

FIRST REPORT OF A NEWLY DISCOVERED PALEOINDIAN QUARRY SITE ON THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA

Georges A. Pearson

An archaeological survey on the Azuero Peninsula in Panama has recently discovered a Paleoindian quarry/workshop at the base of a quartz outcrop. The Nieto site contains seldom-seen preforms and flake blanks that provide new information on early-stage reduction strategies used by Clovis-like point makers in the Neotropics. Finished tools recovered at the site include graters, side scrapers, and large scraper planes. The production of flake blanks followed a core reduction and rejuvenation strategy already observed at other Paleoindian sites in Costa Rica and Florida. Although the quartz outcrop is located only a few kilometers away from better-quality sources of jasper and chert, Paleoindians appear to have preferred this translucent stone for their weaponry. This new information, when combined with late-stage production strategies previously recorded from other Panamanian sites, brings us closer to tracing a complete manufacturing trajectory for Clovis-like points on the Isthmus. It is hoped that data from the Nieto quarry/workshop will eventually help archaeologists determine if the presence of the fluting technique in Central and South America is attributable to a migration of Clovis-related people or a technological diffusion among pre-established southerly populations.

Investigaciones arqueológicas llevadas a cabo recientemente en la Península Azuero, Panamá, ha dado como resultado el descubrimiento de una cantera/taller perteneciente al Horizonte Paleoindio, localizada en la base de un afloramiento de cuarzo. Sitio Nieto contiene preformas poco comunes, y lascas nodulares que proporcionan nuevos datos en relación a las estrategias tempranas de reducción empleadas en el Neotrópico. Entre las herramientas recuperadas en el sitio se incluyen picos, raspadores laterales, y grandes raspadores planos. Las lascas obtenidas como resultado del proceso de reducción de talla y estrategias de rejuvenecimiento son similares a las observadas previamente en otros sitios paleoindios de Costa Rica y Florida. Existen algunos afloramientos de jaspes y pedernal próximos a la cantera/taller de cuarzo de Sitio Nieto, por lo que pensamos que los pobladores paleoindios parecen haber tenido una clara preferencia por el cuarzo con el objeto de elaborar su utillaje de piedra. Los nuevos datos obtenidos sobre técnicas de manufactura tempranas conectan con las estrategias tardías registradas en otros sitios de Panamá, gracias a lo cual hemos podido realizar un trazado aproximado de la trayectoria de producción de las puntas Clovis en el Istmo. Esperamos que los datos de la cantera/taller de Sitio Nieto tarde o temprano ayuden a los arqueólogos a determinar si la presencia de la técnica de acanalado paleoindio, en América Central y América del Sur, es atribuible a una migración de poblaciones Clovis, o bien si está relacionada con una difusión tecnológica entre poblaciones pre-establecidas del sur.

Mounting evidence has challenged the “Clovis First” model of the peopling of the Americas to the point where it may no longer be tenable. In North America, excavations at the Meadowcroft (Adovasio et al. 1978, 1999; Goldberg 1999), Cactus Hill (Johnson 1998; McAvoy and McAvoy 1997), Topper (Goodyear 1999, 2000), Schaefer, and Hebior (Overstreet and Stafford 1997; Overstreet et al. 1995) sites have provided evidence of human occupations possibly antedating Clovis. Similar claims have also been made for South American sites such as Monte Verde

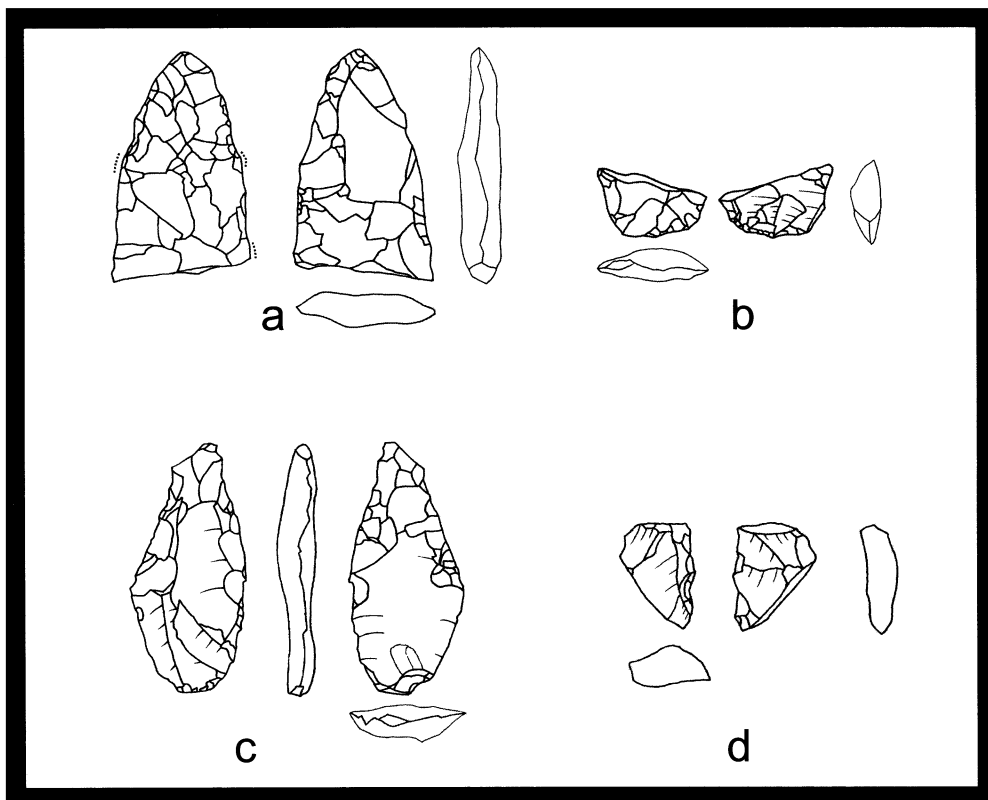
(Dillehay 1989, 1997; Meltzer et al. 1997), Taimaita (Ochsenius and Gruhn 1979), Tibitó (Correal 1981, 1986), Pubenza (Correal 1993), El Abra 2 (Correal and van der Hammen 1977; Hurt et al. 1977), and Lapa Vermelha (Laming-Empéaire et al. 1975; Prous 1986), to name a few. Although the existence of pre-Clovis groups is now more widely accepted, interpretation of the data from many of these early occupations has not been unanimous and debates persist (Dillehay et al. 1999; Fiedel 1999; Lynch 2001).

