

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE

the  
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SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY



## APPLICATIONS INVITED FOR EDITOR, *LATIN AMERICAN ANTIQUITY*

The Society for American Archaeology invites applications or nominations for the editorship of *Latin American Antiquity*. The Editorship is generally held jointly by two editors, one based in North America, one based in Latin America. Applications are welcome from two as a team, or from a single applicant. In recent cases, one editor has been appointed by the SAA who then found a colleague to complete the team.

*Latin American Antiquity* is one means by which SAA carries out a central mission, scholarly journal publishing. Its subscription list is composed of those SAA members who opt for the journal as a membership benefit, and of libraries and institutional subscribers. The SAA Board is strongly committed to providing the means by which the society's journals, *Latin American Antiquity* and *American Antiquity*, will flourish in changing conditions for academic publishing.

The editor(s) has overall responsibility for journal's functioning and final responsibility for all content within general policies established by the SAA Board. The journal's production is done from the SAA office in Washington, D.C.

Although editors of the SAA journals have often been senior scholars of long experience, individuals of less-senior standing may be better placed to devote the necessary time and attention to the journal. The central qualifications are a good knowledge of the field *Latin American Antiquity* covers, with a broad respect for the varied research attitudes and traditions within it; specific editing experience is helpful.

The Editorship is unpaid and will be expected to provide some institutional support for their office, and to ensure they have sufficient time to carry out their responsibilities. The term of the editor is for a period of three years; it may be renewed once thereafter.

The editor position falls vacant on March 28, 2008 when the present editors, Mark Aldenderfer and José Luis Lanata, complete their term. The editorship is preceded by an overlap period with them beginning January 1, 2008. SAA anticipates making the appointment in Fall 2007.

Available to discuss the post informally are Aldenderfer (University of Arizona, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721-0001 Tel: [520]-626-7155, aldender@email.arizona.edu); Lanata (University of Buenos Aires Department of Anthropology, Q. Bocayuva 127, Buenos Aires 1181, Argentina, Tel: 4958-1133, Fax: 4958-1133, jllanata@filo.uba.ar); and the chair of the SAA Publications Committee, Cathy L. Costin (contact information below), who leads the search.

Applications outlining relevant qualifications and expected local institutional support arrangements, along with a current vita, should be directed to Cathy L. Costin, California State University, 18111 Nordhoff Street, Department of Anthropology, Northridge CA 91330-0001, Tel: (818) 677-3331, Fax: (818) 677-2873, email: cathy.l.costin@csun.edu, by October 1, 2007.

# the SAA Archaeological record

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*Storm hut built by Blackfeet hunter to take shelter from a blizzard, Mowitch Basin, Lewis and Clark National Forest, Montana. Photo by M. N. Zedeño.*



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Deadlines for submissions are: December 1 (January), February 1 (March), April 1 (May), August 1 (September), and October 1 (November); send to John Kantner, *The SAA Archaeological Record*, John Kantner, VP for Academic & Institutional Advancement, School of American Research, PO Box 2188, Santa Fe, NM 87504-2188. For information, call (505) 954-7238, fax (505) 954-7214, or email [kantner@sarsf.org](mailto:kantner@sarsf.org).

Manuscript submission via email or by disk is encouraged. Advertising and placement ads should be sent to SAA headquarters, 900 Second St., NE #12, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 789-8200.

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Inquiries and submissions should be addressed directly to them. The *SAA Archaeological Record* is provided free to members and institutional subscribers to *American Antiquity* and *Latin American Antiquity* worldwide. The *SAA Archaeological Record* can be found on the Web in PDF format at

[www.saa.org/publications/  
thesaaarchrec/index.html](http://www.saa.org/publications/thesaaarchrec/index.html).

Past issues of the *SAA Bulletin* can be found at

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## EDITOR'S CORNER



# EDITOR'S CORNER

John Kantner

*John Kantner is Vice President of Academic & Institutional Advancement  
at the School of American Research.*

### New Editor Announced

I am pleased to announce that the SAA Board of Directors has selected Andrew Duff to be the next Editor of *The SAA Archaeological Record*. An Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Washington State University, Andrew has worked extensively in the U.S. Southwest, with a particular interest in Puebloan communities of the eleventh through fifteenth centuries. His research centers on issues of identity formation during periods of social upheaval, migration, and ritual change, topics that appear in his extensive publication record, which, among many articles, includes *Western Pueblo Identities: Regional Interaction, Migration, and Transformation* (University of Arizona Press, 2002) and *The Protohistoric Pueblo World, A.D. 1275–1600* (University of Arizona Press, 2004), which he coedited with E. Charles Adams. Andrew has many years of experience working in cultural resource management and with descendent groups, including through his previous employment at the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center. He has the perfect background and editorial experience to guide *The SAA Archaeological Record*!

