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Landscapes

> To attempt historical studies anywhere, without first knowing thoroughly the nature of the country, is as futile as to try astronomy without the aid of mathematics.
>
> —Adolph Bandelier, *Final Report*

Flying into the Albuquerque International Airport on a clear day—which is almost any day in New Mexico—a traveler sees the landscape 25,000 feet below as a vast pattern of monumental landforms. The jet approaches from the east, paralleling the route of Interstate 40, and the southern Great Plains give way to the southernmost outcrops of the Rocky Mountains. From this height the basic facts of the land stand out literally in relief. The Pecos and Canadian Rivers sketch narrow, fertile valleys through flat, dry terrain interrupted by mesas and hills. The historic settlement of the region has clearly been influenced by topography and environment. Riverside towns such as Fort Sumner and Santa Rosa, with their associated farmland, are visible on either side of the airplane. The economic structures of modern society also stand out, from the circular imprints of irrigated fields drawing water from subsurface aquifers to the web of highways, roads, and tracks that carry people and goods around the state.

Social elements can be discerned in this tableau, too. The compact grids of small towns contrast with scattered dots that signal the occasional isolated ranch complex. Nearer Albuquerque there are neatly delineated "ranchettes," a few developments with curvilinear plans, and then comes the strict geometry of the city itself. Each layout reflects a different conception of domestic space. It is also possible to see how this built landscape has changed over time. In the southern distance the course of the nineteenth-century railroad parallels the jet's path. An occasional shrunken village along the tracks contrasts mutely with the more prosperous communities linked by the interstate highway.

This aerial panorama conveys a great deal of information about modern society in the American Southwest. Yet looking out the airplane window, I find myself searching for a different landscape, one far more interesting to me than abstract patterns of economy and ecology. Looking north to the rugged country of the Sangre de Cristo mountain range, I can often pick out places of personal significance—peaks I have climbed, side roads I have driven, and especially the valley of the Rio Sapello, where my family has owned land since the 1880s.

Thinking about the Sapello Valley brings to mind the history of the property, the names and lineages of the neighbors, and many more specific recollections, such as the sweet-sharp flavor of apples from the old trees around the pond. All these experiences are bound up in the physicality of the place, and those who know it well can remember and describe it even if they have been away for decades. To me that landscape is more immediate and perhaps more important than the larger-scale historical and geographic record passing beneath the jet's wings. As the plane descends, I crane my neck and hope that the storm clouds building over the mountains will not block the view and thwart this colloquy between memory and place.

Of course few of these places of recollection can actually be seen from 25,000 feet. The landscape of my personal experience exists on a scale very different from that of the aerial view, a scale at which human actors are invisible. It is only through my ability to associate familiar landmarks with lines on maps and then with the topography itself that I can connect the two. Without a personal frame of reference, identifying a landscape of meaning is impossible, and one's attention turns inexorably to the more accessible overarching structures of the land. But ultimately, which of these landscapes is the more significant? Which has the greater potential to tell us about the people who created it, about their identities and their perceptions of the world around them?

The distinctions between different types of landscapes and the ways we seek to understand them are mirrored by archaeologists' changing interests in the study of geographical space. In the mid-twentieth century, American archaeology was transformed by the advent of "settlement pattern analysis," in which archaeologists systematically examined the surface of the landscape to record the material remains left by earlier peoples. Archaeological surveys evolved from being a simple way to identify good places to dig into a means to study the spatial organization of human culture on a broad scale. This changed the way researchers envisioned archaeological evidence, and they finally acknowledged the importance of modest traces of the past—things such as foot trails and simple scatters of pottery fragments—for which previous generations of scholars had little use.

The study of settlement patterns became a favored tool of the "new" or "processual" archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s, which tried to explain large-scale cultural processes in human populations using a battery of quantitative techniques. Eventually a mature settlement pattern archaeology came to be practiced by archaeologists working nearly everywhere on the globe. Systematic archaeological surveys sampled large regions and documented sites within them. These sites were then grouped in ranks and strata by size and presumed function, classified according to a range of environmental variables, and characterized in terms of their spatial relationships to each other and to certain features of the surrounding terrain. Patterns in the processed data were explained in reference to an analytical vocabulary that linked them to economic and social processes in the societies they represented.

By the 1980s, practitioners of settlement pattern archaeology found themselves under increasing strain. As surveys proliferated and definitions of what counted as archaeological evidence became more broadly encompassing, the quantity of incoming information in some regions became so overwhelming that it threatened researchers' ability to understand it. Bogged down in questions of chronology, unit definition, demography, and environmental reconstruction, archaeologists took refuge in increasing quantification. But the level of abstraction this required was increasingly untenable, and the models used to interpret spatial data came under attack. Studies of space and its construction indicated that there was more to the process than was explained by economy and environment. Cultural meaning, dismissed as a by-product of the search to fill material needs, gained credibility as an independent factor in the ways living people established their worlds. Archaeologists thus faced the likelihood that the way they had used spatial relationships to interpret the past had missed much of the target.

Coming at a time when much of the agenda of the new archaeologists was being criticized by various "postprocessual" scholars, a crisis of confidence in settlement pattern studies was inevitable. It has not gripped archaeologists uniformly, however. There are many places on earth where the history of research is thin and data are scarce, where it is still desirable to remain high above the field—in the airplane, as it were—and to characterize patterns of data with a fairly broad brush. Elsewhere, particularly in places where archaeology is an old and established practice, the need to develop new ways to explain relationships between people and space through material remains has grown acute.

The catchall phrase for these new strategies, "landscape archaeology," has a complex history. *Landscape* can refer to the natural environment, to the natural and cultural setting of human habitation, to wholly artificial representations created by human action, to particular ways of "seeing" archaeological data, and many things in between. In general, there are two schools of thought—one that views landscapes as something archaeologists should be looking at and another that views landscapes as something archaeologists should be thinking about. Both implicitly lead away from large-scale settlement pattern research toward smaller scales and finer grain. In failing to come to grips with the archaeological record at the local level, in all its detail, we have not fully established the foundations from which the broader questions can be addressed. We get useful information about roads and irrigation systems and communities by knowing what they were made of, what sizes they were, and how they interconnected, but we will not really understand more until we determine what they meant to those who built, used, and inhabited them, over time and across space. The challenge to the landscape archaeologist is to find ways to achieve such understandings.