Over the years, the feasibility of a passage

Georges A. Pearson ■ Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas, 622 Fraser Hall, 1415 Jayhawk Blvd. Lawrence, KS 66045-7556 (ftgap@ku.edu)

LATIN AMERICAN ANTIQUITY

VOLUME 14 NUMBER 3 SEPTEMBER 2003



SAA
[Decorative graphic element]

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

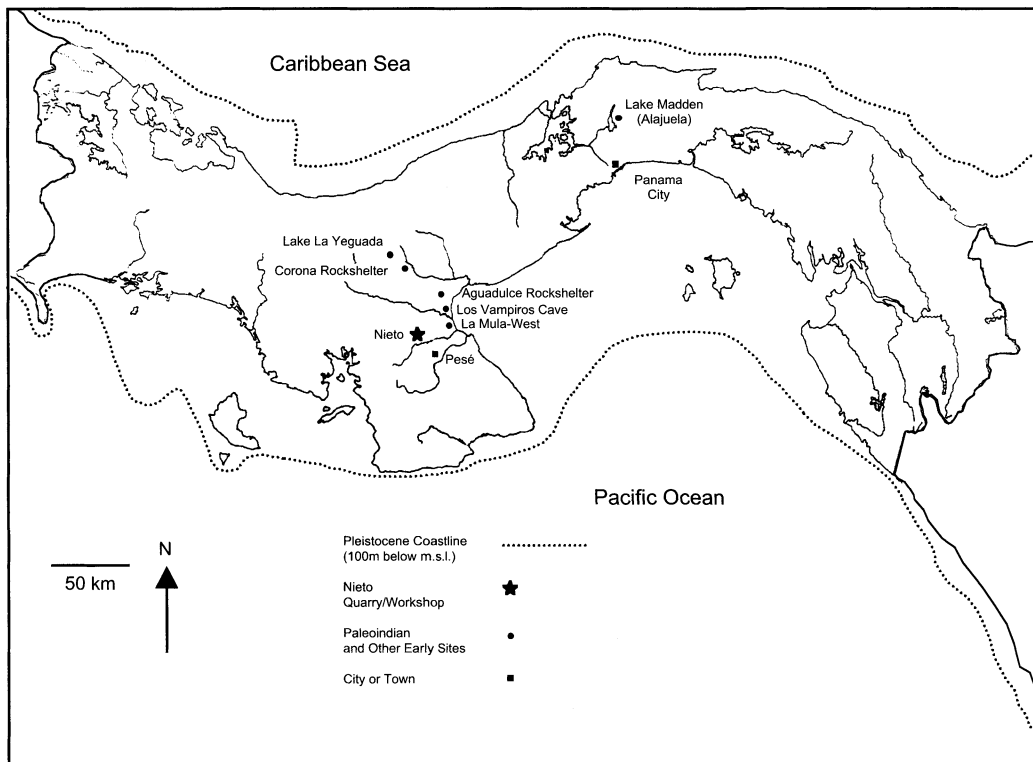


Figure 1. Map of Panama showing locations of Nieto quarry/workshop and other early sites.

between the North American ice sheets and even the existence of such a corridor have been questioned. This challenge has given rise to alternative entryways and migration routes to account for sub-Laurentian populations (Anderson and Gillam 2000; Fladmark 1979, 1983; Mandryk 2001). For example, to explain the presence of pre-Clovis sites in South America in the absence of similar occupations further north, a popular scenario proposes a late Pleistocene coastal migration along the Pacific seaboard that brought people to South America while bypassing the interior regions (Carvalho Gonçalves et al. 2003; Dixon 1999; Gruhn 1988, 1994).

Another topic of contention has focused on the origin and dispersion of the fluting technique in South America (Ardila 1991; Ardila and Politis 1989; Bell 1965; Bird 1938; Gnecco 1994; Mayer-Oakes 1986a; Jackson 1995; Jaimes 1999). Attempts to explain this phenomenon have centered around three hypotheses. The first suggests that the fluting technique was carried south by migrating humans who were bioculturally related to North American Clovis groups (Lynch 1983; Morrow and

Morrow 1999; Ranere and Cooke 1991; Snarskis 1979). The second argues that this manufacturing trait was diffused and adopted south by pre-established populations who came into contact with expanding Clovis bands (Bryan 1973, 1983). Lastly, Mayer-Oakes (1986b) proposed that fluting was independently invented in South America and may or may not have diffused north.

One strategy that can help untangle these ideas is to carry out technological comparisons between fluted point assemblages from North, Central, and South America. The degree of affinity between northern and southern fluted point industries would help archaeologists determine if Clovis groups encountered and influenced, replaced or were assimilated, or simply lived alongside pre-established groups possibly related to Monte Verdeans. Coupled with a solid chronological framework, technological differences and similarities would allow us to distinguish between a migration or a passing of ideas through pre-Clovis populations.

To help shed light on this problem, an ongoing survey has attempted to locate additional Paleoin-



Figure 2. Quartz outcrop and north side of the Nieto quarry/workshop.

dian occupations in Panama (Pearson 1999, 2000; Pearson and Cooke 2002). This area was chosen because of its key geographic location and its role as a narrow land bridge that has concentrated human movements between the continents. Regardless of the route(s) taken by early migrants during the colonization process, the Isthmus of Panama would have been an unavoidable stopping place while moving to or from South America. This report presents preliminary data from a newly discovered Paleoindian quarry/workshop site on the Pacific side of Panama.

The Nieto Paleoindian Quarry and Workshop

Site Location and Description

The Nieto site (124 m a.s.l.) is located on the Azuero Peninsula approximately 10 km northwest of the town of Pesé (Figure 1). The quarry consists of an exposed vein of gray-white, translucent cryptocrystalline quartz that juts from the summit of a small hill (Figure 2). This outcrop forms a pillar-like wall (1 m by 10 m) that is flanked on both sides by steep colluvial slopes containing a large amount of cultural and natural lithic debris (Figure 3). Test excavations were carried out on the northern section of the quarry where a Clovis-like projectile point preform was discovered on the surface (Figure 4a).

Although the majority of artifacts found at Nieto consist of unidirectional and multi-directional blocky cores, core fragments, flakes, and shatter, some broken tool preforms, flake blanks, and finished implements were also encountered. With the exception of a few bladelets and small blade cores, none of the recovered material could be ascribed to possible later preceramic or ceramic cultures. Bifacial reduction of cryptocrystalline stone has not been observed in Panamanian lithic assemblage post-dating 7000 ^{14}C yr B.P. (Ranere and Cooke 1995, 1996, 2002). This peculiarity of the Isthmian archaeological record has, in fact, helped researchers identify early sites by the simple presence of bifacial thinning flakes of fine-grained lithic material.

Deposits and Stratigraphy

Lithic artifacts were discovered lying above and within colluvial deposits around the outcrop. Flakes and other manufacturing detritus were strewn on the surface of the north-facing slope, which dropped at an angle of approximately 40 degrees. Although the rise is vegetated with trees and shrubs (*Curatella americana*), evidence of ongoing erosion and denudation due to heavy rain is visible today. The thickness of the deposits varied from a few centimeters closest to the exposed vein to more than 40 cm at the base of the hill. Sediments were homogeneous, and did not show any evidence of weathering horizons.