Andrew officially takes over the magazine at the SAA Annual Meeting in Austin, Texas, and his first issue will be in September 2007. Potential contributors can contact Andrew at the following addresses:

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In email correspondence to Andrew, please add "SAA Archaeological Record" to the subject line to ensure that the email is not flagged as junk mail.

### Indigenous Knowledge in Archaeological Practice

Almost two years ago, David Whitley suggested that a thematic issue on the topic of sacred sites and religion would be valuable, for these themes are central to issues ranging from the definition of Traditional Cultural Properties to philosophical questions about the nature of scientific inquiry. After some discussion, we decided to expand the topic to a discussion of the role of indigenous knowledge in archaeological practice, and we selected a diversity of scholars representing a global perspective on the topic. Introduced by David Whitley, other scholars contributing to this issue—and the areas they discuss—include Jannie Loubser (South Africa), Maria Isabel Hernández Llosas (South America), Claire Smith (Australia), and Maria Nieves Zedeño, Jon Czaplicki, Kurt Dongoske, and Jeffrey Richner (North America). The result is a fascinating consideration of the role and preservation of indigenous knowledge for and through archaeological practice.

## Apocalypto

The recent release of Mel Gibson's movie *Apocalypto* has raised a number of issues regarding its depiction of what is supposed to be Maya society on the eve of the Spanish Conquest. Many archaeologists who work in the Maya area, including Traci Ardren (<http://www.archaeology.org/online/reviews/apocalypto.html>); Zachary Hruby (<http://www.mesoweb.com/reports/apocalypto-review.html>); Lisa Lucero, Tomas Barrientos, and David Webster ([http://www.usatoday.com/tech/science/2006-06-28-apocalypto\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/tech/science/2006-06-28-apocalypto_x.htm)); and David Carrasco and William Fash (<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/15994163/site/newsweek/>) have either commented on or reviewed the film. They and others have all noted its technical inaccuracies and distortions in its portrayal of the pre-Contact Maya. Anyone who cares about the past should be alarmed; if most moviegoers who see the film use it to formulate their understanding of what pre-Columbian life was like, *Apocalypto* will have set back, by several decades at least, archaeologists' efforts to foster a more informed view of earlier cultures.

Importantly for the SAA, however, the film presents an opportunity to discuss how archaeologists can be, knowingly or not, complicit in such distorted representations. In the case of *Apocalypto*,

Mr. Gibson received technical consultation from a prominent Maya scholar in return for what has been reported to be a *seven-figure donation* to that archaeologist's research project. I would like to make it very clear that I do not mean to imply that any ethical wrongdoing occurred. Nevertheless, considering the stakes involved, perhaps the SAA should consider whether the provisions of our ethics guidelines are up to this kind of exploitation of the past for personal gain, whether it comes as monetary profit or in the form of research support. Provision 3 of the guidelines addresses the commercialization of the past, although as worded it refers specifically to buying and selling antiquities. Provision 4 covers public education and outreach but does not discuss the role of archaeologists as consultants to books or movies, where their inputs might often be overruled for "artistic license." Indeed, no provision currently ensures the veracity of information provided by archaeologists to undertakings such as this in return for donations or other considerations.

The current SAA ethics guidelines are 10 years old—has the time come to revise them? A new or revised provision could not only apply to movie projects such as *Apocalypto*, but also to information provided for popular books (recent works by authors Jared Diamond and Charles Mann come to mind). Perhaps

public disclaimers about what information was provided and what suggestions were rejected would help make clear where the archaeologist's contributions end and Hollywood fantasy begins. Such a provision could also cover how field schools and volunteer-based "pay to dig" projects are advertised. The time has come to realize that buying and selling antiquities is not the only way to commercialize the past, and that "truth in advertising" is an important consideration, or even a responsibility, when speaking on behalf of other cultural entities.

The *Apocalypto* case is particularly relevant since millions of Mayas still inhabit Belize, Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras. Many are actively working to reclaim or retain their cultural heritage, recover their languages and traditions, achieve representation in national and international politics, and overcome decades of repression, bias, and even genocide. They, too, must contend with these Hollywood versions of their past. As archaeologists working for the ethical production of knowledge and multicultural understanding, it is important for our society to clearly define our principles in these cases.

