bolivia and Peru

For all their political and economic importance to the Spanish Empire, not least as the location of the Western Hemisphere's richest silver mines, historical archaeology in the Andean nations of Bolivia and Peru (grouped here to recognize their shared pre-colonial and colonial roots within the Inka Empire and Viceroyalty of Peru) is a fairly recent development, perhaps overshadowed as a research focus by the very visible remains of the Inka and other Andean civilizations. Much of the relevant work has been undertaken by scholars based outside the Andes. Prudence Rice and Greg Smith published three papers on Peruvian topics in the present journal between 1989 and 1993 (Rice and Smith 1989; Rice and Van Beck 1993; Smith 1997)—Rice has been working in the Moquegua Valley since the 1970s—while elsewhere Wernke has written on the interaction between Inka religious beliefs and evangelical Catholicism in early colonial Peru (Wernke 2007). Mary Van Buren has meanwhile directed a long-term project on Inka and historical silver mining in Bolivia, some of the results of which are discussed in the Van Buren and Weaver contribution to the present issue.

More recently, there have been clear signs of a growth of historical archaeology in the central Andes. The first-ever international symposium on Peruvian historical archaeology, *Posibilidades y Perspectivas para una Arqueología Histórica en el Perú* (Possibilities and Perspectives for an Historical Archaeology in Peru), was held in Lima in 2010, with 11 papers on Peruvian topics, 2 on Bolivian topics, and 1 on Chile. The goals of this conference included helping to define Andean historical archaeology and to set research agendas for the discipline's future development across the central Andes (Weaver 2010). It is perhaps telling that 10 of the 14 papers were written or coauthored by scholars

based in the United States or the United Kingdom, but contributions from locally based colleagues on urban archaeology in Lima (Fhon B. 2010), the role of Christianity in regional Peru (Traslaviña Arias 2010), and an urban convent site in Lima (Coello Rodríguez 2010) show some of the developing urban and religious research foci of the discipline locally. It is to be hoped that publication of the papers presented at this important symposium will be forthcoming.

Brazil

Brazil is both the largest country in South America and the only South American nation where the national language is Portuguese. Although archaeological interest in Brazil's historical sites first emerged in the second quarter of the 20th century, it was only in the 1960s that historical archaeology became formally recognized as a field of research. Imbued by the ruling elite's conception of historical importance, the nascent discipline focused its attention almost exclusively on the monuments left by the dominant classes, primarily investigating the material expressions of religious, military, and civil power. The discipline initially adopted a markedly historico-cultural approach, but more theory-informed research gradually came to the fore in the later 1960s and 70s, with a special emphasis on acculturation studies (Albuquerque 1969, 1971; Brochado et al. 1969; Blasi 1971; Brochado 1974; Chmyz 1976).

It was only in the 1980s that historical archaeology acquired real momentum in Brazil. The reinterpretation of official versions of history (Zanettini 1988), the study of maroon communities (Guimarães et al. 1980), interethnic contacts (Chmyz 1985; Dias Junior 1988), and religious missions (Ribeiro 1981, 1988; Kern 1989; Ribeiro et al. 1989) became key themes, along with the first explorations of the urban environment (Andreatta 1981, 1986). Some of these themes, such as the archaeology of missions (Albuquerque 1990; Martin 1990; Kern 1994, 1998), were developed in more detail over the following decade. In parallel, though, other questions were introduced into Brazilian historical archaeology using both processual and post-processual theoretical frameworks. Typical of this period were the investigations of everyday domestic life, including the symbolic aspects of material culture (Lima et al. 1989; Lima 1995, 1996, 2008) and gender relations (Lima 1995, 1997), as well as studies of consumer behavior (Sousa 1998; Symanski 1998). Beginning with studies of domestic tableware, these inquiries led to the emergence of an archaeology of capitalism in Brazil (Lima 1999). Lima's contribution to the present issue builds upon many of these themes.

In the 1990s and 2000s the archaeology of slavery grew rapidly with investigations on slave quarters (Lima et al. 1993) leading to a focus on the material culture of slaves, especially pottery (Jacobus 1996; Agostini 1998a, 1998b, 2009, 2011; Zanettini 2005). The related topic of maroon communities (*quilombos*) also developed strongly in this period. The best known of these outside Brazil is the Palmares study undertaken by Funari, often in collaboration with Orser and Allen, which has been the subject of an extensive publication program (Funari and Orser 1992; Funari 1994, 1996, 1997b, 1998; Orser 1996; Allen 1998, 2001; Orser and Funari 2001), including one contribution to *Historical Archaeology* (Funari 2003). While this important work has been highly influential, Allen—a member of the Palmares research team—has recently suggested that in some cases a lack of archaeological data means that many of the Palmares conclusions should be considered hypotheses that are yet to be fully tested (Allen 2006). While not as well known outside Brazil, more-detailed data from *quilombos*, sugar plantations, and mining areas in central Brazil have been recovered via fieldwork undertaken by Symanski and de Souza (de Souza 2002, 2007, 2010; Symanski 2006, 2007, 2008; Symanski and de Souza 2007; Singleton and de Souza 2009; de Souza and Symanski 2009), inspiring a strong growth in recent archaeological studies of Brazilian slavery. The contributions to this issue by de Souza and Agostini, and Symanski offer an important opportunity for this work to become better known to English-language scholars.