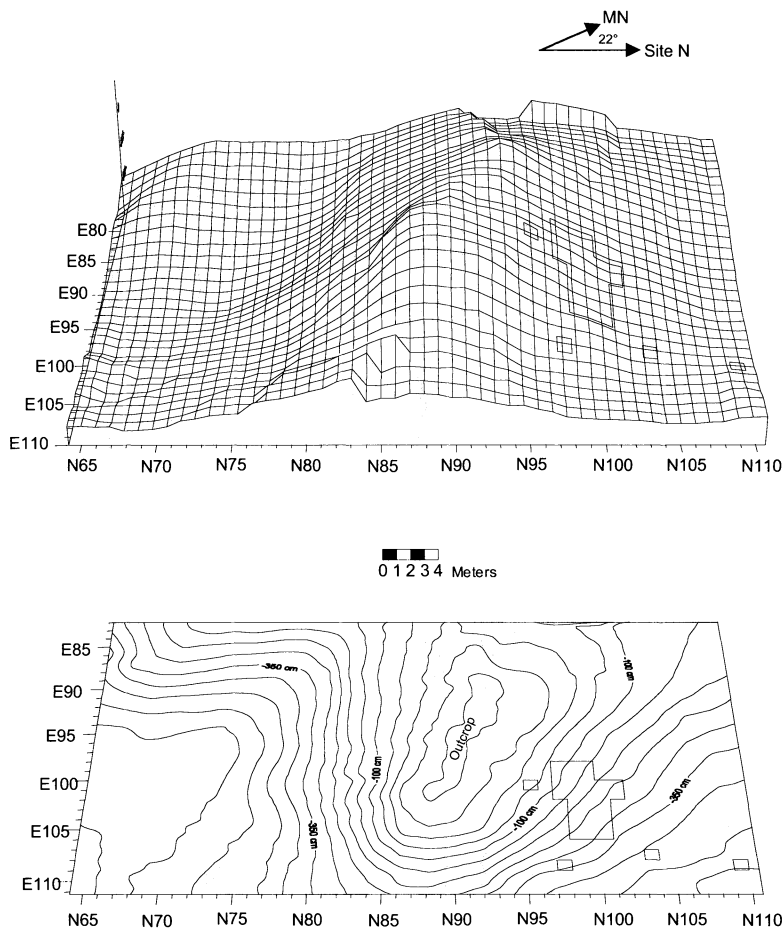


Figure 3. Nieto site map with location of main excavation block and test pits.

Lithic Assemblage

The first diagnostic artifacts discovered at the quarry were bifacial thinning flakes and a Clovis-like point preform fragment that alerted us to a possible late Pleistocene exploitation of the outcrop. Thus far, cores, large flake blanks, bifacial preforms, various scraping and graving tools, and over 50 bifacial thinning flakes have been discovered at Nieto (Figure 4). Technological analysis of the material is still ongoing, and only preliminary data (Table 1) and descriptions are presented below.

The point preform (Figure 4a) has a sinuous edge due to uncorrected deep concavities left by the initial lateral thinning removals. This preform is different both stylistically and technologically from stemmed fishtail and Archaic projectile points

found on the Isthmus. It was manufactured from a large flake, which was progressively reduced on both sides, giving it a distinctive bi-convex cross-section. Initial thinning and shaping has completely removed all traces of the original flake blank's surface. Significantly, several isolated and ground platform lobes are still visible on the blade's edge. On one side, the distal end of what could be a flute or large end-thinning scar is visible just above the break (Figure 5). Although the edge of the fracture is square and was not the result of a "languette" scar (Roche and Tixier 1982)—which could be mistaken for a flute—the distinction between intentional removals, secondary fractures, and exfoliated breaks has been made difficult due to the unpredictability of this raw material. Nevertheless, fluting of early stage preforms would not be out of