Jon C. Lohse  
Department of Anthropology  
University of New Mexico

### Education Programs Evaluation: Need Help?

Has evaluation of your public outreach/archaeology education programs lagged, partly because you have no earthly idea where to start? Are your evaluations not quite giving you the information you need to really know how well your programs are meeting your education goals? Have you begun to wonder how you might push the evaluation envelope, to research patterns and processes?

If you answered **yes** to any of these questions, not to worry! The Society's Public Education Committee (PEC) has you covered!

PEC is hosting a workshop in Austin about evaluating and assessing public outreach/archaeology education programs. Entitled "Education Programs Evaluation: Prospects and Planning," it will be held on Thursday, April 26, 2007 from 8 A.M. to 12 noon. We need to have a minimum of 10 registrations by March 23, 2007 in order to make this workshop happen.

Cost of the workshop is \$69 with meeting registration; and \$89 if you don't plan to attend the meeting. **Register now to ensure your space!** To register, go to [www.saa.org](http://www.saa.org) or call the SAA at 202/789-8200.

If you have any questions, contact Gwynn Henderson at 859/257-1944 or [aghend2@uky.edu](mailto:aghend2@uky.edu)



## FROM THE SAA PRESIDENT

**Kenneth M. Ames**

*Kenneth M. Ames is the President of the Society for American Archaeology*



Dear Colleagues:

If you are wondering how to get more involved in SAA, I invite—urge—you to join one of the Society's committees or task forces. Although the Society has a small, excellent staff, we are a volunteer organization and heavily dependent on our membership for initiative, ideas, and work to get anything accomplished. The elected Board is comprised of volunteers; our journal editors are volunteers; we are all volunteers.

SAA presently has more than 50 committees and task forces. These bodies, which function either to advise the Board of Directors or to select award recipients, generate ideas, guide action plans, develop recommendations for Board review and action, respond to Board directives and initiatives, and collectively move the society forward. They are propelled by the energy and thoughtfulness of the 400+ members who volunteer to serve. SAA currently has more than 7,000 members. Most SAA committees operate on a cycle that runs from Annual Business Meeting to Annual Business Meeting and have rotations in place so that each committee needs some new members each year as terms expire. A standard term of service to a committee is three years, with some exceptions. If you're interested in contributing to—and influencing—the Society through committee service, please complete the committee interest form on SAAweb (<http://www.saa.org/aboutSAA/committees/commIntrst.html>). You can also contact the executive director ([tobi\\_brimsek@saa.org](mailto:tobi_brimsek@saa.org)) if you would like to express your interest in committee service. Your expression of interest will be communicated to the appropriate committee chair. We hope that you will choose to get involved!

*Ken Ames, President*



## IN BRIEF

Tobi A. Brimsek

*Tobi A. Brimsek is executive director of the Society for American Archaeology.*

### SAA's Endowments Provide Internship Opportunities

One of the ways in which the Board of Directors has put the SAA endowments to work is to develop an internship program, which welcomed three interns this spring. Interest from the Public Education Endowment has provided for two semesters for an intern to work with SAA's manager, Education and Outreach. Tanisha Mercado, a U.S. Virgin Islander and anthropology major at Howard University, is ably filling that vacancy for the spring semester.

The Government Affairs program has been enriched by Kristin Baker, also a junior and anthropology major at Howard University. This internship was funded by interest from the General Endowment. Her combined interests in political science and anthropology make her a wonderful match for this internship. Kristin will also be spending the spring semester at SAA, working with SAA's manager, Government Affairs.

The interest from the General Endowment has also provided for a communications internship. As many of you may be aware, we have had a limited communications program at SAA, because SAA does not have a communications staff person. Almost all of the effort in the communications arena has been a volunteer effort. This internship will allow for a more focused approach to specific communications projects in the coming months, critical prior to and following the annual meeting. Nailah Bynoe-Seabron, a senior public relations major and anthropology minor, is a perfect fit for the internship. Nailah will be working closely on goals set both by staff and the Media Relations Committee. Nailah is working with both the executive director and the manager, Publications who serves as liaison to the Media Relations Committee.

All three of these interns will be earning modest stipends for the semester as well as course credit at Howard University. At the close of the semester, each of the interns will be asked to summarize their learning and work experience at SAA. These internships provide the unique opportunity for SAA to both give and receive an enriching experience within the archaeological community.