Nowhere do the new landscape strategies in archaeology hold greater promise than in the American Southwest, one of the hearths of archaeology in the Americanist tradition and home to indigenous people who harbor deep memories of the land. Over 150-odd years of archaeological activity, an extraordinary body of information has been assembled, about both the pre-Columbian history of the region and the nature of the archaeological record itself. As of 2006, for instance, the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division maintained records for more than 150,000 archaeological sites in the state, and as many as 5,000 additional site numbers went out monthly.

The northern Rio Grande country of New Mexico is one part of the Southwest where the dilemmas and opportunities provided by this rich body of information are fully displayed. The region corresponds roughly to what was once known as the Rio Arriba ("upriver"), extending from the escarpment of La Bajada between Albuquerque and Santa Fe north to Taos, incorporating tributary valleys and the broad basins between the Jemez and Sangre de Cristo ranges as well as the upper Pecos River to the east (fig. 1.1). This is the eastern Pueblo heartland, with nine modern villages inhabited by speakers of the Tewa, Tiwa, Towa, and Keres languages. Most of the pueblos were established before the arrival of Spaniards in the 1540s, a striking cultural and spatial

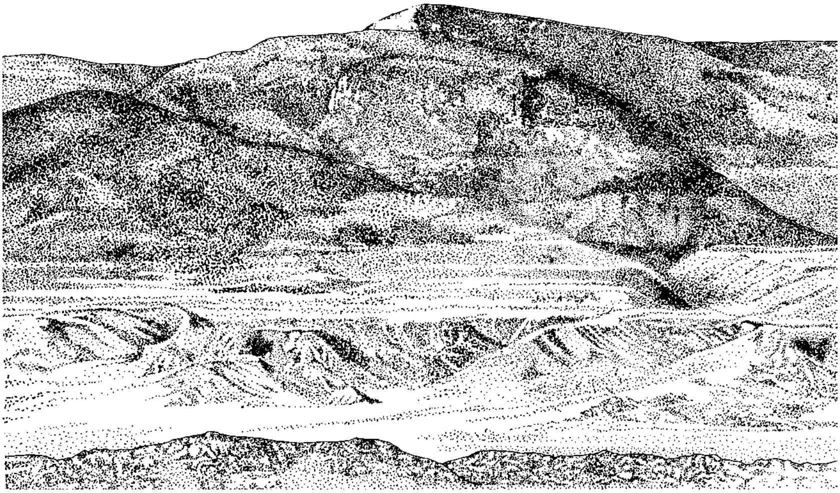

Figure 1.1 Landscape of the northern Rio Grande country of New Mexico

continuum despite warfare, disease, and oppression. Nowadays the indigenous population shares the land with descendants of Spanish colonists and with Euro-Americans, who first began to arrive in the late nineteenth century. But it is Pueblo country all the same, and the archaeological remains of the Pueblo people are to be met nearly everywhere.

It was the relationship between a living population and the antiquities of their ancestors that first brought anthropologists to the northern Rio Grande. Ethnographers have documented Pueblo society in considerable detail, and archaeologists have studied thousands of sites pertinent to the Pueblo past. Chronologies have been developed and refined, providing a widely accepted framework for organizing information about the pre-Columbian centuries. Subsistence strategies have been documented, allowing the variable roles of agriculture and foraging to be assessed for different periods. Survey records depict demographic and spatial shifts in settlement. This information has contributed to the great debates of Southwestern archaeology, such as those over the abandonment of regions, the movements of peoples, and the possible rise of sociopolitical complexity. In some quarters a sense exists that all that remains is fine-tuning and that unanswered questions are largely matters of detail. The belief that everything is about to be sewn up is a reoccurring trope in Southwest research. A senior scholar once told me there would be "no surprises" in the archaeology of the northern Rio Grande in the foreseeable future.

Yet many of us who work in the region feel a nagging sense that we have somehow overlooked central elements of Pueblo history (see Crown 1998:294). We have always experienced the tension between the scientific methods necessary to evaluate intractable data and the humanistic template required to understand human action. In the process of conducting our research, much of what would have been important to the people we study has evaporated. We look up from measuring stone tools and see faces in petroglyphs staring back from canyon walls, in many ways as inscrutable as they were when Adolph Bandelier first pointed them out in 1879.

There are several reasons for this disjunction between aims and results in studying Pueblo history. I am particularly interested in the frames of reference, conscious and unconscious, that shape our research. Archaeologists have been slow to recognize that their own worldview—the way history and experience structure their perception—inevitably colors the way we view others. It has been argued that the schematic, abstract nature of archaeological practice for much of the twentieth century, which allowed other people's pasts to be held at a distance and generalized about, reflected sociopolitical trends in Euro-American society (see Patterson 1986; Trigger 1986). Social and political realities also set the terms for fieldwork in the Southwest, a circumstance particularly evident in our relationships with the Native American community. Archaeologists have a poor record when it comes to indigenous people, and we have been—with notable exceptions—oblivious to the local ramifications of our work. The shock that went through the archaeological profession in the 1980s when some of its activities were successfully halted by Native Americans concerned about treatment of their own past continues to reverberate, evidence that our practices were uncontroversial only to ourselves.

In addition to historical context, the way we see the past is shaped by our experience of the modern world around us. Very simply, the space within which we go about our daily activities is organized in culturally specific ways, and we often uncritically project this framework onto antiquity. In the case of the Pueblo peoples of the northern Rio Grande, we see their "space" largely in reference to our own. In one simple example, rivers appear to be barriers to people who need bridges to cross them, and archaeologists have so thoroughly accepted the Rio Grande as an obstacle that they use it to define boundaries between archaeological districts. The actual distribution of archaeological remains, however, indicates that people of the pre-Columbian era crossed it continually, and we now know that it is misleading to think of the river as having divided communities and populations (see Snead et al. 2004). We might gloss such misconceptions as "heuristic devices," but they reflect a fundamental bias that ultimately prevents us from seeing the past as it actually was.