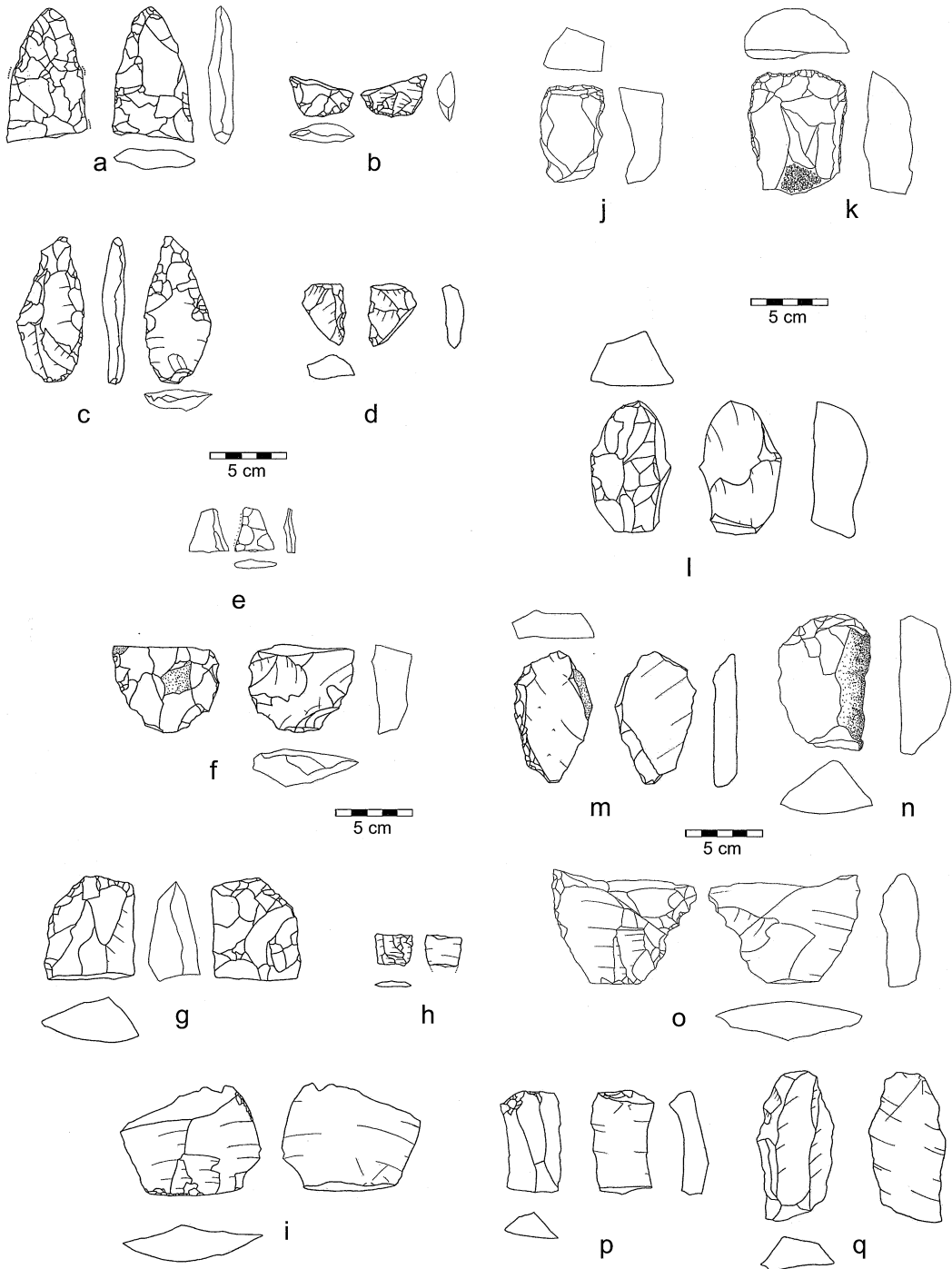


Figure 4. Lithic artifacts from Nieto quarry/workshop: (a–g) bifacial preforms; (h) channel flake fragment; (i) possible large flake blank; (j–n) snubbed-nosed scrapers and large scraper planes; (o) large retouched flake; (p–q) blade-like flakes; (r–u) graving tools; (v–w) spokeshaves; (x–y) core bottom rejuvenation segments.

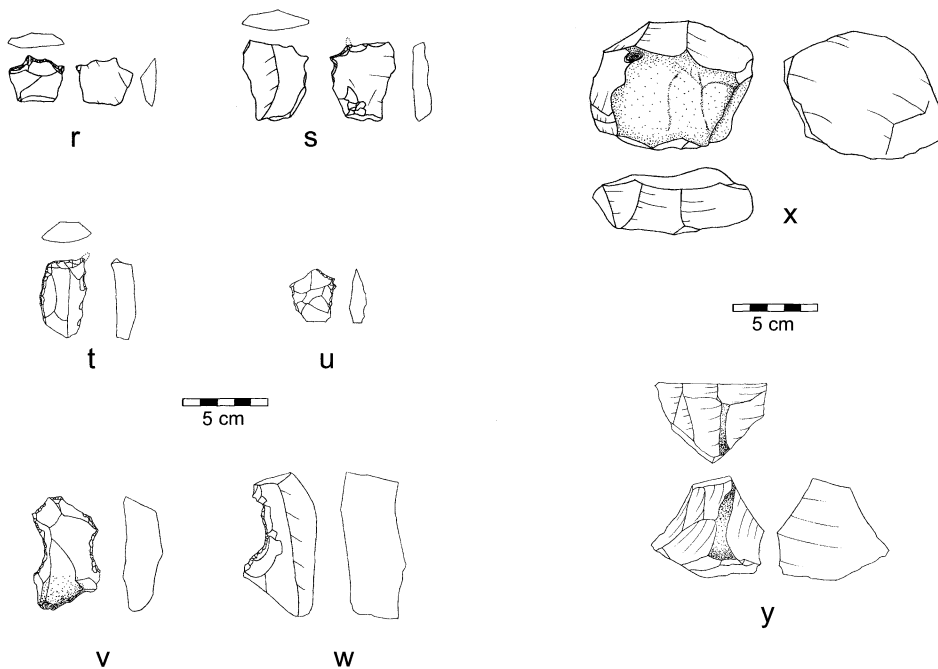


Figure 4. (continued)

Table 1. Metric Information for Lithic Artifacts Illustrated in Figure 4.

Artifact	Length (mm)	Width (mm)	Thickness (mm)
(a) Point Preform	87.86	50.50	17.20
(b) Point Base	28.40	37.90	11.75
(c) Biface (Preform?)	92.65	42.27	14.63
(d) Biface Fragment	39.45	29.02	11.40
(e) Biface Fragment	27.95	25.95	5.72
(f) Biface Preform	55.90	66.95	21.95
(g) Biface Preform	63.55	58.30	29.20
(h) Channel Flake	20.16	23.77	4.24
(i) Large Flake (Blank)	68.21	90.65	23.06
(j) Keeled End Scraper	63.40	40.20	25.35
(k) Scraper Plane	83.20	61.10	28.42
(l) Keeled End Scraper	86.74	51.55	34.16
(m) Side Scraper	84.30	48.64	15.10
(n) Scraper Plane	89.45	60.00	32.95
(o) Large Retouched Flake	71.77	70.00	26.80
(p) Blade-like Flake	64.70	37.60	17.20
(q) Blade-like Flake	95.55	48.30	20.50
(r) Graver	26.60	31.55	8.90
(s) Graver	46.50	37.25	10.20
(t) Graver	47.00	25.35	11.55
(u) Graver	31.21	26.35	9.52
(v) Spokeshave	66.10	38.30	21.00
(w) Spokeshave	86.10	41.55	37.95
(x) Core Base Segment	100.60	75.91	38.82
(y) Core Base Segment	49.16	30.04	19.15

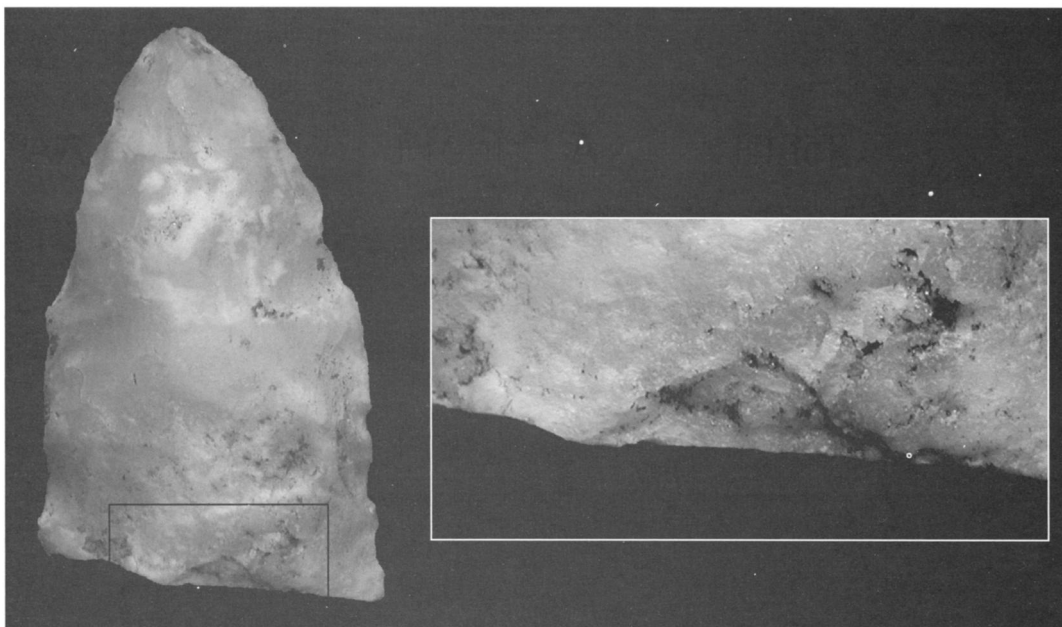


Figure 5. Clovis-like point preform from Nieto showing distal end of possible flute scar.

place here since it has already been observed at other lower Central American sites such as La Mula-West in Panama (Ranere 2000; Ranere and Cooke 1995, 1996) and Guardirria in Costa Rica (Pearson 1998, 2004; Snarskis 1979).