### New Submissions System Launching for 2008 Annual Meeting in Vancouver

Rolling out in time for the submissions process for the 2008 Vancouver meeting is a brand-new web-based submissions system. As you may recall, the Board passed a motion in 2006:

Beginning with the 2008 annual meeting, the standard submission format will be electronic via the web. Paper submissions will be accepted at an additional cost of \$25. The Executive Director may exempt this additional service fee for legitimate reasons where contributors cannot access/use the web.

In 2007, of the 800–900 individual submissions, only 13 were submitted via paper and only a handful of organized sessions were submitted via paper this year as well. Electronic submission has become the norm.

Of course, submitters will not be required to pay solely by credit card on the web. There will be an option to print off a payment page, as there always has been. The big structural change to submitting will be that the organizer of a session will invite participants electronically. When the participants have completed their submissions, the organizer must actually hit the submit button for the completed session. An incomplete session will not be able to be submitted. Only the organizer will be able to submit the session. The 2008 Call for Submissions will detail the characteristics of the new system. The Call for Submissions will not include the paper submission forms, as it is assumed that there will not be many, if any, paper submissions. There will be instructions as to how to get those paper forms.

As usual, the Call for Submissions will be mailed in April. The web submissions system will be launched for Vancouver submissions by June 1, 2007. The deadline for 2008 Vancouver submissions will be September 5, 2007. The Vancouver meeting will be held March 26–30, 2008.

*IN BRIEF, continued on page 44*



# INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND 21ST CENTURY ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE: AN INTRODUCTION

David S. Whitley

*David S. Whitley is a principal in W&S Consultants and an Adjunct Professor in the Department of Geography, Arizona State University.*

Archaeology has experienced a sea change. About 80 percent of American archaeologists now work in cultural resource management (CRM), making our profession much more of an applied science than a tweedy academic discipline. With literally only a handful of American universities providing training in CRM, and probably fewer still contributing toward its method and theory, archaeological praxis increasingly is defined on-the-ground by practitioners. And while the specific circumstances of archaeological practice vary in other countries, these general tendencies and changes are widely shared. Nowhere is this better seen than in a key twenty-first-century archaeological issue: the place of indigenous knowledge in archaeological practice—the way that archaeological work is conducted, the processes by which archaeological resources are treated, and how archaeological knowledge itself is created. Whereas academic archaeology has the luxury of debating the value of indigenous knowledge in archaeological interpretation, its inclusion in the vast majority of ongoing archaeological work is now mandated by law, required by regulation, and/or demanded by political and social exigencies. Things, certainly, have changed.

The articles in this issue discuss this central topic from a variety of contexts and perspectives, emphasizing the place of indigenous knowledge at the twenty-first-century archaeological table. Yet, how is this enabled and promoted? The articles that follow give case-study examples, but it is useful to begin with a bit of a practical primer that addresses some of the underlying issues in the archaeological use of indigenous knowledge.

## Access to Knowledge Varies

Indigenous knowledge potentially may be acquired for archaeological use from two primary sources: contemporary consultants and the ethnographic record. In both cases, it is always important to bear in mind that access to knowledge varies culturally. This can have a profound impact on what archaeologists may find, or expect to be told, especially with respect to potentially sensitive topics, such as sacred sites.

Rights to and the value of knowledge are givens in Western democratic societies—hence our free speech and press, and even our federal Freedom of Information act. Knowledge in traditional societies, in contrast, commonly is more controlled and limited in its distribution, with access potentially constituting an earned right, acquired through age, achievements, and/or training and initiation. Certain kinds of knowledge, especially religious knowledge, also may be considered dangerous without proper training. Attitudes toward knowledge in such cases are ambiguous if not ambivalent; certain topics may involve information that many people literally do not want to know or have no right to obtain or discuss. Indigenous consultants in a related fashion may feel that certain kinds of information should not be revealed to Western anthropologists or archaeologists.

The implications of this circumstance for archaeologists are important, especially with respect to negative evidence. As the saying goes, an absence of evidence does not necessarily provide evidence for the absence of a trait, practice, or belief. Perhaps more to the point, existing ethnographic records tend to already contain those kinds of information that indigenous consultants were most willing to reveal. Obtaining information on additional topics—from contemporary consultants or the ethnographic record—is certainly possible, but substantial work may be required to acquire it, depending on a topic's sensitivity. Incorporating certain kinds of indigenous knowledge into archaeological practice may be difficult, then, because this knowledge is not always available for external consumption.