Our preconceptions also fly in the face of considerable ethnographic information concerning the different ways space is constructed in non-Western societies. The difficulty of making the conceptual leap to a perspective more compatible with indigenous worldviews is compounded by the practical matter of organizing archaeological data, for potsherds and archaeological sites at best only obliquely reflect categories of information meaningful to Pueblo people. Not only must we develop new ways of thinking about space, but we must also be innovative in the ways we see space in archaeological terms.

I believe the archaeological study of the cultural landscape provides new ways to both "see" and "think" about space in the Pueblo context and a means to gain new insights into their world. Archaeologists are addressing the duality of the landscape as seen from the air, with its large-scale patterns of economics, demographics, and ecology, and as seen on the ground in local-level history and meaning, from several directions, each of which provides important insights into the way forward.

Landscape Archaeology

Before examining questions of Pueblo history through the prism of landscape, it is important to return to the question of what landscape archaeology *is*. Debates stretching back 20 years have generated a substantial body of theory, for which several overviews are available (Anschuetz et al. 2001; Ashmore 2002, 2003; Darvill 1999; Knapp and Ashmore 1999; Layton and Ucko 1999). The archaeologically focused research examined in these sources is only part of a much broader discussion of landscapes, incorporating a variety of perspectives (see Baker and Biger 1992; Bender and Winer 2001; Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995). The theoretical approaches embraced in these works reflect most of the philosophical currents of twentieth-century scholarship, from the eclectic historical geography of

John Brinckerhoff Jackson (1994) to the postmodernism of Michel Foucault (1986). In the eyes of some, "landscape" has become a distinct area of study of its own, transcending the boundaries of traditional disciplines.

Rather than tackle this daunting literature head on, I begin with a historical approach because, for members of a discipline intimately concerned with history, we archaeologists have a relatively poor grasp of our own. "If approached analytically," Valerie Pinsky has written, "history can provide a critical tool for . . . evaluating and reformulating contemporary theoretical and methodological dilemmas" (1989:90). Our history allows us to see how we have dealt with particular problems and how those strategies evolved within particular contexts that continue to exert an influence that might be largely unacknowledged.

Research Traditions

In historical perspective, the character of landscape archaeology has depended fundamentally on the nature of the "past" being explored and on the relationship of the explorers to that past. Perceptions of land are constrained by the experiences of the viewers. Students introduced to archaeological surveying are trained to see the land in ways that are often foreign to them, whether in recognizing the angular shadow patterns of pottery fragments on pebbly soil, alignments of stone that betray cultural activity, or landforms that are products of culture rather than geology. This way of seeing is not necessarily pertinent to our daily lives in the twenty-first century and so must be taught. Cultivation of such aptitude over time might ultimately lead to the identification of new patterns, and the archaeological literature is replete with observations made "in the field" that were unanticipated or could not have been made under different circumstances. It is partly for this reason that archaeology has remained a field discipline, in which value is placed on the gathering of primary data, even in the face of great achievements in laboratory research and of vast museum collections begging for analysis.

Differential experience of the land also accounts in part for divergent traditions of archaeological research. Landscape archaeology in Great Britain, for instance, is strongly influenced by the character of the British landscape and of the cultural role it plays (see Johnson 2006). In England, modern walkers can follow paths aligned with Roman roads that carry them past medieval churches and Neolithic mounds, through a countryside to which they might perceive a personal, historical connection. The field archaeology that has evolved under these conditions favors detailed knowledge and intricate documentation of a diverse array of archaeological features, building on a tradition with deep historical roots (see Marsden 1974; Piggott 1985). O. G. S. Crawford, one of the preeminent British field archaeologists of the twentieth century, attributed its preeminence to good maps, plenty of "raw material," and conditions under which "persons of means, leisure and intelligence have made their homes not in towns but in the country" (Crawford 1960:208). Under these circumstances the study of history and the study of topography were closely intertwined (Ashbee 1972; Aston and Rowley 1974; Daniel 1975:18; Fleming 1998; Fowler 2000).

Euro-American experience of the land in the Western Hemisphere has been quite different, leading to a different archaeology. It requires no great leap of logic to argue that any shared sense of "place" among members of the highly mobile dominant culture in the United States might be different from that of a society with deeper roots (see Jacobson 2002), and that this would produce a distinct archaeological perspective on landscape. The absence of a direct relationship between the Euro-American population and the pre-Columbian past has also been a central element of American archaeology. Archaeologists studying ancient North America are examining someone else's ancestors, a situation that creates both opportunities and liabilities that are absent in the British case.

The history of landscape archaeology in the Americas thus entails a restless, shifting perspective on the land, its inhabitants, and their relevance to scholarship. Nineteenth-century anthropologists argued that geography played a critical role in the evolution of human society, and German "anthropogeography" strongly influenced Franz Boas (Bunzl 1996). The Boasians, particularly Alfred Kroeber and his students, acquired place names and other geographical information from Native people throughout western North America (Thornton 1997:211). Their "ethnogeographies" hinted at the dense layers of meaning associated with indigenous cultural contexts (Barrett 1908; Boas 1934; Loud 1918; Stewart 1943; Waterman 1920).

The American Southwest became a proving ground for anthropological concepts of landscape during the same period, and John P. Harrington's *Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians* (1916) became the paramount example of early twentieth-century ethnogeography. Building on the topographical research of Adolph Bandelier, who a generation earlier had emphasized the importance of "knowing . . . the country" (1892:4), Harrington spent nearly a year traveling the northern Rio Grande region with Tewa informants, writing down the names of thousands of mountains, hills, springs, waterways, cultural features, and other landmarks, prominent or otherwise. It is difficult to know what the Tewas made of Harrington, who may have understood their language better than any non-Native anthropologist before or since, although rumors of jokes hidden in the massive tome suggest that his command of the tongue was incomplete. Through his program of diligent recording, however, Harrington documented a rich landscape invested with meaning (see Fowler 2000; Snead 2001c).

