Ancient Mesoamerica (2025), **36**, 140–151
doi:10.1017/S0956536125000033

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

In Memoriam

Deborah L. Nichols 1952–2022

John M. Watanabe

Deborah L. Nichols, late William J. Bryant 1925 Professor of Anthropology at Dartmouth College and then-President of the Society for America Archaeology, died July 27, 2022, in the afternoon about when field archaeologists in rainy season Mexico call it a day before thunderstorms roll in. A near 20-year survivor of breast cancer, she died of a different malignancy. Deb was always happiest in Mexico doing archaeology with other archaeologists, eating Mexican Mexican food. An anthropologist's archaeologist, she did encyclopedic research on Mesoamerican production, exchange, and urbanization from the Formative to the Postclassic. Four years (1981–1985) on the Navajo and Hopi reservations with the Black Mesa Archaeological Project (Powell et al. 1983) also committed her to Native American issues and students, especially repatriation and indigenous archaeology, and she coedited a volume on social violence in the ancient Southwest (Figure 1; Nichols and Crown 2008). Despite her final illness, Deb worked tirelessly as SAA President to hold annual meetings amid the COVID-19 pandemic and to improve organizational transparency, inclusivity, ethics, and civility. Advocate of both equity and professionalism, she took pride as president in establishing the meeting access grants that now bear her name to help otherwise under-resourced members attend SAA annual meetings, fostering their careers while also becoming better professionals for the SAA. Teaching Anthropology, Native American Studies, and Latin American Studies at Dartmouth, Deb mentored many women and indigenous students, inspiring new archaeologists and historic preservation professionals. She was an informed, generous colleague who always sought the best in herself and others with an abiding faith in bettering the institutions that made scholarly careers like hers possible.



Figure 1. Deb with student at the Hood Museum, Dartmouth College, 1990. Dartmouth College. Photographer unknown.

Formative "Debbie"

Deborah Louise Nichols was born April 17, 1952, in Queens, New York to Harold L. "Nick" Nichols (1923–1999) and Ada Geraldine "Gerry" (Mallow) Nichols (1924–2008). After serving with the U.S. Air Force in England during the Second World War and attending the University of Missouri on the G.I. Bill, Deb's father worked as an accountant for Shell Oil Company, her mother at Monsanto. They married in St. Louis on May 14, 1949. Shell moved the Nichols to New York City, where they lived in the Fresh Meadows Housing Development in Flushing, an early planned residential and retail community opened in 1947 on the old Fresh Meadows Country Club golf course (Tomasson 1972). "Debbie," as she went by until her early twenties, lived her first years in Fresh Meadows, joined in 1956 by her sister Elizabeth (1956–2019). Deb remembered asking her mother when she started grade school why they were not Jewish like her many classmates absent on high holidays. Her early exposure to things beyond her family's Midwestern background gave Deb a lifelong love of New York City and of traveling to new places that she would pass on to her son Aaron from an early age (Figure 2).

Cite this article: Watanabe, John M. 2025 Deborah L. Nichols 1952–2022. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 36:140–151. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033

© The Author(s), 2025. Published by Cambridge University Press. This is an Open Access article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution licence (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted re-use, distribution and reproduction, provided the original article is properly cited.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

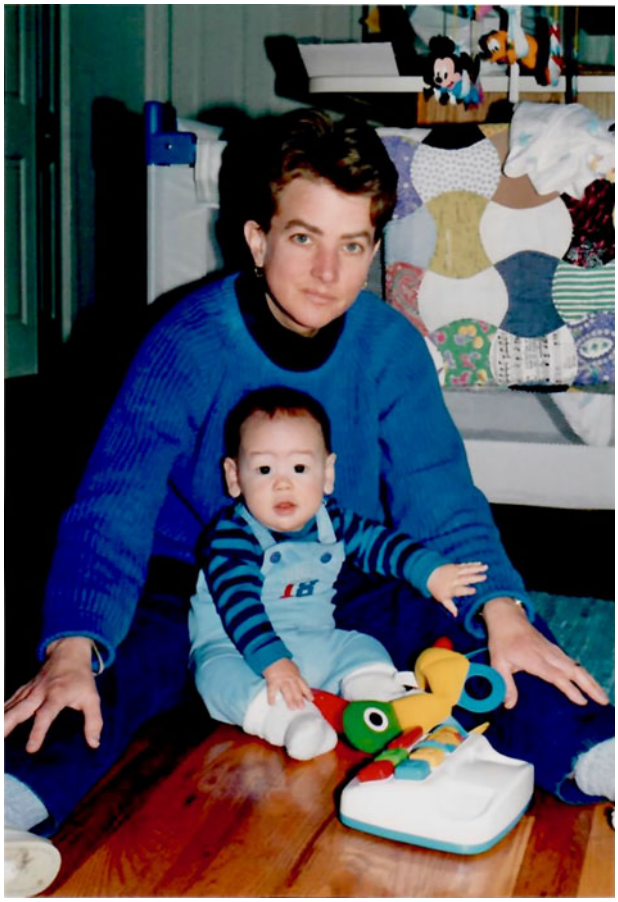


Figure 2. Deb with son Aaron at home, early 1992. Photograph by John Watanabe.



Figure 3. Deb in high school, ca. 1969. Photograph by Karl deSantos.

In 1958, the family moved to Northport on Long Island Sound, lured by post-war U.S. middle-class visions of a single family home on a tree-lined suburban street. Deb recalled learning to swim in Long Island Sound and going to Mets games, although listening to the Yankees play while writing her dissertation rekindled her Yankee fandom, again bequeathed to son Aaron until tempered by college in the heart of Red Sox Nation. She learned the flute and played in her high-school marching band and felt it important Aaron learn an instrument. She attended Northport High, a large, mostly white suburban school with over 600 students in her class. High-school friends Karl "Kito" deSantos and Robert "Bob" Varsha (personal communications 2022) described her as a smart, witty, take-charge person (Figure 3). She had a mind of her own and followed it, persevering when a teacher told her girls could not do math, having a boyfriend two years ahead of her with a background and interests different from hers (but with a Chevy Corvair for jaunts to Fire Island), ever skeptical of "popular" girls who relied too much on their looks. A history teacher recruited her to help manage the Northport boys cross-country team that he coached, so Deb was ready years later to travel all across New England and New York, Oregon, and Iowa for meets when son Aaron became a New Hampshire high-school state champion cross-country and distance runner.

Academically, Deb was an honors student and one of only 15 girls (along with 23 boys) in her class who won New York Regents Scholarships to attend college in New York state. After graduating Northport High in 1970 (Figure 4), she went instead to Case Western Reserve University in Ohio. Until college, as far as anyone recalled, Deb never expressed interest in archaeology, but she and friend Lynne Cohen Reik (personal communication 2022) applied to the Case Western archaeology field school for the summer of 1971, and at the Saige-McFarland Mimbres site in Cliff, New Mexico (Lekson 1990:x, 5), Deb found her calling during that six-and-a-half-week field season. By January 1972, she had transferred to the Pennsylvania State University to study archaeology, following the lead of the field school supervisor, then a graduate student of William T. Sanders at Penn State (Lekson 1990:5; Lynne Cohen Reik, personal communication 2022).