## Traditional Knowledge Persists into the 21st Century

That indigenous knowledge is sometimes hard to obtain is matched against a traditional reluctance on the part of many archaeologists to engage this source of information. This reluctance stems from a number of factors, one of which involves concerns about the effects of culture change. The anthropological literature on acculturation makes two key points about this phenomenon that are, I believe, rarely appreciated by archaeologists: different aspects of culture change at



very different rates, and certain aspects of culture commonly change more rapidly than others. Although there certainly are exceptions, the standard exemplars here are technology, which can change very rapidly with little if any impact on other aspects of culture, versus religion and belief, which can persist in the face of massive changes in other aspects of social life. Contrary to what many apparently believe, traditional religious beliefs and rituals are particularly prone to persist, even into our contemporary period, which otherwise has witnessed substantial changes in the lifeways of indigenous peoples.

This last fact has been demonstrated repeatedly by ethnographic accounts of the continuity over time of religious beliefs and practices, from earliest Contact-period ethnographies into contemporary times (e.g., Keyser and Whitley 2000; Whitley 2000); ironically, archaeological interpretations have changed substantially over the same period. Although there certainly are cases where traditional culture and indigenous knowledge have been entirely extirpated, such extreme circumstances need to be demonstrated empirically rather than assumed to have occurred.

### **Ethnographies Provide Raw Data, not Literal Explanations**

Archaeologists often assume that ethnographies provide full and literal explanations for cultural practices, and, in the absence of clear exegesis, they conclude that no ethnographic information exists. Actually, this just reflects methodological confusion about the nature of ethnographic data. This confusion plagued rock art research for much of the twentieth century, leading some archaeologists to conclude that the ethnographic tribes had no direct connection to the archaeological record. Once archaeologists learned to use the ethnographic record appropriately, we discovered that it contains substantial information about the origin and meaning of this art—information that previous archaeologists simply had not been able to recognize because it was not in the form they expected.

Like a table outlining an artifact assemblage from a site, the ethnographic record typically consists of a series of empirical observations and facts—raw data rather than synthesized and packaged interpretations. The value of the ethnographic record in this sense is that it consists of data that can provide us with kinds of indigenous knowledge that are useful for our archaeological purposes. But if you come to this record expecting full and immediate answers, you are likely to walk away disappointed. The use of ethnography is itself then an analytical task. Typically this requires a number of steps, including data tabulation and interpretation, as well as repeated readings of the ethnographic sources to identify the kinds of data that are pertinent to your specific problems; perhaps, surprisingly, these may not be immediately obvious.

Anna Gayton's southern Sierra Nevada ethnographies (1930, 1948) provide a good example here. Gayton was interested in shamanism but not particularly concerned with one of its archaeological manifestations—rock art. Although archaeologists were aware that she made a few brief comments about rock art, they overlooked the fact that her ethnographies contain substantial details about the rituals involved in creating the sites and the ways that shamans used them. These occur in her discussions of what she labeled "shamans' caches." But this only becomes evident through a meticulous reading of her reports, where, in two seemingly off-hand instances, she briefly noted that shamans' caches were invariably painted with pictographs. Her details about shamans' caches, in other words, are facts about the use of pictograph sites. Once synthesized, this constitutes one of the most extensive accounts of North American rock art site ritual use (Whitley 2000).

### **Ethnographic Facts may be Anecdotal; Good Ethnographic Interpretations are Systematic**

Indigenous knowledge is sometimes dismissed by archaeologists as anecdotal—interesting, perhaps, but of little value because it is so particularistic in origin. This again reflects confusions about the nature of ethnographic interpretations. The best ethnographic analyses employ all available ethnographic accounts, from multiple sources using a range of indigenous consultants. Good analyses also consider a variety of different kinds of evidence, thereby providing multiple types of data that, ideally, yield internal verification of an interpretation. These data might include direct testimony, word lists and etymologies, place names, folklore and mythology, ethnographic biographies, historical accounts and records, and other kinds and sources of information that, when combined, result in substantial and systematic evidence.

An example of the web of sources and data required for ethnographic interpretation, again involving rock art, can be found in the Great Basin. Our earliest word list from the region, for example, translates the term for shaman as "a man who writes," likely reflecting the fact that rock art was then called "rock writing." Numerous consultants from across this large region used (and continue to use) a term for "rock art site" that translates as "shaman's house of power." Other consultants call them "doctor's rocks" or "medicine rocks," which, in both cases, again link them to shamans. Similarly, shamans are widely said to conduct their vision quests at rock art sites. While some consultants directly stated that rock art was made by shamans, others denied it, but these last individuals typically claimed that the art was made by supernatural spirits—notably, spirits that served as shamans' spirit helpers, reflecting the fact that the actions of a shaman and his spirit helpers were considered indistinguishable (Whitley 1994). The result is, literally, a wealth of internally consistent evidence from

multiple sources that links rock art sites with shamans and shamanic vision questing.