Harrington worked with archaeologists, but others of his generation were pursuing research that led away from the interpretive opportunities at which ethnogeography hinted (Snead 2002b). Neither early settlement pattern studies (see Parsons 1972; Willey 1953) nor subsequent efforts took such a nuanced approach. Some popular strategies, such as transect sample surveys, were intentionally nonspatial. As Fred Plog noted, "sample data produce relatively poorer maps" (1990:248), and space was replaced by other variables that could be evaluated statistically. In the processual tradition, method was tightly scripted by research design, making it cumbersome to adapt data collected in such fashion to other questions.

The wide-ranging critique of archaeology that began in the 1970s provided theoretical room for space once more. In our more critical era the sources of inference for archaeological interpretation are rigorously examined and new perspectives on the archaeological record sought. This growing awareness creates opportunities to build new archaeologies of landscape. But on what should we base our interpretations? And what, in the end, should we be looking at?

From my perspective, an archaeology of landscape is inherently concerned with *meaning* and thus with *place.* It is meaning that accords significance to walls, structures, fields, and other features in particular settings, and by assigning meaning to those features, the people who constructed or used them created places (for a discussion of place, see Malpas 1999). Meaning allows us to make sense of landscapes, yet archaeologists face the dilemma that ideas of place developed in cultural contexts that are no longer directly available. The strategies we adopt to interpret places, then, are the most critical components of our arguments about ancient landscapes. In recent landscape archaeology, three common approaches to meaning can be discerned: phenomenology, history, and historical ethnography.

Phenomenology

Since the 1990s, archaeologists have devoted considerable attention to the exploration of meaning in landscapes as understood through humans' immediate experience of them. This approach, derived from the philosophical concept of phenomenology, is concerned with the physicality of the landscape as encountered by the human body, a perspective that has been highly influential in ethnographic studies of place (see, for example, Feld and Basso 1996). British scholars have pioneered efforts to apply this approach to archaeology. "Phenomenology," wrote Christopher Tilley, "involves the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject" (1994:12). Humans interact with their surroundings through their senses, and our shared biology makes the experiences of our predecessors accessible to us. Julian Thomas specifically addressed this issue, arguing that if people "no longer inhabit the spaces we excavate, we must *put their bodily presences back*, through interpretation, if we are to say anything of consequence whatsoever" (1996:88; italics mine). In essence, a phenomenology of landscape means that our own responses to ancient sites in their settings can be a central referent in our interpretation of their original meaning.

In viewing the prehistoric landscapes of Britain, Tilley (1994, 2004) and Thomas (1996) thus gave priority to sensory experience, necessarily couched within the complex issues of chronology and association. Meanings associated with megalithic monuments such as Stonehenge and Avebury, for example, can be approached through their orientation, their relationships to other monuments and topographic features, and the visual effects these relationships create.

The fundamental principle of landscape phenomenology—that our own experience of the land really does have a predictable relationship to archaeological cases—has been criticized in several ways. The most straightforward is empirical, for it is difficult to establish the details of any landscape of the past. Changes in vegetation are an obvious concern. In many cases, lines of sight that exist today might have been obscured by trees in the past, a possibility that casts doubt on the way such vistas might relate to the perceptions of ancient peoples (Chapman and Gearey 2000; Darvill 1999:41). The randomness of preservation and the destruction of archaeological sites have also crippled our ability to reconstruct what once was (Fleming 1999). If we cannot know what earlier people saw, then we must be skeptical about what our own vision tells us.

Perhaps the most trenchant argument against a phenomenology of archaeological landscapes concerns the nature of perception itself. Joanna Brück noted that "the body is a social construct, the product of a culturally specific conception of the universe" (1998:26). Shared physical attributes notwithstanding, experience is shaped by culture. "I would argue," she wrote, "that the way in which we experience the world around us depends on our interpretation of it" (1998:29). This point is reflected in an anecdote from the late nineteenth century concerning the avocational archaeologist T. Mitchell Prudden, who watched a Navajo guide walk up to the rim of the Grand Canyon, which he had never seen before. To Prudden, the vista unfolding before them inspired awe and amazement—arguably an expectation shaped by cultural attitudes emphasizing romanticized grandeur—but his associate, after uttering the Navajo equivalent of "I'll be darned," turned his back on the panorama and went to eat lunch under a tree.

Landscape phenomenologists working in archaeology have also—to date—concentrated on particular types of landscapes, a focus that is central to an evaluation of their approach. Tilley, Thomas, and others (for instance, many of the authors in Nash 1997) have focused on the "monuments" of British prehistory: Megalithic tombs, earthworks, standing stones, and related features. Richard Bradley described monument building as intended to create "an entirely new sense of place . . . to ground the experience of place in deliberate, human constructions" (1993:5). Monuments are thus products of a particular kind of conscious action. A landscape of monuments is overtly *ideational*, a type defined by Bernard Knapp and Wendy Ashmore as only one of many possible categories of landscape (1999:12).

Deriving meaning from features that were always explicitly "meaningful" is a logical strategy, except that it implies that other aspects of the landscape "meant" less. For instance, systems of prehistoric land boundaries in upland Britain have been subjects of considerable analysis, but discussions of them are scarce in the phenomenological literature. Andrew Fleming's study of the Dartmoor reaves (1988) offers detailed evidence for the organization of social and economic groups at a variety of scales, as seen through field systems, trackways, and farmhouses. Studies of this kind have broadly defined goals of documenting "human communities and the way that they inhabit a world of their own creation" (Darvill 1999:38; see also Caulfield 1983). Attempts to create a single analytical framework for such "complete" landscapes exist, one being John Barrett's concept of "inhabitation" (1999). Nonetheless, the impression remains that certain kinds of experiences—those of humans harnessing the infinite, rather than of humans harnessing a plow horse—are favored.