The Nieto preform could be described as a stage 4 biface following Callahan (1979), or more precisely a stage 4.1 according to Morrow's (1996) reduction scheme. Overshooting thinning flakes, commonly encountered in other Clovis-related workshops (Pearson 2002), have not yet been discovered among the manufacturing debris at Nieto. A possible explanation for this could be the low quality of the lithic raw material that caused many thinning flakes to terminate prematurely or break. The flaking pattern indicates that flintknappers attempted to drive long flakes past the preform's midline but were rarely successful. Although the crystalline qualities of the lithic raw material at Nieto are aesthetically pleasing to the eye, its structure makes it highly unpredictable and an inferior stone for flintknapping purposes. Many of the shatter pieces and discarded tool preforms display breaks along linear impurities and larger quartz inclusions. Most intriguing is that the area around Nieto contains many sources of high-quality cherts

and jaspers where bifacial material is absent. It appears that the beauty of translucent crystals over less-attractive stones may have overridden more practical factors in the decision-making process leading to the manufacture of *some* points. Similar observations were made at the La Mula-West workshop, where Paleoindians manufactured many Clovis-like points from brittle, translucent agate cobbles (Ranere 2000) found among better-quality cryptocrystalline jaspers. This pattern goes against popular notions of a focused exploitation of high-quality stones by North American Clovis groups (Goodyear 1979) and may be indicative of ideological aspects of Paleoindian life.

The base of a second unfinished projectile point was discovered less than a meter from the preform (Figure 4b). This unground segment displays several longitudinal thinning scars or possible guiding flakes, and a slight nipple indicating that it was possibly being prepared for fluting. Evidence for the manufacture of a third point was provided by the discovery of a differently colored broken channel flake (Figure 2h). The fragment is straight (i.e., no curvature), parallel-sided, has a slight bi-convex cross-section, and broke just below its platform or nipple (Figure 6). Its dorsal surface is charac-

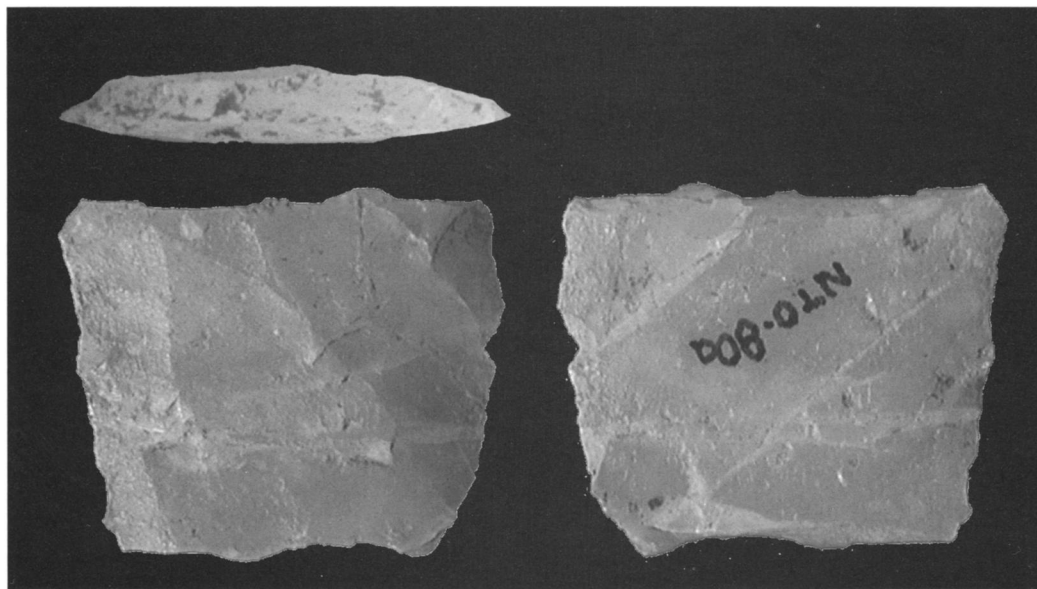


Figure 6. Collapsed proximal fragment of channel flake.

terized by a series of small, unidirectional scars suggesting that it was removed following several basal thinning attempts and/or some of the removals may have served as guiding channels. Especially interesting was a tool with a broken, bifacially worked distal end made on a blue-green chert flake (Figure 4c). No debitage of this material was found at the site and it may have been left behind after retooling (cf., Gramly 1980).

Also found among the debris were early stage preforms and large flake blanks used for the production of bifacial tools or projectile points (Figure 4f, g, i). Finished tools included graters, keeled (snubbed-nosed) end scrapers, side scrapers, and scraper planes (Figure 2j–n, r–u). Several large blade-like flakes (Figure 2p, q) and ridge spalls were also recovered. These elongated pieces do not display small, prepared platforms or pronounced curvature characteristic of many Clovis blades (Collins 1999). Other important finds consisted of large flake cores and platform rejuvenation segments (Figure 2x, y) displaying identical reduction steps as those from the Guardiria Paleoindian quarry/workshop in Costa Rica (Pearson 1998, 2004), and the Fossil Hole quarry site in Florida (Hemmings 1999). Large scraper planes were fashioned on blade-like flakes and sometimes shaped by a trihedral flaking technique. Great efforts were

made to flatten the ventral surfaces of these large scraping tools. Irregularities, such as the bulb of force, and excessive curvature were corrected by striking the blank's edges "head on" to detach large flakes that would terminate in hinge or step fractures. This tactic ensured that the retouch itself did not plunge or compound the initial problem and is comparable to core platform rejuvenation removals. Significantly, this same manufacturing technique was also observed on the planes from Guardiria and lakes La Yeguada and Alajuela (Pearson 1998, 2002).

Overall, the Nieto assemblage mirrors many of the artifact styles, manufacturing techniques, and even lithic raw materials choices observed at other Paleoindian sites. Most importantly, it links with the late-stage rejects and broken preforms discovered at La Mula-West to trace a more complete manufacturing trajectory for fluted lanceolate points in Panama.