### Ethnography can be Biased

Despite its potential value, the ethnographic record can be biased due to the attitudes of the anthropologists who created it, and it is important to identify, and filter out, these biases. Two kinds are most common, especially in older ethnographies. The first involves primitivist attitudes about indigenous peoples: the characterization of non-western peoples as simple, if not child-like, in their beliefs and practices. The second is the related idea that small-scale societies lacked complex symbolism or belief systems. To the credit of many of our early ethnographers, their own empirical data disprove the last claim, despite the assertions of these same anthropologists to the contrary.

Gender bias, resulting from ethnographers who only worked with consultants of their own sex, is another potential misleading factor. Luckily, there were as many female as male ethnographers in many parts of the western U.S., and this issue is not necessarily significant everywhere in this region. But it is useful to keep in mind as another possible problem when first looking at an ethnographic record.

### Limits of Indigenous Knowledge

What are the limits of the use of indigenous knowledge in archaeological interpretation? Most archaeologists probably place this at the beginning of the protohistoric or perhaps latest prehistoric periods. Fewer are likely willing to consciously extend its use much earlier, especially into the earliest prehistoric periods. But I suggest that we can only understand traditional, non-Western prehistoric cultures, of any age, through our understanding of the range of variation these kinds of cultures exhibited in the recent past. Our models of past cultures, regardless of how remote, in other words, are based on our conceptual models of similar cultures that we know through the ethnographic record and that we partly understand using indigenous knowledge. The point is not that we blithely slap ethnographic conditions onto Archaic hunter-gatherer cultures, but that we understand the plausible range of variation in these same ancient groups through our knowledge of similar ethnographic and contemporary groups.

Regardless of time limits and degrees of applicability, two facts are certain. The first is that, while traditional knowledge still exists in many places, it is disappearing with the passing of older generations, and it may not persist forever. As Clottes (2002) has noted, in certain cases this knowledge is more endangered than our most threatened sites, and we need to document it as a primary archaeological priority before it is lost. The second fact is that future archaeological practice in

the U.S.—and many other parts of the world—will be partly based on indigenous knowledge, influencing how we identify and assess sites, how they are managed, and how we interpret their meaning. Many archaeologists are untrained in this aspect of archaeological work and still harbor misperceptions about how it is conducted. The case studies in this issue illustrate more fully how it is identified and applied, and thereby provide a guide to twenty-first-century archaeological practice.

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# BLACKFEET LANDSCAPE KNOWLEDGE AND THE BADGER-TWO MEDICINE TRADITIONAL CULTURAL DISTRICT

María Nieves Zedeño

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**F**ormal interactions between archaeologists and Native Americans in the arenas of research and conservation provide excellent opportunities for learning how traditional knowledge is expressed by contemporary tribal members whose authority is called upon to monitor fieldwork, identify objects, or aid in the interpretation of features and patterns of artifact and site distribution. Field-based interactions range from informational site tours to monitoring excavation for inadvertent discoveries, and from resource-specific surveys to comprehensive landscape reconstructions. Limitations of project schedule and funding often restrict field-based interactions to short-term consultation with one or a few designated tribal representatives—generally elders or religious leaders who hold both the knowledge and the right to speak about it. Comprehensive landscape studies, on the other hand, depend on sustained communication with a larger group of people to fully succeed. These projects are ideal for better understanding the dynamics of traditional knowledge and for evaluating its potential role in the refinement of research frameworks and cultural preservation agendas.

Today's studies of aboriginal land use are conducted within a more holistic framework than research originally done for the Indian Land Claims process, as they tend to incorporate native worldviews and consider the broadest possible range of past and present uses. Furthermore, a trend toward forming research partnerships with tribes and native organizations lends a new authority and vitality to landscape studies that otherwise would depend on few opinions and secondary sources. But perhaps most importantly, such comprehensive studies help to situate individual and collective knowledge in the context of daily practice (or lack thereof) and to unpack the nature and depth of connections between people and the landscape. Because of the complex historical trajectories of native land use and territorial politics in the U.S., every tribe holds different levels of geographical, historical, and cultural approximation to specific parcels of aboriginal land, which in turn conditions the types of knowledge applied by tribal members to identify material remains and explain use patterns. The following case study briefly illustrates the interplay of traditional knowledge and the exercise of use rights on ceded land by a contemporary tribe.