Deb finished her B.A. with highest honors in anthropology a year early in 1973 and entered the Ph.D. program. After her first year, she spent the summer and fall of 1974 on the Cuautitlan Region Settlement Survey, the seventh of eight Basin of Mexico surveys begun by Sanders in 1960 (Sanders and Gorenflo 2007:1). After completing her M.A. thesis on Postclassic Teotihuacan ceramics excavated at Xometla in 1962 but never written up (Nichols and McCullough 1986; Sanders 1986:5), Deb excavated in the Mimbres Valley, New Mexico during the summer of 1975, then that fall helped supervise the last Temascalapa phase

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

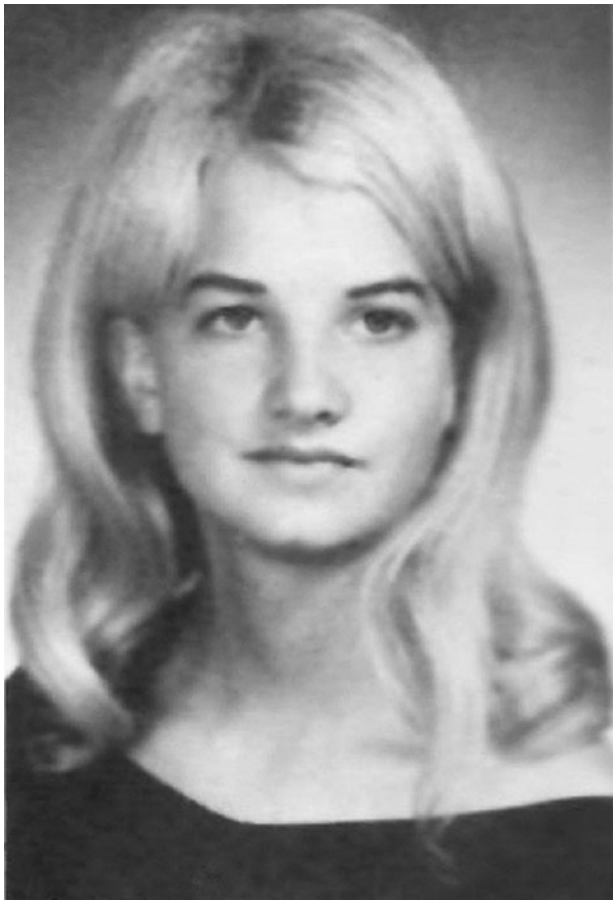


Figure 4. Deb, Northport High School Yearbook, 1970. Photographer unknown.

of the Basin of Mexico survey (Gorenflo and Sanders 2022). In winter 1976–1977, she supervised on David Webster's excavations of three fortified Maya sites in the northern Yucatan Peninsula, learning firsthand how central and southeastern Mesoamerica differed. She also did historic archaeology in Pennsylvania at Fort Augusta in Sunbury in 1979 (Nichols 1980a) and surveys in Scranton and Pittsburgh in 1980.

During her early years in Mexico, Deb began to go by "Deborah" or "Deb" instead of "Debbie," because Mexicans tended to hear "Debbie" as *bebé* "baby," and as a diminutive, blond, blue-eyed *gringa* she wanted to downplay the association. Also, Sanders had nicknamed her "Debbie Reynolds" (Stephen Whittington, personal communication 2022), so perhaps another reason for the change, although Deb did like to dance (Kenneth Hirth, personal communication 2022), and she was not past disputing Sanders when warranted. In 1977, Deb married a Penn State biological anthropology graduate student, and although they divorced in 1982, she never forgot lessons learned on his project in America Samoa in 1978. Besides the oversized aluminum Hudson Cabin Bread tin she kept from Samoa, the other thing to survive Deb's first marriage was her introduction to chiefly politics. Years later, she would still recall complications in Samoan reciprocity that gave her deeper appreciation of household risk, crafting, marketing, status as collective calculations of contending options, obligations, opportunities, oppositions.

Deb's intellectual foundation remained Sanders' "materialist cultural evolutionary and ecological model of the origins and development of Prehispanic civilization in the Basin of Mexico" (Nichols 2023:36; Sanders and Nichols 1988). While ever grounded in ecological and cultural systems as systems, she welcomed theoretical advances in Mesoamerican archaeology on agency, political economy, collective action, and "thematic archaeologies" especially of households (Nichols 2023:37). Without graduate students at Dartmouth, Deb generously mentored other Ph.D. students and junior colleagues. She spent many summers (except in son Aaron's early years) at the now Arizona State University Teotihuacan Research Laboratory in San Juan Teotihuacan, working on her research collections there, connecting with other archaeologists at "the Lab" for projects or just passing through that crossroads of Mesoamerican archaeology (Figure 5).

Deb valued her contact with other women archaeologists: Susan Evans was her self-described "grad-school littermate" (personal communication 2022; Evans and Nichols 2015; Nichols and Evans 2009); Emily McClung de Tapia (personal communication 2022) shared interests in ecology with Deb from their first meeting in 1977; Deb mourned the untimely deaths of Mary Hodge (Nichols and Parsons 1997) and Elizabeth Brumfiel (Nichols 2016a; Parsons and Nichols 2012); Susan Gillespie and Rosemary Joyce brought new perspectives to their shared vision with Deb of archaeology as anthropology (Gillespie and Nichols 2003); Frances Berdan remained her ethnohistorical touchstone for all things Aztec (Nichols et al. 2017); Oralia Cabrera Cortés became her invaluable *compañera* in Mexican archaeology (Figure 6).

Deb maintained close ties across North American Mesoamericanist archaeology through her many coauthors and collaborators: with Bill Sanders, Susan Evans, David Webster, Ken Hirth, Larry Gorenflo at Penn State; George Cowgill, Mike Smith at Arizona State; Jeff Parsons (Nichols 2006), Joyce Marcus at University of Michigan; Bill Fash at Harvard; Dan Healan at Tulane; David and Jenny (and Tony and Danny) Carballo at Boston University; Gary Feinman at the Field Museum; with Mayanists Diane and Arlen Chase, among many; in Mexico, with Emily McClung de Tapia, Rubén Cabrera Castro, Oralia Cabrera Cortés, Saburo Sugiyama, Leonardo López Luján, Sergio Gómez Chávez, and others like Raúl García Chávez who, after hearing her paper for a conference at Ometusco in 2007 (Nichols 2015), exclaimed to Oralia Cabrera (personal communication 2022), "Wow, this Deborah is *superchingona*!"—loosely translated, "a real bad ass."

Another crucial network for Deb consisted of Native American archaeologists and historic preservation professionals. To promote indigenous archaeology, Deb and future SAA President Joe Watkins organized a Dartmouth conference in May 2001 that brought together Native American archaeologists to turn the tables and discuss how they saw archaeology, their place in it, and what might improve archaeology's often fraught relations with indigenous communities and professionals. An unintended consequence of

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Figure 5. Son Aaron's first visit to Teotihuacan, 1997. Photographer uncertain.

the conference emerged first in an email listserv, then a more formal network that came to call itself the Closet Chickens (Atalay 2006:269–271). The Chickens included many but not only indigenous archaeologists, students, and committed others who for a time exchanged ideas, debated, challenged, and grew professionally (Watkins and Nichols 2014). They bestowed on Deb the name "Chicken Itza." She remained lifelong chickens of a feather with conference presenters Dorothy Lippert, Desireé Reneé Martínez, her former Dartmouth students Davina Begay Two-Bears and Janine Bowechop Ledford, Joe Watkins, Roger Echo-Hawk, and many of the attendees. She persevered in recruiting indigenous archaeologists to bring their voices to SAA and American Anthropological Association committees and initiatives.