Urban archaeology has also recently become a growth area in Brazil, thanks in large part to the combative action of archaeologists working in local and state governments, who have often had to fight local inertia toward heritage issues. Urban archaeology has been substantially boosted in the historic areas of some of Brazil's main capital cities (Juliani 1996;

Albuquerque and Cazzetta 1997; Tocchetto et al. 1999; Tochetto 2000), not only in the wake of heritage-management plans, but also due to the proliferation of research projects, many of them emphasizing the construction of urban landscapes (Thiesen 2002, 2006).

Argentina

Argentina is perhaps the Spanish-speaking South American country most familiar to the Anglophone historical archaeologist, due to the range and variety of work recently published in English. Argentinean work has regularly appeared in the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (including a dedicated thematic issue in 2005—vol. 9, no. 3), and Daniel Schávelzon's highly regarded book *The Historical Archaeology of Buenos Aires: A City at the End of the World* (1999a) is one of the better-known English-language books on a South American topic.

Gómez Romero's overview of the development of historical archaeology in Argentina (Gómez Romero 2005a) shows that the discipline's evolution in the continent's Southern Cone shares many affinities with its evolution on other parts of the continent. Early studies on such subjects as 16th-century conquistador settlements (Zapata Gollán 1956) and post-conquest Native American settlements (Nuñez Regueiro and Nuñez Regueiro de De Lorenzi 1973) was undertaken in the second half of the 20th century, but this work initially occurred in isolation. As with Panama, Venezuela, and Colombia the establishment of an urban archaeology program in the 1980s, in this case Daniel Schávelzon's Buenos Aires City Urban Archaeology Project, then provided the stimulus for the development of a national historical archaeology as an established discipline (Gómez Romero 2005a:136). Schávelzon's work has produced multiple publications (Schávelzon 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1995, 1999a, 1999b, 2003, 2009), but also helped to provide a solid research base for the growth of historical archaeology across the country.

Argentinean historical archaeology remains particularly strong on urban themes (Zarankin 1994, 1995; Bárcena 2009). Considerable work has also been taking place in the rural pampas and Patagonia (Pedrotta and Gómez Romero 1998; Senatore 2000, 2002, 2004; Gómez Romero 2005b; Schávelzon 2005), and the archaeology of indigenous interactions with European and European Argentinean settlers in these two regions has become a growing research theme in recent years (Haydée Tapia 2005; Pedrotta and Bagaloni 2005; Oliva and Lisboa 2009; Nuevo Delaunay, this issue). Argentinean historical archaeology is also perhaps more overtly theoretical, or at least more willing to engage openly in theoretical discussions than its counterparts in other Spanish-speaking South American nations. In addition to overt engagement with processualist and post-processualist approaches (Zarankin and Salerno 2008:40) there has recently been a particularly robust debate taking place on the interaction between historical and archaeological data (Gómez Romero 2005a:137)—a subject that will be familiar to many colleagues working in North America and Western Europe.

Conclusion

This brief overview of historical archaeology in the South American countries most relevant to the present issue shows similarities and differences across the continent. In terms of disciplinary development, there are considerable similarities between Panama, Colombia, and Argentina. In each country the discipline became broadly established following the expansion of urban historical archaeology in the 1980s, with a specific scholar proving to be particularly influential—Rovira in Panama, Therrien in Colombia, and Schávelzon in Argentina. Venezuela initially seemed to be developing in the same direction following work by Sanoja and Vargas in Caracas, but—perhaps due to political and economic circumstances—has not yet fully built on this initial platform, despite ongoing high-quality work by some scholars. Peru and Bolivia, particularly the former, are perhaps entering the initial stage of the developmental process, with a locally based urban historical archaeology beginning to develop in Lima, though much historical archaeology in both countries continues to be done by North American scholars. Historical archaeology in Brazil meanwhile displays an exceptional vitality, covering a wide variety of questions investigated though numerous theoretical approaches, ranging from merely descriptive fieldwork to studies with a strong theoretical component.

The last three decades have also shown that some research themes are shared by multiple

countries, while others are most strongly developed in specific countries. Urban archaeology is perhaps the great transcontinental unifying subject, something that can be directly tied to its strong role in the discipline's regional development. Many South American historical archaeologists have also shown a strong interest in sites associated with the Roman Catholic Church. This is wholly unsurprising given the important role the church played in both Spanish and Portuguese colonial expansion, though Zucchi in Venezuela has shown a particular interest in the subject, and there are strong hints that this will become an important theme in Peruvian historical archaeology. Other research subjects are most strongly developed in specific countries. Brazil has long been at the forefront of South American historical archaeologies of enslaved Africans and their descendents, something amply demonstrated by the contributions to the present issue. Argentina, meanwhile, has the most developed historical archaeology of indigenous sites, particularly in the pampas and more recently—as outlined by Nuevo Delaunay in this issue—in Patagonia.

Themes of domination and resistance, and/or the impact of conflict and repression remain important to an understanding of South American theoretical approaches, as outlined earlier in this introduction, but another area where South American historical archaeology has much to offer at the international comparative level is undoubtedly the archaeology of capitalism, studied from the viewpoint of dependent countries rather than the dominant nations. Research in the region is well equipped to retell the history of this process: the extent of capitalism's penetration; the rapid adoption of commodities by cultures not ready to absorb them; and the intensity with which these were used in architecture, engineering, and the re-engineering of social relations, permitting in turn a deeper insight into how these processes operate in the present. All of these themes have strong affinities with other global colonial archaeologies, and it is indeed hoped that a demonstration of the direct relevance of the vibrant research themes of South American historical archaeology to other global historical archaeologies, whether via discussions of management structures at historical sites in Panama to 20th-century indigenous communities in Patagonia—or any of the myriad thematic or geographic points in between—will be one of the primary benefits of the present issue.

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