## **Blackfeet Land use in the Badger-Two Medicine Traditional Cultural District**

The Badger-Two Medicine region (approximately 110,000 acres) is a strip of Rocky Mountain Front Range along the west and southwest portions of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in northwest Montana (Figure 1). The region, which comprises a chain of high peaks, the forested slopes to the east of the Continental Divide, and several major watersheds that empty into the Marias River, was ceded to the U.S. in the Agreement of 1896. What came to be known as the "Ceded Strip" is now under National Park Service and U.S. Forest Service management. Under the original agreement, the Blackfeet Tribe was to cede mineral rights but retain use rights. Even though rights of use and access to the strip have eroded over a century of federal management, tribal members continue to exercise them in traditional

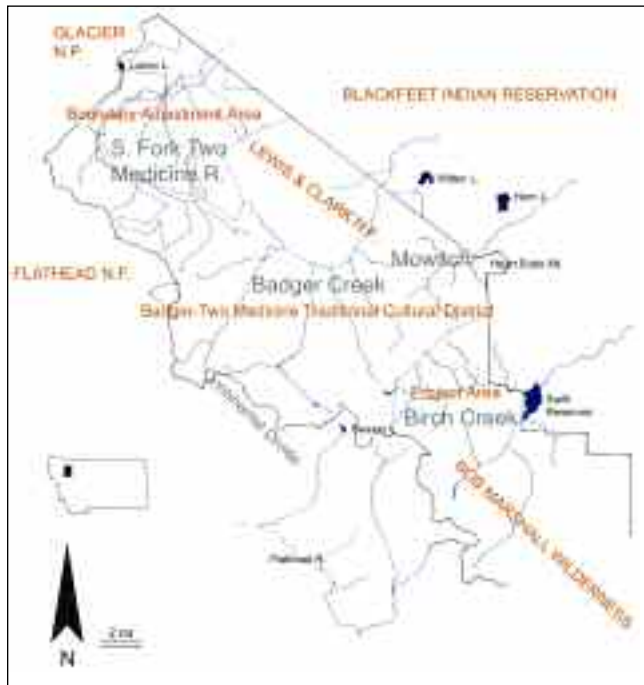


Figure 1: Badger-Two Medicine Region, Lewis and Clark National Forest, Montana.

and nontraditional ways.

The opportunity to explore in some depth how contemporary Blackfeet people incorporate traditional knowledge in the exercise of use rights on the Ceded Strip first presented itself in the late 1980s, when a peak in proposals to drill natural gas wells in the Badger-Two Medicine watershed of the Lewis and Clark National Forest prompted the documentation and assessment of the cultural significance of this region. Research by Biedl (1992), Greiser and Greiser (1993), Vest (1988), and Deaver (1988) resulted in the establishment in 1997 of the Badger-Two Medicine Traditional Cultural District (TCD), which is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Because of renewed interest in natural gas exploration, and as part of the National Historic Preservation Act's Section 106 requirements, in 2004 the U.S. Forest Service sponsored anthropological research to ascertain the existence of Blackfeet traditional use areas on the northernmost portion of the Lewis and Clark National Forest, which was originally excluded from the TCD. The project was carried out by the author in partnership with the Blackfeet Community College and the Blackfeet Tribal Historic Preservation Office (Zedeño et al. 2006). In 2006, the Indian Land Tenure Foundation awarded to the Blackfeet THPO a research grant to complete the inventory of sacred sites and other culturally significant resources on the Birch Creek watershed, located to the south of the current TCD boundaries (Zedeño et al. 2007).

This collaborative endeavor pursued several goals: (1) document individual and family use histories and current traditional uses; (2) identify and catalog traditionally used localities, places, and resources; and (3) explicitly consider Blackfeet worldviews in the presentation and discussion of research results. To accomplish these goals, the project partners identified tribal consultants who had personal and historical knowledge of the study areas; developed a comprehensive object, resource, and place survey form that complements the National Register Bulletin 38, Guidelines for Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties; and selected the localities to be surveyed with project consultants.

In addition to 30 Blackfeet individuals whose expertise contributed to the establishment of the TCD (Greiser and Greiser 1993), the present landscape study involved 60 male and female consultants, including five Canadian Blackfoot speakers. Consultants' ages ranged from 25 to 96 years of age and represented numerous user groups, including religious society leaders and members, individual religious practitioners, bundle holders, firefighters, forest managers, hunters, trappers, plant gatherers, timber collectors, ranchers, campers, and outfitters. These user groups exemplify the diversity of interests currently present on the Badger-Two Medicine region. By comparison with written records, we estimate that the combined historical memory of the consultants goes back at least six to eight generations, or approximately 150 years, which predates the establishment of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation and many other events that shaped the use history of the Ceded Strip.