Early Classic "Deb"

In 1974, the Cuautitlan Region Survey had found indications of early irrigation canals in walls of two huge, 10 m deep barrow pits near Santa Clara Coatitlan on northwest Lake Texcoco. In 1977, Deb returned to the site for her



Figure 6. Deb with Oralia Cabrera (left) and postdoc Rick Smith (right) on her final visit to "the Lab" in Teotihuacan, 2018. Photograph by John Watanabe.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

dissertation on the role of floodwater irrigation (Sanders and Santley 1977) and environmental risk (Sanders and Webster 1978) in early agricultural intensification in the Basin of Mexico (Nichols 1980b, 1982, 1987). This project had all the hallmarks of Deb's archaeology. First, she made significant findings, in this case the still earliest known floodwater irrigation canals in the Basin of Mexico dating to the Late Middle Formative. Second, in attributing such early irrigation to household efforts to minimize risks from erratic rainfall and early frosts in the cooler, semi-arid northern Basin, her anthropological eye caught the human capacities, assessments, and objectives that always inflect the workings of systemic prime movers.

Third, and perhaps most telling, the project demonstrated Deb's indomitable will. Since the 1974 survey, the two barrow pits where she dug had become garbage dumps, and the burning domestic and industrial waste produced toxic smoke and a noxious stink. For nine weeks, Deb and her local crew of twelve (Nichols and Sanders 1978:7) labored to clear meters of alluvial fill to determine the disposition and dates of the canal cross sections exposed on the soon-to-disappear garbage pit walls. Early on, crew members also warned that she had caught the attention of local opportunists, so she had to devise ways to bring the weekly payroll to her crew without getting mugged. Years later, Sanders self-reflected to Larry Gorenflo (personal communication 2022),

> You know, I never really believed that women were cut out for fieldwork in archaeology, but then Debbie Nichols ended up excavating for several weeks on the edge of a trash dump … and every time I visited the excavation, with the bad smell and smoke from trash burning and the overwhelmingly unpleasant setting, I told myself, "Thank goodness she's working on this site, because I could never do it." It changed the way I viewed women in archaeology.

Larry Gorenflo and Bill Fash (personal communications 2022) both tellingly described Deb, for all her collegiality and consideration of others, as "one tough cookie." Even in the midst of chemotherapy she matter-of-factly returned Gorenflo's phone call about complications in Mexico conserving Jeff Parson's research collections after his death. She could also shrug off her story of getting punched in the face by a random angry guy one evening while walking home alone from a grad-student party in State College. Similarly, she once wondered if Santa Clara had given her her cancers, but she shrugged that off too as alternative history she could not change.

A final hallmark of Deb's research lay in her concern for comparison. When near-infrared aerial photographs suggested irrigation canals on the deep alluvial Tlajinga plain south of Teotihuacan's center, Deb's excavations in 1980 dated the earliest canals to Classic or perhaps terminal Formative Teotihuacan (Nichols 1988). Excavations with Mike Spence in 1987 and 1988 did find terminal Formative floodwater irrigation canals under the west Teotihuacan Oaxaca Barrio (Nichols et al. 1991). Together these projects confirmed the early importance of floodwater irrigation not just centrally-directed permanent irrigation in the Teotihuacan Valley (Nichols and Frederick 1993:125–132), and residential construction for Zapotec immigrants over preexisting irrigated fields evidenced growing city power to reshape the landscape.

Classic Deb

Deb's first project as a principle investigator came in her collaboration with Thomas H. Charlton at the Aztec site of Otumba east of Teotihuacan where he had worked since the 1960s. Charlton's visit to Deb's excavations at Santa Clara in 1977 prompted him to excavate similar evidence for irrigation canals in a road cut near Otumba (Nichols and Parsons 2011:696). In 1988–1990 at his invitation (Nichols 2013:77), Deb went to Otumba as a fellow principle investigator to work on Aztec craft production (Nichols and Charlton 1996:232). The project revealed the greatest concentration and widest array of craft workshops yet found in any Late Aztec town. They attributed this to Otumba's greater distance from Tenochtitlan, its access to trade routes beyond the Basin, and Postclassic population growth in the northern Basin that all stimulated local craftworking (Charlton et al. 1991, 2000a, 2000b). Additionally, Otumba had access to obsidian and resident long-distance *pochteca* traders, so local craft producers of obsidian goods, lapidary work, and textiles benefited from more readily available resources and wider markets (Nichols 2013).

Deb wrote specifically on the organization of workshop production at Otumba (Nichols 1994). Concentrations of debitage from lapidary, maguey, and ceramic production, some with domestic refuse, indicated to Deb household-based workshops, with overlapping distributions suggesting part-time producers whose crafting shifted opportunistically (Figure 7). As with floodwater irrigation, Deb saw craft production at Otumba as household decision-making based on need, available resources, labor, and market access that varied by craft. Her specific study of maguey production (Nichols et al. 2000) used the ecology of maguey and the economics of scaling up the labor-intensive processing of maguey fibers into thread and cloth to explain the competitive advantage of perhaps multi-household workshops in producing domestic goods more efficiently than households could alone, if not full-time, then during the agricultural offseason. Deb would later theorize with Liz Brumfiel "intermittent crafting and multicrafting" as central to household archaeology (Brumfiel and Nichols 2009).

Denied full access to project field records, Deb published no other analyses on Otumba beyond overviews of workshop production (Charlton et al. 1993) and ceramics (Charlton et al. 2007), and a paper revising Aztec chronologies from Otumba obsidian hydration and radiocarbon dates (Nichols and Charlton 1996). She resorted instead to editing a comparative volume on the archaeology of city-states (Nichols and Charlton 1997) and extended her previous work on irrigation with comparative studies from elsewhere in the northern Basin (Nichols and Frederick 1993) and Oaxaca (Nichols et al. 2006), integrating agency and political economy into her thinking on emergent elite needs for