Discussion

Several avenues of research, such as detailed technological analyses and comparisons of lithic assemblages, can offer significant clues to the origins of the fluting technique in South America. However, similarities and differences between North and South American Paleoindian lithic tools are mean-

ingless without factoring in contextual data. That is to say, without a clear picture of the culture-adaptive milieu, resemblance among artifacts will not necessarily support a migration scenario nor will discrepancies imply a diffusion of ideas. Lithic assemblages must be compared in relation to the economic systems and environments in which they were used. Moreover, analyses must examine entire tool kits and not concentrate solely on projectile points. Other clues, such as those related to group ideologies, although difficult to interpret, would also be useful, since these abstract elements are less likely to have been borrowed (Storck 1991). Even then, analytical results might still be subjective and open to numerous personal interpretations. For example, when trying to understand the cause(s) for the similarities and differences between a North American Clovis point and a South American fish-tail projectile point, how can archaeologists distinguish between factors such as: (1) changing adaptive strategies, when groups face new environmental selective pressures; (2) cultural distortion and selective borrowing, when an idea is passed from one group to another; or (3) simple stochastic and historical events that may have affected styles, when groups become isolated and the flow of information is cut off (O'Brien and Lyman 2000)?

When faced with questions of biocultural affinity, there is no escaping the fact that although humans can modify and borrow technologies, they cannot change their genes. Consequently, the most robust analyses and perhaps the final arbiter of the debates may come from future ancient DNA tests. But until more late Pleistocene skeletons are discovered, archaeologists must rely on variables such as tool form and manufacturing techniques to make sense of the variability. Unfortunately, the majority of Paleoindian sites discovered so far in Central America contain finished points or preforms in late stages of production (Garcia-Barcena 1979; Gruhn and Bryan 1977; Santamaria 1981; Snarskis 1979). In most cases, early stage reduction strategies are obscured if not completely invisible when analyzing finished or resharpened tools. The key difference, and thus the importance, of the Nieto site resides in the fact that the first half of the manufacturing techniques, including raw material extraction, are represented here. Coupled with data

from other Panamanian sites (Bird and Cooke 1978; Pearson 2000, 2002; Ranere 2000; Ranere and Cooke 1991, 2001), this latest information brings us closer to tracing a complete *chaîne opératoire* for Clovis-like points on the Isthmus.

Conclusion

Current knowledge on how the first human inhabitants of North and South America related to each other not only has been impeded by geographic distance but also by an information void. To this day, the Paleoindian archaeological records of North and South America remain isolated from each other. Ongoing archaeological research on the Azuero Peninsula in Panama represents an effort to close this gap. One of the principal objectives of the Isthmian survey is to find clues that will help us understand the origins of the fluting technique in South America.

The newly discovered Nieto quarry/workshop provides new information on early stage reduction strategies used by Clovis-like point makers. Preliminary results indicate that the lanceolate fluted points at Nieto were made on large flake blanks. Secondary retouch was invasive and did not leave pseudo flutes on the recovered bifaces. Preforms appear to have been fluted in the early stages of production by isolating and striking a basal nipple. Large Clovis-like macroblades and blade cores were not observed at Nieto. Finally, large flake cores, top and bottom platform rejuvenation segments, and keeled end scrapers, similar to those found at the Guardiría site in Costa Rica and Fossil Hole in Florida, attest to a Paleoindian cultural homogeneity across lower Central America and perhaps around the Gulf of Mexico (Faught and Dunbar 1997; Pearson and Bostrom 1998). Ongoing fieldwork in Central America and additional pan-continental comparative analyses among Paleoindian lithic assemblages should help us determine if southern fluted point makers were distant cousins of Clovis groups or contemporary neighbors who imitated their technology.

Acknowledgments. Funding for this research was provided by a short-term and a pre-doctoral fellowship from the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute (STRI). I especially wish to thank Robert A. Beckwith for his patience and invaluable assistance in the field. Additional support was provided by Jack L. Hofman and John W. Hoopes of the University of Kansas, as well as by Richard G. Cooke,

Dolores R. Piperno, and Cristián Samper of STRI. Carlos Fitzgerald of Patrimonio Histórico, Instituto de Cultura, Panama, was also instrumental in alleviating some of the logistical headaches of fieldwork. This project would not have been possible without the generous help and hospitality of Pedro Nieto Fuente, Cesar A. Serrano C., E. Alfonso Tejada Caballero, and Alberto E. Ruiz de Leon. I would also like to acknowledge the helpful comments by Ruth Gruhn and Anthony Ranere during the production of this report. My colleague, Julia C. Mayo, provided the Spanish abstract.