Landscape phenomenology thus tells us more about ourselves than about the past. Tilley acknowledged that megaliths "respond to a modernist historical sensibility" (1993:50), raising concern about our ability to see them for what they were rather than what they are today. Fred Myers noted that phenomenology has its own context within Western philosophy, associated with a search for the "primitive" in reaction to a culturally based mistrust of rationality (2000:77). Even our ideas about the forces we might perceive at work in such a landscape—power and authority, for instance—have implications for us that might not have been shared by our Neolithic predecessors (Brück 1998:31; Cooney 2001:167). I do not deny that such forces existed in different pasts, but their significance and the ways they played out in people's daily lives may be less predictable than phenomenological analysis requires.

Theories about landscape analysis that rely on phenomenology thus run the risk of either reducing meaning to sweeping and fairly trivial statements or becoming mired in debates over cultural relativism. If we foreground our own physical experience, then we inevitably make our predecessors more like us, a conclusion that flies in the face of recent anthropological thought. Bradley's call for an "archaeology of natural places" (2000) addresses this issue by shifting the focus toward the interaction between culture and topography, and Barrett noted that the "act of inhabiting a place is meaningful to the inhabitants according to their own experiences and desires" (1999:259). As these approaches indicate, understanding meaning in the landscape requires staying close to the experiences of those who created and lived it.

History

An alternative strategy for identifying meaning in archaeological landscapes is to seek it in history. Heightened awareness of the way our own perceptions and constructions of landscape have evolved over time should provide relevant information about similar processes in other cultures. This approach is not necessarily deterministic but rather uses the experiences with which we can be most familiar for purposes of comparison.

Much influential theory in landscape studies in the United States, particularly that of John Brinkerhoff Jackson, is derived from a historical perspective. Jackson focused his attention on the development of the American landscape, looking at both its various components and its overall effect (1984, 1994; see also Tuan 1977). Broad statements about landscape are drawn from these studies as well as from a certain level of "shared experience." This approach has been adopted by writers in many intellectual fields, such as the historian Simon Schama, who argued that "inherited landscape myths and memories share two common characteristics: their surprising endurance through the centuries and their power to shape institutions that we still live with" (1995:15).

Historical archaeologists have recently employed more specific strategies to chart changing perspectives on space and its creation in different historical contexts, often drawing on critical geography (e.g., Soja 1989). Mark Leone's influential research (1984) on gardens and ideology in Georgian Virginia inaugurated an entire research tradition. Other scholars have examined the countryside, finding meaning in nineteenth-century farming landscapes (Joseph and Reed 1997) and in overlapping landscapes of gentry and slaves in colonial Virginia (Upton 1990). Jim Delle has used both archival and archaeological sources to examine landscapes of power involving Caribbean plantations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, identifying different "spatialities of control and resistance" (1998:155) constructed by slave owners and the enslaved.

The historical perspective on landscape of Leone, Upton, Delle, and Paul Shackel (2003) derives from a rich cultural and temporal context, making it a source for substantive comparisons but also leaving broader application subject to question. It is difficult to assess how conclusions about Euro-American history as seen through the lens of landscape might be applied to other times and other cultural traditions. Many of these landscapes were products of events that took place over only a few decades. They are understandable as places but must be significantly different from places established over generations or centuries. If our cultural memory of the American landscape is defined by such brief association, can we expect conclusions derived from it to be useful for other cultures and places?

More specifically, the central question of many landscape studies in historical archaeology concerns the growth and implications of capitalism, a socioeconomic system of historically recent origin despite its pervasiveness. The vast critical literature on social power and ideology associated with capitalism is directly relevant, but what these insights might tell us about other societies depends on our belief in universal processes. We are thus returned to the dilemma of generalization and self-reference presented by phenomenology.

Perhaps the greatest limitation in the archaeology of historic landscapes is the extent to which they are archaeological at all. With a scant few decades of substantive work behind them, American historical archaeologists are only beginning to produce the empirical data required to complement the available textual sources. The strength of Delle's analysis of Jamaican coffee plantations, for instance, lies in his evaluation of maps and related imagery produced by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century planters, which he described as depicting "cognitive space" pertaining to control and production (1998:99). In contrast to this rich body of information, the material record at the sites of the plantations themselves is poor. The data that would allow comparison between the cognized space of the planters and the realities of plantation life are stubbornly ephemeral, and identifying the "spatialities of resistance" of the enslaved population anywhere except in documentary sources proves remarkably difficult (1998:163).

As constructed by historical archaeologists, a focus on landscape is heavily reliant on the ways in which people communicated ideas *about* landscape rather than on the way the landscape might actually have been. The unique character of such information—in particular, the device of the map—is a distinct challenge to any broader application of such a strategy. Another dilemma is evident from Kathleen Stewart's ethnography of Appalachian landscapes (1996a, 1996b), which demonstrates that ideas of place are as grounded in the spoken word as in the material world. The historical approach to landscape thus reinforces the importance of meaning but does not necessarily provide a key to extending that meaning beyond particular places and times.

Historical Ethnography

A final source of inference in landscape archaeology is historical ethnography. If phenomenology is overreliant on shared bodily experience and if history is of greatest relevance in specific contexts, then examinations of *different* bodies in *other* contexts requires a different strategy. Without negating real concerns about bias, developing a better understanding of how other cultures perceive, construct, and use space has wide applicability to archaeological cases.

Ethnographic research on the subject of space and landscape, however, is sparser than might be expected. Even though early anthropologists were interested in geography, the dominant paradigms for much of the twentieth century focused on other topics. It is also rare to find discussions of space in *etic* terms—that is, from an insider's perspective—that examine the material components of such perceptions. Nevertheless, interest in the subject has expanded as questions of space and place regain popularity, and the body of comparative literature is growing rapidly.

Landscape studies have been especially important in recent ethnographies of hunter-gatherers, perhaps because of our impression—erroneous though it may be—that foraging people are more intimately embedded in the land than are farmers. For example, the indigenous maps of trap lines maintained by Athapaskan people in northern Canada, described by Hugh Brody (1982), reflect distinct spatial perceptions incorporating time, topography, and experience. Perceptions of landscape are of long-standing relevance in studies of Aboriginal Australians (e.g., Gould 1969; Munn 1970). They are most forcefully articulated in Fred Myers's ethnography of the Pintupi people. "It is impossible to listen to any narrative," he wrote, "whether it be historical, mythological, or contemporary, without constant reference to where events happened. In this sense, place provides the framework around which events coalesce, and places serve as mnemonics for significant events. . . . Upon close examination, it is activity that creates places, giving significance to impervious matter" (1986:54; see also Morphy 1995).