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

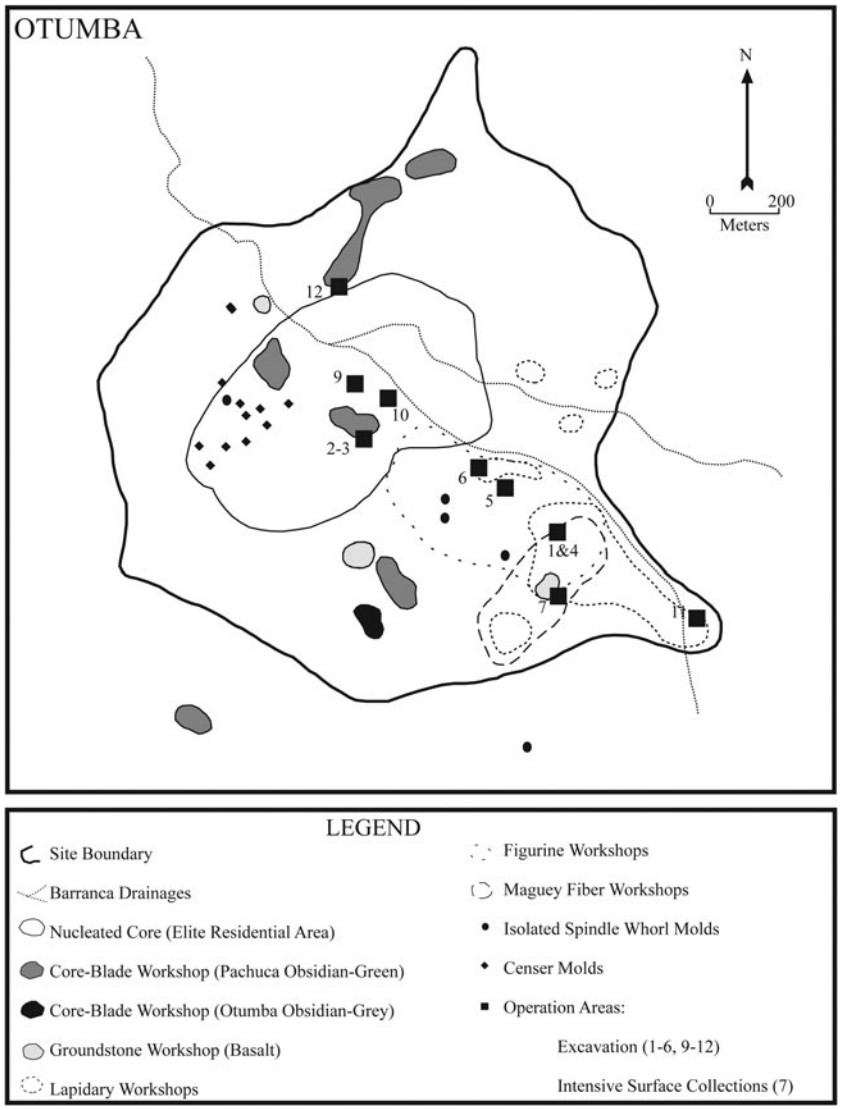


Figure 7. Craft production at Otumba. Map by Deborah Nichols from Nichols 2013:57.

reliable surpluses to underwrite their feasting and status building (Nichols et al. 2006).

Most productively, Deb expanded comparative application of neutron activation analysis (NAA) begun in tracing the sources and distribution of obsidian and ceramic production at Otumba (Charlton et al. 2007; Neff et al. 2000). Here again, Deb's use of NAA represented a logical extension of her work on irrigation and craft production in tracing patterns of exchange across the Basin for their effect on what Aztec households produced. Impressed with Hector Neff's NAA contributions to Mary Hodge's and Leah Minc's pathbreaking studies of ceramic sourcing in the southeastern Basin, Deb coordinated further sampling of clays from across the Basin to refine five geographically distinct "composition groups," then with her coauthors sampled ceramics from Chalco, Xaltocan, and Cerro Portezuelo to trace exchanges across these composition groups from the Epiclassic to colonial times (Nichols et al. 2002). No simple, linear development of an integrated market system emerged but instead a complex interplay of first "solar markets" focused on subregional centers as Epiclassic Teotihuacan declined, then growing cross-regional exchange throughout the Postclassic that shifted with political rivalries between regional centers.

Sampling the ceramics from George Brainerd's excavations at Cerro Portezuelo in the 1950s led to a full-scale reanalysis of Brainerd's materials for what they might reveal about Teotihuacan's relations with its hinterlands (Nichols et al. 2013). The study tempered conventional assumptions of Teotihuacan's absolute economic if not political dominance while also demonstrating the value of restudying older collections from sites lost to Mexico City's growth. Deb's work with Christina Elson on Chiconautla (Nichols et al. 2009) similarly used NAA and Elson's reanalysis of George Vaillant's 1935 excavations there to show how Postclassic pottery markets developed despite volatile political realignments across the Basin.

Deb synthesized these studies of production and exchange in her chapter for *Rethinking the Aztec Economy* (Nichols 2017a), a volume appropriately honoring Frances

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Berdan's retirement from California State University San Bernadino in 2014 (Berdan et al. 2017:13). Deb's analysis of the growing but still partial integration of different markets for different agricultural and craft products across the Postclassic Basin of Mexico nicely exemplified the volume's approach to artifacts as objectified interactions from households interacting in communities and across regions through marketplaces regulated by competing authorities that in turn conditioned household decisions about production and consumption (Hirth et al. 2017).

Late Classic Florescence Deb

In 2009, Deb asked Christopher A. Pool to coedit *The Oxford Handbook of Mesoamerican Archaeology* (Nichols and Pool 2012b). Their introduction reviewed the burgeoning of theoretical approaches since the 1960s, then argued for careful attention to theoretical scope (what any given theory best explained—and did not) and scale (how best to apply theories to their appropriate level of analysis) to keep this "theoretical pluralism" from "devolving into opportunistic cherry-picking to support a pet idea about the past" (Nichols and Pool 2012a:16). Deb would hone this metatheoretical awareness of admissible eclecticism throughout her ensuing research and writing cut short by her death.

Deb's last field project returned her to the Formative Teotihuacan Valley. It began appropriately with Dartmouth honors student Bridget Alex, whose thesis Deb suggested might source ceramics from Altica, an Upper Piedmont Formative site southeast of Teotihuacan. Alex unexpectedly found that some of her sample possibly came from the Gulf Coast (Alex et al. 2012). In 2013, Deb and Olmec specialist Wesley D. Stoner, then a postdoc at the University of Missouri Research Reactor, relocated Altica, misrecorded on 1960s survey maps (Stoner and Nichols 2019b:247), then excavated the site in 2014 (Nichols and Stoner 2019; Stoner and Nichols 2019b); Deb was pleased son Aaron joined the crew. At ca. 1250–800 cal B.C., Altica became the earliest known settled village in the Teotihuacan Valley (Nichols and Stoner 2019:372, 374; Stoner and Nichols 2019b:248, 256). Excavations yielded exotic prestige ceramics, probably from southwestern Puebla (Stoner and Nichols 2019a:326–330). They also confirmed social differentiation even in this small, early settlement, surprisingly evidenced by a large jadeite bead likely from Guatemala's Motagua Valley found in one of four burials at the site (Nichols and Stoner 2019:370–376). The presence of elites, prestige imports, and whatever households were crafting with the exceptionally high proportion of obsidian found in surface collections suggested the early roots of mutual constraint that collective action theory would predict for the rise of corporatist forms of governance then being argued for Teotihuacan (Nichols and Stoner 2019:377–378).

Findings from Altica thus supported Deb's conference paper from Ometusco in 2007 (Nichols 2015) that analyzed Formative agricultural intensification in the Basin of Mexico as a nexus of household-controlled production and elite quests for preeminence, each mediated by regional versus interregional exchange, with the massive reorganization and reorientation of terminal Formative Teotihuacan an effort by early city elites to shape "a new *sense of order* with Teotihuacan at its center" (Nichols 2015:415, original emphasis) still at odds with other corporate identities in the city and beyond. In 2012, Deb wrote a near forty-page review paper of research at Teotihuacan (with a bibliography as long) (Nichols 2016b) that informed her paper for a Dumbarton Oaks conference in 2017 assessing models of Teotihuacan urbanism and relations with its hinterlands. She masterfully concluded by posing unresolved questions of dating, provisioning, economy, administration, and ideology and how each hinterland might address them (Nichols 2020).