References Cited

- Adovasio, James M., Joel D. Gunn, John Donahue, Robert Stuckenrath, John Guilday, and Kenneth Lord
1978 Meadowcroft Rockshelter. In *Early Man from a Circum-Pacific Perspective*, edited by Alan L. Bryan, pp. 140–180. Occasional Papers No. 1. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- Adovasio, James M., David Pedler, Jack Donahue, and Robert Stuckenrath
1999 No Vestige of a Beginning nor Prospect for an End: Two Decades of Debate on Meadowcroft Rockshelter. In *Ice Age People of North America: Environments, Origins, and Adaptations*, edited by Robson Bonnichsen and Karen L. Turnmire, pp. 416–431. Center for the Study of the First Americans, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Anderson, David G., and J. Christopher Gillam
2000 Paleoindian Colonization of the Americas: Implications from an Examination of Physiography, Demography, and Artifact Distribution. *American Antiquity* 65:43–66.
- Ardila Calderon, Gerardo I.
1991 The Peopling of Northern South America. In *Clovis: Origins and Adaptations*, edited by Robson Bonnichsen and Karen L. Turnmire, pp. 261–282. Center for the Study of the First Americans, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Ardila Calderon, Gerardo I., and Gustavo G. Politis
1989 Nuevos Datos Para un Viejo Problema: Investigación y Discusiones en Torno del Poblamiento de América del Sur. *Boletín Museo del Oro* 23:3–45.
- Bell, Robert E.
1965 *Investigaciones arqueológicas en el Sitio de El Inga*. Casa de la Cultura, Quito.
- Bird, Junius B.
1938 Antiquity and Migrations of the Early Inhabitants of Patagonia. *Geographical Review* 28(2):250–275.
- Bird, Junius B., and Richard G. Cooke
1978 The Occurrence in Panama of Two Types of Paleo-Indian Projectile Points. In *Early Man from a Circum-Pacific Perspective*, edited by Alan L. Bryan, pp. 263–272. Occasional Papers No. 1. Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- Bryan, Alan L.
1973 Paleoenvironments and Cultural Diversity in Late Pleistocene South America. *Quaternary Research* 3:237–256.
1983 South America. In *Early Man in the New World*, edited by Richard Shutler, Jr., pp. 137–146. Sage, Beverly Hills.
- Callahan, Errett
1979 The Basics of Biface Knapping in the Eastern Fluted Point Tradition. A Manual for Flintknappers and Lithic Analysts. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 7:1–180.
- Carvalho Gonçalves, Marcelo Luiz, Aduato Araújo, and Luiz Fernando Ferreira
2003 Human Intestinal Parasites in the Past: New Findings and a Review. *Memorias do Instituto Oswaldo Cruz* 98 (Supplement 1):103–108.
- Collins, Michael B.
1999 *Clovis Blade Technology*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Correal Urrego, Gonzalo
1981 *Evidencias culturales y megafauna pleistocénica en Colombia*. Fundación de Investigaciones Arqueológicas Nacionales, Banco de la República, Bogotá.
1986 Apuntes sobre el medio ambiente pleistocénico y el hombre prehistórico en Colombia. In *New Evidence for the Pleistocene Peopling of the Americas*, edited by Alan L. Bryan, pp. 115–131. Center for the Study of Early Man, University of Maine, Orono.
1993 Nuevas evidencias culturales pleistocénicas y megafauna en Colombia. *Boletín de Arqueología* 8(1):3–12.
- Correal Urrego, Gonzalo, and Thomas van der Hammen
1977 *Investigaciones arqueológicas en los abrigos del Tequendama: 12,000 años de historia del hombre y de su medio ambiente en la altiplanicie de Bogotá*. Biblioteca Banco Popular, Bogotá.
- Dillehay, Thomas D. (editor)
1989 *Monte Verde: A Late Pleistocene Settlement in Chile: Paleoenvironment and Site Context*, vol. 1. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
1997 *Monte Verde: A Late Pleistocene Settlement in Chile: The Archaeological Context*, vol. II. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Dillehay, Thomas D., Michael B. Collins, Mario Pino, Jack Rossen, James Adovasio, Carlos Ocampo, Ximena Navarro, Pilar Rivas, David Pollack, A. Gwynn Henderson, José Saavedra, Patricio Sanzana, Pat Shipman, Marvin Kay, Gaston Munoz, Anastasio Karathanasis, Donald Ugent, Michael Cibull, and Richard Geissler
1999 On Monte Verde: Fiedel's Confusions and Misrepresentations. <http://www.uky.edu/Projects/MonteVerde/> (February 10th 2000).
- Dixon, James E.
1999 *Bones, Boats, and Bison: Archaeology and the First Colonization of Western North America*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Faught, Michael K., and James S. Dunbar
1997 Paleoindian Archaeology in Two Regions Exhibiting Waisted Lanceolate Projectile Points: Florida and Panama. Paper presented at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Nashville.
- Fiedel, Stuart J.
1999 Artifact Provenience at Monte Verde: Confusion and Contradictions. *Discovering Archaeology. Special Report* 1(6).
- Fladmark, Knut R.
1979 Routes: Alternative Migration Corridors for Early Man in North America. *American Antiquity* 44:55–69.
1983 Time and Places: Environmental Correlates of Mid-to-Late Wisconsin Human Population Expansion in North America. In *Early Man in the New World*, edited by Richard Shutler, Jr., pp. 13–41. Sage, Beverly Hills.
- García-Bárcena, Joaquín
1979 *Una punta acanalada de la Cueva Los Grifos, Ocozocoautla, Chiis*. Cuadernos de Trabajo, No. 17, Departamento de Prehistoria, INAH, Mexico.
- Gnecco, Cristóbal
1994 Fluting Technology in South America. *Lithic Technology* 19(1):35–42.

- Goldberg, Paul, and Trina L. Arpin
1999 Micromorphological Analysis of Sediments from Meadowcroft Rockshelter, Pennsylvania: Implications for Radiocarbon Dating. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 26:325–342.
- Goodyear, Albert C., III
1979 A Hypothesis for the Use of Cryptocrystalline Raw Materials Among Paleo-Indian Groups of North America. *Research Manuscript Series*, No. 156. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
1999 Results of the 1999 Allendale Paleoindian Expedition. *Legacy* 4(1–3):8–13. Newsletter of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
2000 The Topper Site 2000. Results of the 2000 Allendale Paleoindian Expedition. *Legacy* 5(2):18–25. Newsletter of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
- Gramly, Richard M.
1980 Raw Materials Source Areas and “Curated” Tool Assemblages. *American Antiquity* 45:823–833.
- Gruhn, Ruth
1988 Linguistic Evidence in Support of the Coastal Route of Earliest Entry Into the New World. *Man* 23:77–100.
1994 The Pacific Coast Route of Initial Entry: An Overview. In *Method and Theory for Investigating the Peopling of the Americas*, edited by Robson Bonnichsen and D. Gentry Steele, pp. 249–256. Center for the Study of the First Americans, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- Gruhn, Ruth, and Alan L. Bryan
1977 Los Tapias: A Paleo-Indian Campsite in the Guatemala Highlands. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 121(3):235–273. Philadelphia.
- Hemmings, C. Andrew
1999 Fossil Hole Site Update. *Aucilla River Times* 12:10.
- Hurt, Wesley, Thomas van der Hammen, and Gonzalo Correal Urrego
1977 The El Abra Rockshelters, Sabana de Bogotá, Colombia, South America. *Indiana University Museum, Occasional Papers and Monographs*, No. 2, Bloomington.
- Jackson, Lawrence J.
1995 A Clovis Point Form South Coastal Chile. *Current Research in the Pleistocene* 12:21–23.
- Jaimes, Arturo
1999 Nuevas evidencias de cazadores-recolectores y aproximación al entendimiento del uso espacio geográfico en el noroccidente de Venezuela. Sus implicaciones en el contexto saramericano. *Arqueología del Area Intermedia* 1:83–120.
- Johnson, Michael
1998 The Cactus Hill Site (44SX202) and its Implication for the Early Peopling of the Southeast. Paper presented at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Seattle.
- Laming-Empeiraire, Annette, André Prous, A. Vilhena de Moraes, and Maria Beltrão
1975 *Grottes et Abris de la Région de Lagoa Santa, Minas Gerais. Brésil: Premier Rapport de la Mission Archéologique Franco-Brésilienne de Lagoa Santa*. Cahiers d'Archéologie d'Amérique du Sud, No. 1. EPHE, Paris.
- Lynch, Thomas F.
1983 The Paleo-Indians. In *Ancient South Americans*, edited by Jesse D. Jennings, pp. 87–137. W.H. Freeman, San Francisco.
- 2001 On the Road Again ... Reflections on Monte Verde. *The Review of Archaeology*. 22:39–43.
- McAvoy, Joseph M., and Lynn D. McAvoy
1997 *Archaeological Investigations of Site 44SX202, Cactus Hill, Sussex County, Virginia* (Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Research Report Series, No. 8, Sandston, Virginia).
- Mandryk, Carole A. S.
2001 The Ice-Free Corridor (or not?): An Inland Route by Any Other Name is not so Sweet nor Adequately Considered. In *On Being First: Cultural Innovation and Environmental Consequences of First Peopling*, edited by Jason Gillespie, Susan Tupakka, and Christy de Mille, pp. 575–588. Chacmool Series. Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, Calgary.
- Mayer-Oakes, William J.
1986a El Inga: A Paleo-Indian Site in the Sierra of Northern Ecuador. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 76, Part 4. Philadelphia.
1986b Early Man Projectile Points and Lithic Technology in the Ecuadorian Sierra. In *New Evidence for the Pleistocene Peopling of the Americas*, edited by Alan L. Bryan, pp. 133–156. Center for the Study of Early Man, University of Maine, Orono.
- Meltzer, David J., Donald K. Grayson, Gerardo Ardila, Alex W. Barker, Dena F. Dincauze, C. Vance Haynes, Francisco Mena, Lautaro Nuñez, and Dennis J. Stanford
1997 On the Pleistocene Antiquity of Monte Verde, Southern Chile. *American Antiquity* 62:659–663.
- Morrow, Juliet E.
1996 The Organization of Early Paleoindian Lithic Technology in the Confluence Region of the Mississippi, Illinois, and Missouri Rivers. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Washington University, St. Louis.
- Morrow, Juliet E., and Toby A. Morrow
1999 Geographic Variation in Fluted Projectile Points: A Hemispheric Perspective. *American Antiquity* 64:215–231.
- O'Brien, Michael J., and R. Lee Lyman
2000 *Applying Evolutionary Archaeology: A Systematic Approach*. Kluwer, Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.
- Ochsenius Claudio, and Ruth Gruhn
1979 *Taima-Taima: A Late Pleistocene Paleo-Indian Kill Site in Northernmost South America*. South American Quaternary Documentation Program, Germany.
- Overstreet, David F., Daniel J. Joyce, and David Wasion
1995 More on Cultural Contexts of Mammoth and Mastodon in the Southwestern Lake Michigan Basin. *Current Research in the Pleistocene* 12:40–42.
- Overstreet, David F., and Thomas W. Stafford Jr.
1997 Additions to a Revised Chronology for Cultural and Non-cultural Mammoth and Mastodon Fossils in the Southwestern Lake Michigan Basin. *Current Research in the Pleistocene* 14:70–71.
- Pearson, Georges A.
1998 Reduction Strategy for Secondary Source Lithic Raw Materials at Guardiría (Turrialba), 9-FG-T, Costa Rica. *Current Research in the Pleistocene* 15:84–86.
1999 Isthmus Be Here Somewhere. *Anthropology News* 40(6):22.
2000 New Evidence of Early Bifacial Industries on the Isthmus of Panama. *Current Research in the Pleistocene* 17:61–63.
2002 Pan-Continental Paleoindian Expansions and Interactions As Viewed From The Earliest Lithic Industries of