Landscape studies are less common for agricultural peoples. Robert Thornton's examination of the Iraqw of Tanzania emphasized the "cultural creation of space," a process wrapped in a complex understanding of the relationship between the wild and the domestic (1980:17–18). Susan Kus and Victor Raharijaona (2000) explored concepts of space and local knowledge as expressed in Merin architecture in Madagascar. Landscape scholarship is becoming increasingly extensive in Oceania and Melanesia, ranging from full-scale ethnogeographies (Bonnemaison 1994) to more localized examinations of the relationship between culture, land, and memory (Ballard 1994; Toren 1995; Weiner 1991). Richard Parmentier's work on the Micronesian island of Belau (1987) displays a sensitivity to landscape in the context of a semiotic analysis of the relationship between history and material culture.

The relevance of such information about indigenous concepts of place for archaeological studies of landscapes is less straightforward than it might appear. Landscape theorists have employed comparative ethnography largely to develop models concerning territoriality (see Ingold 1986) and to develop broad concepts such as "Nonwestern/precapitalist space" (Tilley 1994:21). It seems probable that "place making" is fundamental to human experience, because, as phenomenologists assert, it is rooted in biology and perception. Yet the cumulative effect of cross-cultural ethnography suggests that the meanings people assign to place are extraordinarily diverse. The construction of stone monuments in the Zafimaniry communities of Madagascar described by Maurice Bloch (1995) might stem from impulses similar to those motivating the building of mounds by the Mapuche people of Chile (Dillehay 1990, 2007), yet the responses of those who experience these places must be dramatically different. People might build monuments for the many reasons that Bradley described (1993, 1998), but the cultural tapestries from which such structures emerge and within which they are perceived and interpreted are distinct.

Archaeologists can rarely avoid generalizing, because so much of the particular in the past left no material trace or has vanished with time. Yet to avoid reducing ancient lives to numbing essentials, some comprehension of context must be achieved. Even a flawed historical ethnography offers a route away from Westernized perspectives on non-Western pasts. Historical ethnographic approaches logically offer the greatest potential when they operate within specific historical-ethnographic traditions. Just as Delle's research on the Jamaican landscape deepens our understanding of the Western leitmotiv of capitalism and slavery, so recent archaeological studies of the Australian landscape (e.g., David and Wilson 1999; Fullagar and Head 1999; Head 1993; Taçon 1994, 1999) illuminate the vital indigenous worldview of the Aboriginal population. New studies of the ritual landscape of the Aztecs have been built from sophisticated interpretations of the ethnohistorical record of the Valley of Mexico (Broda 1999; Carrasco 1999). Some of the most successful collaborations between ethnographers and archaeologists on issues of landscape have come from the Pacific (see Ayres and Mauricio 1999), particularly from the Anahulu project of Patrick Kirch and Marshall Sahlins (Kirch 1992; Sahlins 1992). Focusing on the transformations associated with contact-period Hawaii, they based their study on the complementary evidence provided by ethnohistory and archaeology in what Sahlins called a "dialectic of subdisciplines" (1992:1). In this case it is landscape that provides the unifying concept, a matrix within which disparate sources of information are successfully integrated to locate meaning within a particular historical realm.

Contextual Experience

Drawing from these related perspectives in historical ethnography, I advocate a landscape archaeology of *contextual experience.*[1] This approach neither denies the relevance of settings established by topography and the built environment nor imposes a generalized interpretation of such places. Instead, it seeks to illuminate the ways in which places are established within cultural frameworks. This is not excessively particularistic, because viewing space as a cultural construct necessarily implies acceptance of concepts that are shared by an identifiable segment of humanity. It does, however, work from the premises that the researcher's own responses to the land should be treated carefully and that the cultural contexts of archaeological landscapes must receive as much attention as do artifacts and features themselves.

A landscape archaeology of contextual experience in the Pueblo Southwest most appropriately begins with the historical traditions of the Pueblo peoples themselves. Recent research on Native American concepts of place in the greater region (see Carmichael 1994; Gelo 1994, 2000; Kelley and Francis 1994; Laird 1976; Stouffle et al. 1997) offers direction. Keith Basso, for example, has articulated the active role the landscape plays for the Western Apaches, who "are forever performing acts that reproduce and express their own sense of place—and also, inextricably, their own understandings of who and what they are" (1996:110). Pueblo ethnography, too, provides a culturally specific window into a living tradition rooted in the land

Building an archaeology of contextual experience requires attention to method as much as to conceptual foundations. To avoid perpetuating the static, documentary approach of Harrington's day, we need to incorporate the gains and advances of the intervening decades into a new approach. Studies of place have their own peculiarities, and the problems inherent in our degree of separation from the people who made those places must be addressed. I believe the new approach should have three basic components: "deep mapping," research at the scale of the community, and an integrative perspective.

Deep Mapping

Michael Shanks (1997) called for an archaeology of "deep maps" that would capture the subtle meanings with which landscapes have been invested over time. At a minimum, deep mapping calls for the reconstruction of context. Landscape archaeology depends on our perceiving connections between things in their places, requiring us to emphasize relationships, both spatial and temporal, among the elements that mark human activity. A small petroglyph panel on a boulder, for example, might contribute limited information on its own, yet it might well be related to other features—to a trail passing nearby, to a field in an arroyo below, or to a favored spot from which the open countryside beyond might be seen. Such associations might reflect different meanings, different historical circumstances, or both simultaneously.