Deb's work on the Postclassic culminated with two award-winning projects. The first involved Oxford's invitation in 2013 to edit *The Oxford Handbook of the Aztecs* that she asked Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría to coedit (Nichols and Rodríguez-Alegría 2017). *Choice Reviews* rated the *Handbook* "essential" (Mendoza 2017) and selected it as one of its Outstanding Academic Titles of 2017. The second project began as the 2015 SAA session Deb organized with Mike Smith to honor Frannie Berdan. The Amerind Foundation selected the session for a follow-up intensive research seminar at their center in Arizona (Berdan et al. 2017:13) and published the results in *Rethinking the Aztec Economy* (Nichols et al. 2017). In reviewing these two books, along with Ken Hirth's *The Aztec Economic World* (2016), Gary Feinman (2017) praised their treatment of the Aztec economy as household based yet fully commercial except for low commodification of land, labor, and capital. This finessing of long-stale, overpolarized formalist-substantivist debates heralded for him a "new paradigmatic era" in the study not only of the Aztec economy, but also of ancient economies more generally (Feinman 2017:1665).

Perhaps fittingly, in literally her final single-authored paper, published posthumously in 2023 but originating in her Gordon R. Willey Lecture at Harvard in 2018, Deb chronicled "The Evolution of a Revolution," doubly referencing developments in Sanders' "revolutionary" Basin of Mexico survey and the need to qualify V. Gordon Childe's "urban revolution" as presumptively Old World (Nichols 2023:27–28). She placed Sanders' full-coverage surveys and René Millon's Teotihuacan Mapping Project—itself revolutionary in proving Teotihuacan a New World city (Nichols 2017b)—in their wider intellectual and social histories, arguing that together both projects went beyond "the evolution of a civilization" in Mesoamerica to reframe "big questions" for urbanism and its long term ecological consequences everywhere. Unintentionally, if inescapably, Deb documented her own 50 year contribution to this "evolution" in understanding what made settlement, cities—and yes, "civilizations"—possible. More than evolutionary, however, her account of Sanders' and Millon's tranformative inducements to new methods, technologies, theories, restudies, collaborations in fact better suited Thomas Kuhn's (1970, 1990) model for a paradigm-shifting "scientific revolution" because for Kuhn such revolutions occurred not by self-aggrandizing proclamation, but through

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

unselfconscious grappling with "anomalies" in "normal science" that eventually led to "exemplary achievements" built as much as possible on that normal science but endowing a community of innovators with a new, more compelling, productive "lexicon" to explain their object of inquiry. Deb's matter-of-fact exposition could have no better substantiated Feinman's sense of such a paradigm shift, but with the archaeology she had known and helped grow itself the scientific revolution.

Terminal Classic Deb

Despite her archaeologist's calling, Deb never dwelt on her own past. She seldom reminisced or self-reflected about her life but instead always looked to the future and what she needed to do to make it happen. Whatever in life brought her to who she was, people remembered her as "kind," but her consideration was never softhearted or solicitous. She gladly accommodated others, especially those otherwise overlooked, but she never did it to appease, and woe to the overly presumptuous who mistook inclusion for deference. They could find her insistent, if not intimidating, but she could also disarm them with that not-taking-myself-too-seriously roll of her eyes and her quick, crooked smile (Figure 8). Deb genuinely cared about others and wanted them treated as she would want to be.

A devout realist and pragmatist, Deb most appreciated people who did what they did well and wanted to improve. She never made anyone who came to her feel they were not good enough, but she pulled no punches about the high expectations facing them if they wanted to succeed. This came in part from having to prove herself as a woman (and field archaeologist to boot) in a still male-dominated academy. Even in 1985 when Deb arrived at Dartmouth, only five women held tenure in the social sciences. Entire pages of the faculty directory had no women on them at all (Figure 9). Deb was the first woman tenured in anthropology in 1990; there would not be a second for 22 years. In class, she found frat boys in the back with baseball caps askew mocking women students who spoke too often. She despaired at first of ever fulfilling, much less changing, their visions of the Ciceronian "Dartmouth Professor."

Rather than succumb to bitter resentment or self-righteous victimhood, or even chip-on-her-shoulder vindication, Deb worked hard so students and colleagues alike recognized her know-how. Quick to figure out the system, she tweaked it (in both senses) even as she succeeded in it. She also understood the redemptive power of institutions: more than bastions of tradition and privilege, places like Dartmouth had the people and resources to nurture uncommon interests, ideals, efforts, and in the end, accomplishment, but this could only happen if everyone gave their best for everyone together, not just for some individually. Many times she declined to call out colleagues who needed calling out because she never wanted it to be about her or them but about getting things done. It bothered her when those in positions to help would not, or worse, could never be bothered. As with the meeting access grants she



Figure 8. Deb on her last trip abroad in New Zealand, 2020. Photographer unknown.



Figure 9. Deb, Dartmouth Faculty Directory, 1986. Dartmouth College. Photographer unknown.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

championed as SAA President, she wanted to make institutions more open and inclusive, but she also respected the need for precedence, procedures, standards as imperfect if always malleable means to greater fairness and achievement.

Deb walked the talk. At Dartmouth, she chaired the Department of Anthropology multiple times; convened DAWG, the interdisciplinary Dartmouth Archaeology Working Group (2016–2020); and sat on endless committees. Professionally, she served repeatedly on NSF and NEH review panels, as chair-elect and chair AAA Archaeology Division (1997–2001), convener AAA Section Assembly (2000–2001), elected member Society for Economic Anthropology Executive Board (2002–2005), elected member AAA Executive Board (2005–2008), Editorial Board member *Ancient Mesoamerica* (2008–2022) among others, chair AAA Committee on the Future of Electronic and Print Publishing (2009–2015), chair SAA Publications Committee (2011–2015), Editorial Board member *Annual Review of Anthropology* (2012–2016), SAA Treasurer-elect and Treasurer (2015–2018), SAA Executive Committee and Board of Directors member (2016–2018), chair SAA Nominations Committee (2018–2019), chair SAA King Family Grant for Precolumbian Archaeology Task Force and Review Committee (2018–2020), AAA Archaeology Division Director of Publications (2019–2022), SAA President-elect and President (2020–2022). When Deb decided to quit the ICU for hospice care, the first thing she did was resign her presidency. The SAA Board met the next week on the afternoon she died and upon hearing the news rejected her resignation so she remained president to the end. For all that others saw as dedication to the SAA, in truth she was most herself in her final months when doing SAA business on Zoom or by phone because those were things she could still get done in an ever narrowing world where she already knew everything else would go forever left undone. The SAA indeed proved a final redemptive gift.

In all, Deb held six major NSF grants, one from the National Geographic Society. She received two AAA President's Awards (2008, 2015) and three SAA Presidential Recognition |Awards (2014, 2019, 2023), the last posthumously. Despite her not being a Mayanist, Bill Fash invited her to give the Gordon R. Willey Lecture at Harvard in 2018. She also received the Outstanding Alumni Award from the Department of Anthropology at Penn State in 2019. At Dartmouth, she became the William J. Bryant 1925 Professor of Anthropology in 2002 and received awards for innovative teaching, mentoring, and advising. Recognition by her peers meant the world to Deb because, ever the realist, she never expected it.