- Lower Central America. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas. Electronic version at <http://www.ukans.edu/~oar/phdweb/pan.htm>, accessed 05/08/03.
- 2004 Pan-American Paleoamerican Dispersals and the Origins of Fishtail Projectile Points as Seen Through the Lithic Raw Material Reduction Strategies and Tool Manufacturing Techniques at the Guardiria Site, Turrialba Valley, Costa Rica. In *Pleistocene Pioneers: The Human Settlement of the American Continents*, edited by C. Michael Barton, Geoffrey A. Clark, Georges A. Pearson, and David R. Yesner. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, in press.
- Pearson, Georges A., and Peter A. Bostrom
1998 A New Fluted Stemmed Point from Belize and its Implication for a Circum-Caribbean Paleoindian Culture Area. *Current Research in the Pleistocene* 15:84–86.
- Pearson, Georges A., and Richard G. Cooke
2002 The Role of the Panamanian Land Bridge During the Initial Colonization of the Americas. *Antiquity* 76:931–932.
- Prous, André
1986 Os Mais Antigos Vestígios Arqueológicos no Brasil Central (Estados de Minas Gerais, Goiás e Bahia). In *New Evidence for the Pleistocene Peopling of the Americas*, edited by Alan L. Bryan, A. L., pp. 173–182. Center for the Study of Early Man, Orono.
- Ranere, Anthony J.
2000 Paleoindian Expansion into Tropical America: The View from Panama. In *Archaeological Passages: A Volume in Honor of Claude N. Warren*, edited by Joan S. Schneider, Robert Yohe II, and Jill K. Gardner, pp. 110–122. Publications in Archaeology, No. 1, Western Center for Archaeology and Paleontology, Hemet.
- Ranere, Anthony J., and Richard G. Cooke
1991 Paleoindian Occupation in the Central American Tropics. In *Clovis: Origins and Adaptations*, edited by Robson Bonnicksen and Karen L. Turnmire, pp. 237–253. Center for the Study of the First Americans, Oregon State University, Corvallis.
- 1995 Evidencias de ocupación humana en Panamá a postrimerías del Pleistoceno y a comienzos del Holoceno. In *Ámbito y ocupaciones tempranas de la América Tropical*, edited by Inés Cavalier and Santiago Mora, pp. 5–26. Fundación Erigaie, Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Bogotá.
- 1996 Stone Tools and Cultural Boundaries in Prehistoric Panama: An Initial Assessment. In *Paths to Central American Prehistory*, edited by Frederick W. Lange, pp. 49–77. University Press of Colorado, Niwot.
- 2002 Late Glacial and Early Holocene Occupations of Central American Tropical Forests. In *Under the Canopy: The Archaeology of Tropical Rainforests*, edited by Julio Mercader, pp. 219–248. Rutgers University Press, New Jersey.
- Roche, Helen, and Jacques Tixier
1982 Les Accidents de Taille. In *Tailler! Pour Quoi Faire: Préhistoire et Technologie Lithique II*, edited by Daniel Cahen, pp. 65–76. *Studia Praehistorica Belgica Series*, No. 2, Musée Royale de l’Afrique Centrale, Tervuren.
- Santamaría, Diana
1981 Pre-ceramic Occupations at Los Grifos Rock Shelter, Ocozocoatlá, Chiapas, Mexico. In *X Congreso del Unión Internacional de Ciencias Prehistóricas y Protohistóricas*, edited by Joaquín García-Bárcena and Fernando Sánchez Martínez, pp. 63–83. Mexico.
- Snarskis, Michael J.
1979 Turrialba: A Paleo-Indian Quarry and Workshop Site in Eastern Costa Rica. *American Antiquity* 44:125–138.
- Storck, Peter L.
1991 Imperialists Without a State: The Cultural Dynamics of Paleoindian Colonization as Seen from the Great Lakes Region. In *Clovis: Origins and Adaptations*, edited by Robson Bonnicksen and Karen L. Turnmire, pp. 152–162. Center for the Study of the First Americans, Oregon State University, Corvallis.

*Submitted November 11, 2002; Accepted May 16, 2003;
Revised May 28, 2003.*