Asserting the value of context is easier in the abstract than in practice. Inevitably such information must be addressed selectively in order to be comprehended and communicated. For instance, members of the Bandelier Archaeological Survey, a large project in Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico, in which I participated in the 1980s, defined 50 different units of analysis, including 9 classes of major surface features, 31 classes of minor features, 5 types of kivas, 5 types of refuse scatters, and the catchall category "isolated occurrences" (Powers et al. 1999). Even greater detail is produced by non-site surveys, such as the one Mark Lycett (1995) conducted in the Galisteo Basin of New Mexico, which documented tens of thousands of artifacts in a relatively small area. A map incorporating all such information can hardly be imagined (see Fish 1999:204). As a compromise, the creation of different maps establishing different contexts can lead to a careful unpacking of nested relationships in ways that do not unnecessarily obscure the bigger picture. Such partial maps amount to different views of the landscape that might help us perceive from the outside what those who created the landscape saw as a single perspective.

Deep mapping inevitably treats chronology in ways different from those of other archaeologies. Assigning dates to artifacts and features recorded during survey is always complicated, relying on elaborate chains of reasoning that are continually under revision. This negotiation, ironically, is pronounced in the Southwest, where one of the most refined chronologies in archaeological practice dates past events to within the span of a single generation. Further precision is unlikely, and landscape strategies must work from the contention that general patterns of association between sets of features for which some contemporaneity can be established is sufficient. Temporal "blurring" cannot be avoided but can be minimized by careful consideration of relationships.

Finally, one of the central characteristics of landscapes is that they reflect human activities over time. From the perspective of a human life, topography remains largely unchanged, but vegetation might be altered slowly by climate and human action and buildings might rise and fall rapidly. Some elements of the built environment persist in one form or another and can be assigned multiple meanings by successive generations of viewers. Landscapes are never static constructs but represent for those living in them "the cumulative material conditions which they inhabited" (Barrett 1999:258). Temporal context, as well as other contextual relationships, are thus critical elements of deep maps.

Community Scale

The second basic component of an archaeology of contextual experience is research at the scale of the community. The concept of community has a long history in anthropological research (see Arensberg 1961; Murdock and Wilson 1972; Redfield 1967). Archaeologists working in the Southwest have embraced the notion of community as both a unit of sociopolitical organization and a unit of analysis. Although it has been variously defined, community-centered analysis has been a topic of considerable comment (see Drennan 1999; Hegmon 2002; Mahoney et al. 2000; Wills and Leonard 1994) as well as the basis of several studies (for example, Adler 1990; Fish and Fish 1992; Varien 1999).[2]

Traditionally, however, Southwestern survey-based research has emphasized the large scale, typically focusing on "regions" that incorporate dozens, if not hundreds, of square kilometers. This focus usually correlates with an interest in "explaining change and continuity in networks of social and ecological interaction above the scale of the locality and local community" (Kowalewski 1990:34). In recent years the case for pursuing research at an even larger scale has been advanced (Hantman 1987; Lekson 1999; McGuire et al. 1994; Wilcox 1999).

Yet it is precisely the community scale, which regional and macro-regional strategies are designed to transcend, that is the critical locus of meaning in human societies. Drawing from others (especially Adler 1996b; Lipe 1970), I define a community as "a minimal, spatially defined locus of human activity that incorporates social reproduction, subsistence production, and self-identification" (Kolb and Snead 1997:611). In spatial terms a community is "micro-regional"—typically an area only a few kilometers across (Gaffney and Tingle 1989). Despite suggestions that this approach confuses archaeological and sociological concepts (see Yeager and Canuto 2000:5), the fact that communities are widely considered to be identifiable on the ground (see, for instance, Kantner and Mahoney 2000; Maxham 2000) argues that the concept is useful, offering a "scale of attack which is both analytically meaningful and operationally practical" (Wobst 1973:148).

Familiarity and repeated action shape the country around home and fields into a conceptual whole, so that the notion of *community landscape* provides a particularly dynamic frame of reference (Adler 2002b; Kolb and Snead 1997). Home environs do not incorporate all the important activities of a social group, but they encompass many of those that are the most deeply laden with meaning. Farther afield the country becomes both less understood and more likely to overlap with that of other communities, and so it is more ephemeral and more complicated. In strictly archaeological terms, the process of landscape research, particularly the need to record detailed information, is an additional, pragmatic constraint against the large scale.

All these factors suggest that the community scale is particularly appropriate for studying the Pueblo landscape. In many ways, studies of societies defined locally are complementary to both regionally based studies of interactions between communities and macro-regional examinations of such processes across the Southwest and even beyond. A better understanding of community organization builds the foundation upon which other research agendas can be based, enhancing our comprehension of the whole. Merging sociopolitical ideas about community in the Pueblo cultural context with community landscapes on the ground in the Pueblo countryside provides a useful application of contextual experience.

Integrative Perspective

The third essential component of landscape archaeology is an integrative perspective. Many commentators have noted that landscape can be a unifying concept in historical scholarship, drawing diverse theoretical agendas and different interest groups into a common framework (e.g., Darvill 1999:33). Knapp and Ashmore have argued that landscape is "a domain for fruitful interaction, 'cross-cultural' communication in many senses" (1999:4). In building new landscape archaeologies, this larger intellectual context must remain with us, so that our efforts will allow us to speak across philosophical divides and address many divergent needs. Contextual experience is most useful when it is envisioned as bringing together multiple perspectives.

One problem of landscape archaeologies based in particular ethnographic traditions is that they may tell us only what we already know. The risk of tautology—of our interpreting everything in terms of what we see today or believe to have existed recently, uncritically applying an already imaginary ethnographic present to the distant past—is considerable. Among other things, such a circular argument would make it difficult to perceive culture change, perpetuating a common misunderstanding of the character of indigenous societies.

In order to prevent landscape approaches from becoming ends in themselves, we must use them to engage larger debates. Despite divergent research traditions, there is much common ground in archaeological thought. Queries about human organization, change over time, the nature of power, and the role of belief systems all remain current and have relevance for the study of landscapes. Thus, many of the questions about the Southwestern past that have emerged over the last century remain vital.