Deb was the last Nichols, having survived her father, mother, and sister (her father was an only child, her sister had none). She leaves behind "the Cousins" and their families on her mother's side; brother-in-law Daniel Wilson; husband John Watanabe (Figure 10); and her son, Aaron



Figure 10. Deb married John Watanabe on the deck of their new house, August 4, 1990; she died a week before their thirty-second anniversary. Photograph by Noel Barbulesco.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

E. Watanabe, of whom she was prouder than anything else she ever did; she most grieved not getting to know where else life would take him. Deb's papers are being archived at the Tozzer Library, Harvard University.

Acknowledgments. Nan Gonlin first suggested I write this shortly after Deb's death. I thank her for her advice, support, and patience. When Deb went into hospice, emails flooded in for us to read to her, and I have drawn on all 46 pages of them to capture what she meant to others; thank you all again for your last reflections that Deb (and Aaron and I) so gratefully received. Susan Evans, David Webster, Larry Gorenflo, Bill Fash, Ian Roberson, Oralia Cabrera, and David Carballo all helped with comments, corrections, and additions, but no blame to them, just me.

References

Alex, Bridget A., Deborah L. Nichols, and Michael D. Glascock
2012 Complementary Compositional Analysis of Formative Period Ceramics from the Teotihuacan Valley. *Archaeometry* 54:821–834.

Atalay, Sonya
2006 Decolonizing Archaeology. *American Indian Quarterly* 30:269–279.

Berdan, Frances F., Kenneth G. Hirth, Deborah L. Nichols, and Michael E. Smith
2017 Introduction. In *Rethinking the Aztec Economy*, edited by Deborah L. Nichols, Frances F. Berdan, and Michael E. Smith, pp. 3–16. Amerind Studies in Anthropology. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M., and Deborah L. Nichols
2009 Bitumen, Blades, and Beads: Prehispanic Craft Production and the Domestic Economy. In *Housework: Craft Production and Domestic Economy in Ancient Mesoamerica*, edited by Kenneth G. Hirth. Special issue, *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 19:239–251.

Charlton, Cynthia O., Thomas H. Charlton, and Deborah L. Nichols
1993 Aztec Household-Based Craft Production: Archaeological Evidence from the City-State of Otumba, Mexico. In *Prehispanic Domestic Units in Western Mesoamerica: Studies of the Household, Compound, and Residence*, edited by Robert S. Santley and Kenneth G. Hirth, pp. 147–171. CRC Press, Boca Raton.

Charlton, Thomas H., Cynthia L. Otis Charlton, Deborah L. Nichols, and Hector Neff
2007 Aztec Otumba: A.D. 1200–1600: Patterns of the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Ceramic Products. In *Pottery Economics in Mesoamerica*, edited by Christopher A. Pool and George J. Bey III, pp. 237–266. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Charlton, Thomas H., Deborah L. Nichols, and Cynthia Otis Charlton
1991 Aztec Craft Production and Specialization: Evidence from the City-State of Otumba, Mexico. *World Archaeology* 23:98–144.
2000a Otumba and Its Neighbors: *Ex oriente lux*. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11:247–265. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536100112088.
2000b The Otumba Project: A Review and Status Report. In *The Teotihuacan Valley Final Report, Vol 5: The Aztec Period Occupation of the Valley, Part 2 Excavations at T.A. 40 and Related Projects*, edited by William T. Sanders and Susan Toby Evans, pp. 841–887. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 26. Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

Evans, Susan Toby, and Deborah L. Nichols
2015 Water Temples and Civil Engineering at Teotihuacan, Mexico. In *Human Adaptation in Ancient Mesoamerica: Empirical Approaches to Mesoamerican Archaeology*, edited by Nancy Gonlin and Kirk D. French, pp. 25–51. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Feinman, Gary M.
2017 Aztec Political Economy: A New Conceptual Frame. *Antiquity* 91:1663–1666.

Gillespie, Susan D., and Deborah L. Nichols (editors)
2003 *Archaeology Is Anthropology*. Special issue, *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 13:3–171.

Gorenflo, L.J., and William T. Sanders
2022 *Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Temascalapa Region, Mexico*. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 31. Department of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

Hirth, Kenneth G.
2016 *The Aztec Economic World: Merchants and Markets in Ancient Mesoamerica*. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Hirth, Kenneth G., Michael E. Smith, Frances F. Berdan, and Deborah L. Nichols
2017 Wrapping Up Objects, Economy, and Empire: Scale, Integration, and Change. In *Rethinking the Aztec Economy*, edited by Deborah L. Nichols, Frances F. Berdan, and Michael E. Smith, pp. 278–291. Amerind Studies in Anthropology. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Kuhn Thomas S.
1970 *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd edition, enlarged. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
1990 The Road since Structure. *Proceedings of the Biennial Meeting of the Philosophy of Science Association* 1990(2):3–13.

Lekson, Stephen H.
1990 *Mimbres Archaeology of the Upper Gila, New Mexico*. Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona No. 53. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Mendoza, Rubén G.
2017 The Oxford Handbook of the Aztecs. *Choice Reviews* 55. https://www.choicereviews.org/review/10.5860/CHOICE.203854. Accessed July 15, 2024

Neff, Hector, Michael D. Glascock, Thomas H. Charlton, Cynthia Otis Charlton, and Deborah L. Nichols
2000 Provenience Investigation of Ceramics and Obsidian from Otumba. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11:307–321. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536100112064.

Nichols, Deborah L.
1980a Field Report on the 1979 Excavations at 36 Nb 71, Fort Augusta, Sunbury, Pennsylvania. *The Northumberland County Historical Society, Proceedings and Addresses*, Vol. 28, pp. 102–129. Precision Printers, Sunbury.
1980b *Prehispanic Settlement and Land Use in the Northwestern Basin of Mexico, the Cuautitlan Region*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, University Park.
1982 A Middle Formative Irrigation System near Santa Clara Coatitlan in the Basin of Mexico. *American Antiquity* 47:133–144.
1987 Risk and Agricultural Intensification during the Formative Period in the Northern Basin of Mexico. *American Anthropologist* 89:596–616.
1988 Infrared Aerial Photography and Prehispanic Irrigation at Teotihuacán: The Tlajinga Canals. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 15:17–27.
1994 The Organization of Provincial Craft Production and the Aztec City-State of Otumba. In *Economies and Polities in the Aztec Realm*, edited by Mary G. Hodge and Michael E. Smith, pp. 175–193. Studies on Culture and Society, Vol. 6. Institute of Mesoamerican Studies, Albany.
2006 Archaeology on Foot: Jeffrey Parsons and the University of Michigan. In *Retrospectives: Works and Lives of Michigan Anthropologists*, edited by Derek Pomeroy Brereton, pp. 106–135. Michigan Discussions in Anthropology, Vol. 16. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
2013 Merchants and Merchandise: The Archaeology of Aztec Commerce at Otumba, Mexico. In *Merchants, Markets, and Exchange in the Pre-Columbian World*, edited by Kenneth G. Hirth and Joanne Pillsbury, pp. 49–83. Dumbarton Oaks Pre-Columbian Symposia and Colloquia. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.
2015 Intensive Agriculture and Early Complex Societies of the Basin of Mexico: The Formative Period. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 26:407–421. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536115000279.
2016a Rethinking Huitzilopochtli's Conquest: Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, Social Theory, and the Aztecs of Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 27:153–162. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536116000122.
2016b Teotihuacan. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 24:1–74.
2017a From Farm to Market in the Aztec Imperial Economy. In *Rethinking the Aztec Economy*, edited by Deborah L. Nichols, Frances F. Berdan, and Michael E. Smith, pp. 19–42. Amerind Studies in Anthropology. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
2017b René Millon, 1921–2016. *Biographical Memoirs*. National Academy of Sciences, https://www.nasonline.org/directory-entry/rene-millon-yia4p7/ (accessed February 11, 2025).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

2020 City, State, and Hinterlands: Teotihuacan and Central Mexico. In *Teotihuacan, the World Beyond the City*, edited by Kenneth G. Hirth, David M. Carballo, and Barbara Arroyo, pp. 227–275. Dumbarton Oaks Pre-Columbian Symposia and Colloquia. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.
2023 The Evolution of a Revolution: *The Basin of Mexico: Ecological Processes in the Evolution of a Civilization*. In *The Legacies of the Basin of Mexico*, edited by Carlos E. Cordova and Christopher T. Morehart, pp. 27–61. University Press of Colorado, Denver.

Nichols, Deborah L., Frances F. Berdan, and Michael E. Smith (editors)
2017 *Rethinking the Aztec Economy*. Amerind Studies in Anthropology. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Nichols, Deborah L., Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, Hector Neff, Mary Hodge, Thomas H. Charlton, and Michael Glascock
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, Deborah L., and Thomas H. Charlton
1996 The Postclassic Occupation at Otumba: A Chronological Assessment. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 7:231–244. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536100001449.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Thomas H. Charlton (editors)
1997 *The Archaeology of City-States: Cross Cultural Approaches*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Patricia L. Crown (editors)
2008 *Social Violence in the Prehispanic American Southwest*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Nichols, Deborah L., Christina Elson, Leslie G. Cecil, Nina Neivens de Estrada, Michael D. Glascock, and Paula Mikkelsen
2009 Chiconautla, Mexico: A Crossroads of Aztec Trade and Politics. *Latin American Antiquity* 20:443–472.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Susan Toby Evans
2009 Aztec Studies. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 20:265–270. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536109990101.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Charles D. Frederick
1993 Irrigation Canals and Chinampas: Recent Research in the Northern Basin of Mexico. In *Economic Aspects of Water Management in the Prehispanic New World*, edited by Vernon L. Scarborough and Barry L. Isaac, pp. 123–150. Research in Economic Anthropology Supplement No. 7. JAI Press, Greenwich.

Nichols, Deborah L., Charles D. Frederick, Luis Morett Alatorre, and Fernando Sánchez Martínez
2006 Water Management and Political Economy in Formative Period Central Mexico. In *Precolumbian Water Management: Ideology, Ritual, and Power*, edited by Lisa J. Lucero and Barbara W. Fash, pp. 51–66. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Nichols, Deborah L., and John McCullough
1986 Excavations at Xometla (TT–21). In *The Teotihuacan Valley Project Final Report, Vol. 4: The Toltec Period Occupation of the Valley, Part 1 Excavations and Ceramics*, edited by William T. Sanders, pp. 53–193. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 13. Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

Nichols, Deborah L., Mary Jane McLaughlin, and Maura Benton
2000 Production Intensification and Regional Specialization: Maguey Fibers and Textiles in the Aztec City-State of Otumba. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11:267–291. https://doi.org/10.1017/S095653610011106X.

Nichols, Deborah L., Hector Neff, and George L. Cowgill
2013 Cerro Portezuelo: States and Hinterlands in the Pre-Hispanic Basin of Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 24:47–71. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536113000035.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Jeffrey R. Parsons
1997 Mary G. *Hodge, 1946–1996. Ancient Mesoamerica* 8:161–164. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536100001656.
2011 Thomas H. *Charlton (1938–2010). American Anthropologist* 113:695–698.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Christopher A. Pool
2012a Mesoamerican Archaeology: Recent Trends. In *The Oxford Handbook of Mesoamerican Archaeology*, edited by Deborah L. Nichols and Christopher A. Pool, pp. 1–28. Oxford University Press, New York.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Christopher A. Pool (editors)
2012b *The Oxford Handbook of Mesoamerican Archaeology*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría (editors)
2017 *The Oxford Handbook of the Aztecs*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Nichols, Deborah, and William T. Sanders
1978 *Informe de la excavación de QF–126, Santa Clara Coatitlán, México, D.F.* Unpublished report to the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.

Nichols, Deborah L., Michael W. Spence, and Mark D. Borland
1991 Watering the Fields of Teotihuacan: Early Irrigation at the Ancient City. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 2:119–129. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536100000432.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Wesley D. Stoner
2019 Before Teotihuacan—Altica, Exchange, Interactions, and the Origins of Complex Society in the Northeast Basin of Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 30:369–382. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536118000305.

Parsons, Jeffrey T., and Deborah L. Nichols
2012 Elizabeth M. Brumfiel (1945–2012). *American Anthropologist* 114:713–716.

Powell, Shirley, Peter P. Andrews, Deborah L. Nichols, and F. E. Smiley
1983 Fifteen Years on the Rock: Archaeological Research, Administration, and Compliance on Black Mesa, Arizona. *American Antiquity* 48:228–252.

Sanders, William T. (editor)
1986 *The Teotihuacan Valley Project Final Report, Vol. 4: The Toltec Period Occupation of the Valley, Part 1 Excavations and Ceramics*. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 13. Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

Sanders, William T., and L. J. Gorenflo
2007 *Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Cuautitlan Region, Mexico*. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 29. Department of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

Sanders, William T., and Deborah L. Nichols
1988 Ecological Theory and Cultural Evolution in the Valley of Oaxaca. *Current Anthropology* 29:33–80.

Sanders, William T., and Robert S. Santley
1977 A Prehispanic Irrigation System near Santa Clara Xalostoc in the Basin of Mexico. *American Antiquity* 42:582–588.

Sanders, William T., and David Webster
1978 Unilinealism, Multilinealism, and the Evolution of Complex Societies. In *Social Archaeology: Beyond Subsistence and Dating*, edited by Charles L. Redman, Mary Jane Berman, Edward V. Curtin, William T. Langhorne Jr, Nina M. Versaggi, and Jeffrey C. Wanser, pp. 249–302. Academic Press, New York.

Stoner Wesley D., and Deborah L. Nichols
2019a Pottery Trade and the Formation of Early and Middle Formative Style Horizons as Seen from Central Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 30:311–337. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536118000330.
2019b The Altica Project: Reframing the Formative Basin of Mexico. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 30:247–265. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536118000421.

Tomasson, Robert E.
1972 Housing in Fresh Meadows Is Sold by New York Life. *New York Times*, 2 August:41, New York.

Watkins, Joe, and Deborah L. Nichols
2014 Closet Chickens. In *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, Vol. 2, edited by Claire Smith, pp. 1505–1507. Springer Science+Business Media, New York. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-0465-2_32.