In the northern Rio Grande region, the archaeology of the late pre-Columbian era is inherently about the process of "becoming" Pueblo (Anschuetz 1998:473). It is generally agreed that the peoples whom the Spaniards met at the end of the sixteenth century lived in roughly the same places and had identities similar to those of more recent peoples, but also that conditions 500 years earlier were considerably different. Archaeologists approach this transformation in different ways—as a result of waves of migrants (Ford et al. 1972), as a product of new religions (Adams 1991; Crown 1994), as a response to demographic and environmental stress (Hill et al. 1996), as a reorganization of socioeconomic relationships (Habicht-Mauche 1993), and as the complex interplay of many such factors (Cordell 1989). This tangle of possibilities reflects ambiguous data, but it also arises from the fact that many people are thinking about this transformation, proof that questions about the cultural origins of the Pueblo people are essential to understanding the region's past. In seeking to account for present circumstances, we are required both to understand those circumstances and to remain open to new research strategies with interpretive power.

The issue of audience cannot be cast aside lightly, either, particularly because engagement with an ethnographic tradition requires engagement with a living one. This brings opportunities for a deeper understanding of the relationships between people and land and an awareness of the political context of such ties in the modern era. Advocacy brings out conflicting emotions in social scientists, in part because of ingrained skepticism and awareness of the multiple roles of "authority" in such situations. Yet our responsibility toward the descendants of the people whom we study is real, and negotiation is continuous.

An integrative approach must thus be employed on multiple levels. Addressing different audiences and different questions keeps landscape archaeology from sliding into particularism. Rising to Knapp and Ashmore's challenge to use landscape as a forum for communication between cultures (1999) is perhaps the most fruitful way for any insightful approach to proceed and will keep the strategy in a continual state of evolution.

Through deep mapping, a community focus, and an integrative perspective, contextual experience represents a new approach to the study of archaeological landscapes. Although bypassing some of the blind ends of other landscape strategies, contextual experience contains its own dilemmas. I previously referred to the risk of particularism that emerges from the need for close examination of the archaeological record and from immersion in sources. It is also true that our modes of understanding the past inevitably disembed the object of study from its appropriate context. Archaeology is an inherently Western mode of historical practice, and our attempts to incorporate "other voices" into its narrative can be naive.

Ultimately, however, archaeology is one means through which we explain others to ourselves. If performed with respect and heightened awareness, it can potentially define a middle ground, approaching indigenous worldviews in ways that neither denigrate them nor reconstruct them as ahistorical cognitive straightjackets. By treating Pueblo landscapes as meaningful places rather than as abstract spaces, we come closer to achieving this ambition.

Knowing the Country

The archaeology of contextual experience is built on historical ethnography and the significance of place. On a grand scale, my work emphasizes the northern Rio Grande region of New Mexico in the late pre-Columbian era. Landscape research in this region has attracted considerable attention since the 1980s, and my arguments build on the empirical and theoretical contributions of many others. This book is an early step in what I see as a logical movement away from the generation-long theoretical and methodological debate within archaeology in general and the Southwest in particular and toward field-based applications of new concepts. In these first years of the twenty-first century there are old boundaries, primarily intellectual, to cross, but also new boundaries, largely cultural, to be respected. It is only through the application of data to problems that these lines of constraint can be identified.

Having just argued for deep maps and integration, I devote the next few chapters to pulling the Pueblo landscape apart in order to identify patterns and trends in certain topics of interest. The empirical basis of this research comes from five study areas, all within 50 miles of Santa Fe, a landscape that is home to the Keres- and Tewa-speaking Pueblo peoples. Each study area incorporates significant evidence for community landscapes created in the late pre-Columbian era. My colleagues and I documented these places during several field seasons between 1992 and 2006, using a relatively standard strategy discussed in chapter 2.

In chapters 3, 4, and 5 I emphasize three themes in the cultural landscapes of the study areas, the first being provision. The issue of subsistence has always been central to studies of Pueblo peoples, particularly in light of a climate widely perceived as difficult for sustainable agriculture. Diverse farming strategies were important in Pueblo lifeways, and the social and political organization of agricultural subsistence was a fundamental element of Pueblo society. The ritual significance of corn and other plants constituted an ideological component of cultivation as well. All these factors are present in the landscape and reflect the changing significance of "provision" over time.

In the chapter on identity I examine the ideational landscapes of Pueblo communities, focusing on features associated in the ethnographic record with belief and integration—topography, architecture, shrines, and petroglyphs. Rarely monumental in the traditional sense, these landmarks are nonetheless symbolic constructions and can be expected to reflect categories of meaning. I am particularly interested in the way suites of features bearing on group identity and boundary maintenance were employed at different times and how relationships between topography and the built environment reflect shifting concepts of so-called sacred space.

The chapter on movement addresses a more specific question concerning the archaeology of the Pueblo world, that of the flow of people across the terrain. Where people go and when is central to the question of community organization and how it changes. In archaeological terms, movement is accessible through the study of trails, which is made possible in the northern Rio Grande by favorable preservation. Trails reflect social, economic, and historical relationships within and between groups, but they are also of ideological significance because movement is intrinsically linked to boundaries, tangible and perceived. Studying trails is an important means of stepping away from landscape as a static image in favor of landscape as something in a constant state of change.

I bring these separate "maps" together in the conclusion, chapter 6. In reintegrating the landscape of the study areas I return to larger-order questions of change in the region as a whole. As the Pueblo world takes form in the physical sense, so does Pueblo history and identity. Ultimately I assess archaeological discussions of the transformation of the final pre-Columbian centuries in the Southwest as seen through the landscape, particularly in light of what can be known about changing concepts and constructions of place. My goal is less to suggest a broadly applicable model than to comment on the relevance of such an approach at all.

In the end it is important to return to the theme that began this introduction, that of space as analyzed and place as experienced. Our distance from the archaeological past, our separation from it in almost every sense, is entirely analogous to the view from an airplane. Some things are visible, some are not, and some things that we know are there do not stand out. My argument, applied but not limited to the Southwestern past, is that what we see is entirely dependent on how we look, and contextual experience is an important way of looking. In endeavoring to know the country, as Bandelier suggested, we stand to gain remarkable insights into the lives of the ancestors and thus to enrich our own.