Additional works not cited (not including chapters in cited books, encyclopedia entries, book reviews)

Andrews, Peter, P., Robert Layhe, Deborah L. Nichols, and Shirley Powell (editors)
1982 *Excavations on Black Mesa, 1980: A Descriptive Report*. Center for Archaeological Investigations Research Paper No. 24. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Charlton, Thomas H., and Deborah L. Nichols
1990 Los procesos de desarrollo de los estados tempranos: el caso del estado azteca de Otumba. *Consejo de Arqueología Boletín* 1989:25–29.
1991 Los procesos de desarrollo de los estados tempranos: el caso del estado de Otumba. *Consejo de Arqueología Boletîn* 1990:70–74.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press

1992 Late Postclassic and Colonial Period Elites at Otumba, Mexico: The Archaeological Dimensions. In *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment*, edited by Diane Z. Chase and Arlen F. Chase, pp. 242–258. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
2005 Settlement Pattern Archaeology in the Teotihuacan Valley and the Adjacent Northeastern Basin of Mexico A. P. (After Parsons). In *Settlement, Subsistence, and Social Complexity: Essays Honoring the Legacy of Jeffrey R. Parsons*, edited by Richard E. Blanton, pp. 43–62. University of California Los Angeles Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, Los Angeles.

Chicoine, David, and Deborah L. Nichols
2022 *The Great Transformation of Maya Archaeology: Economies and Their Embeddedness*. Unpublished manuscript intended for a volume titled Ancient Maya Embedded Economies, edited by Bernadette Cap and Rachel Horowitz, under review at University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Crider, Destiny, Deborah L. Nichols, and Christopher P. Garraty
2018 Ceramic Production in the Teotihuacan Valley: Toward a Microregional Understanding. In *City, Craft, and Residence in Mesoamerica: Research Papers Presented in Honor of Dan M. Healan*, edited by Ronald K. Faulseit, Nezahualcoyotl Xiutecutli, and Haley Holt-Mehta, pp. 85–112. Middle American Research Institute Publication 72. Tulane University, New Orleans.

Crider, Destiny, Deborah L. Nichols, Hector Neff, and Michael D. Glascock
2007 In the Aftermath of Teotihuacan: Epiclassic Pottery Production and Distribution in the Teotihuacan Valley, Mexico. *Latin American Antiquity* 18:123–143.

Gorenflo, L. J., Deborah L. Nichols, John D. Speth, Mari Carmen Serra Puche, and Ramiro Matos M.
2022 Jeffery R. Parsons (October 9, 1939–March 19, 2021): A Regional Perspective . . . and Beyond. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 33:1–22. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536122000050.

Gorenflo, L. J., Ian G. Robertson, and Deborah L. Nichols
2024 The Basin of Mexico: Revisiting Pre-Hispanic Population. In *Ancient Mesoamerican Population History: Urbanism, Social Complexity, and Change*, edited by Adrien S. Z. Chase, Arlen F. Chase, and Diane Z. Chase, pp. 269–308. Amerind Studies in Anthropology. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Henderson, John, and Deborah L. Nichols
2000 Archaeology: Mesoamerica. In *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 57, edited by Lawrence Boudon, pp. 3–43. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Nichols, Deborah L.
1987 Comment on Donald V. Kurtz, The Economics of Urbanization and State Formation at Teotihuacan. *Current Anthropology* 28:343–344.
1989 Reply to Feinman and Nicholas: There is No Frost in the Basin of Mexico? *American Anthropologist* 91:1023–1026.
1996 An Overview of Regional Settlement Pattern Survey in Mesoamerica: 1960–1995. In *Arqueología Mesoamericana: Homenaje a William T. Sanders*, Vol. 1, edited by A. Guadalupe Mastache, Jeffrey R. Parsons, Mari Carmen Serre Puche, and Robert S. Santley, pp. 59–96. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.
2000 Archaic States: Review Essay. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 27:354–359.
2001 Teotihuacan and the Development of Postclassic Mesoamerica: A Review Essay. *Latin American Antiquity* 12:334–336.
2002 Basketmaker III: Early Ceramic-Period Villages in the Kayenta Region. In *Prehistoric Culture Change on the Colorado Plateau: Ten Thousand Years on Black Mesa*, edited by Shirley Powell and Francis. E. Smiley, pp. 66–75. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
2004 The Rural and Urban Landscapes of the Aztec State. In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, edited by Julia Hendon and Rosemary Joyce, pp. 265–295. Blackwell, Oxford.
2006 Shining Stars and Black Holes: Population and Preindustrial Cities. In *Urbanism in the Preindustrial World: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, edited by Glenn R. Storey, pp. 330–340. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
2007 Appendix D: Results of the Archaeological Investigations of a Prehispanic Irrigation System near Santa Clara Coatitlan, Mexico. In *Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Cuautitlan Region, Mexico*, edited by William T. Sanders and L. J. Gorenflo, pp. 317–326. Occasional Papers in Anthropology No. 29. Department of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, University Park.
2008 Artisans, Markets, and Merchants. In *The Aztec World*, edited by Elizabeth M. Brumfiel and Gary M. Feinman, pp. 105–120. Abrams, New York.
2013 In the Shadow of the Pyramids: The Postclassic Teotihuacan Valley. In *Constructing, Deconstructing, and Reconstructing Social Identity: 2,000 Years of Monumentality in Teotihuacan and Cholula, Mexico*, edited by Saburo Sugiyama, Shigeru Kabata, Tomoko Taniguchi, and Etsuko Niwa, pp. 65–82. Cultural Symbiosis Research Institute, Aichi Prefectural University, Japan.
2018 Agricultural Practices and Environmental Impacts of Aztec and Pre-Aztec Central Mexico. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Environmental Science*, edited by Peter Bogucki. Oxford University Press, New York. 27 pages https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199389414.013.175.

Nichols, Deborah L., Anthony Klesert, and Roger Anyon
1990 Ancestral Sites, Shrines, and Graves: Native American Perspectives on the Ethics of Collecting Cultural Properties. In *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?*, edited by Phyllis Mauch Messenger, pp. 27–38. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Nichols, Deborah L., and Shirley Powell
1987 Demographic Reconstructions in the American Southwest: Alternative Behavioral Means to the Same Archaeological Ends. *Kiva* 52(3):193–207.

Nichols, Deborah L., and F. E. Smiley (editors)
1984 *Excavations on Black Mesa, 1982: A Descriptive Report*. Center for Archaeological Investigations Research Paper No. 39. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Smiley, Frances E., Deborah L. Nichols, and Peter P. Andrews (editors)
1983 *Excavations on Black Mesa, 1981: A Descriptive Report*. Center for Archaeological Investigations Research Paper No. 36. Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Stoner, Wesley D., and Deborah L. Nichols
2022 Shifting Ceramic Styles in the Formative Basin of Mexico. In *Framing Complexity in Formative Mesoamerica*, edited by Lisa DeLance and Gary M. Feinman, pp. 144–169. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
2024 Early and Middle Formative Interactions and Central Mexico. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Olmec*, edited by Christopher Pool and Carl Wendt. Oxford University Press, New York. In press.

Stoner, Wesley D., Deborah L. Nichols, Bridget A. Alex, Destiny L. Crider
2015 The Emergence of Early–Middle Formative Exchange Patterns in Mesoamerica: The View from Altica in the Teotihuacan Valley. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 39:19–35.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956536125000033 Published online by Cambridge University Press