Fieldwork undertaken with the Blackfeet consultants consisted of packing and surveying expeditions and day trips to selected localities (Figure 2). Consultants who could not travel were shown maps and photographs of the project area to elicit their participation. Additionally, Blackfeet project partners held a winter meeting that followed traditional storytelling protocols. Sixteen traditional activities (past and present) were documented in 2004–2005; associated resources comprise 65 plants, 52 animals, 14 minerals and fossils, and 16 landscape features. This inventory grew in 2006 to include dozens more landmarks and resources. Cultural features identified in the surveys consist of historic and contemporary





Figure 2: Archaeologists and Blackfeet Consultants at CA's historic hunting camp, Hungry Man Creek.

hunting campsites, bundle offerings, prayer flags, cairns, a sweat lodge, stacked lodge poles, fasting circles, trail markers, tipi rings, wikiups, traps, hearths, rock art, isolated lithic artifacts, and a modified bison skull (Figures 3 and 4). Oral traditions, navigational knowledge, place names, individual experiences, and historical events were also recorded along with evaluations of resource condition. The resulting inventory shows a range of landscape uses and a depth of cultural connections beyond those previously documented for the Ceded Strip.

## Concept and Practice in Blackfeet Knowledge Systems

The active participation of Blackfeet consultants in all research stages furnished the opportunity to situate landscape use history in the Badger-Two Medicine watershed within the parameters of their knowledge system as it exists today. In Blackfeet epistemology, knowledge is power and power is secrecy, but it is the form of knowledge acquisition, rather than its content, which gives people the ability to tap the power of the landscape. The notion of transfer, or the sanctions of knowledge exchange among humans and between humans and other-than-human persons, was

given to the Blackfeet at the time of their Creation. Thus, orthodox practitioners assert that improperly acquired knowledge is powerless at best, fatal at worst, and certainly un-Blackfeet.

Not surprisingly, Blackfeet scholars and religious leaders are constantly preoccupied with teaching “ways of knowing” (Bastien 2004), as these are paramount to maintaining ethnic identity and sovereignty. This point was taught to the author by means of a fable:

Two Blackfeet friends went to fast on the Sweetgrass Hills; each obtained from the spirits a particular medicine bundle. In their old age, one friend transferred his medicine bundle to a grandson, who in turn fasted in the same place as his grandfather and got the same power. The other friend died without transferring his medicine; his grandson also fasted with that old man's bundle, but the medicine he obtained was Cree [IM].

The moral of the story is that people who disregard sanctioned ways of knowing could bring the end to all things Blackfeet—hence the importance of learning Blackfeet culture in traditional contexts and through sanctioned channels.

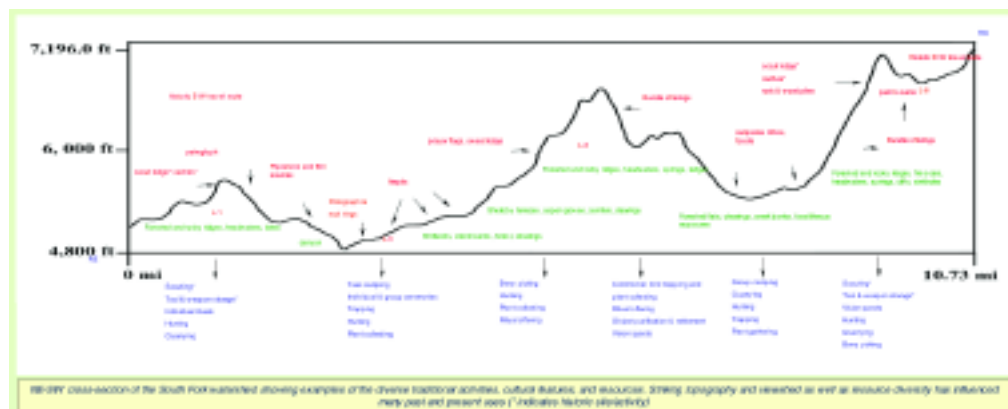
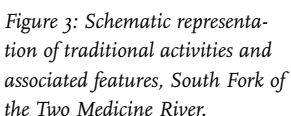




Figure 4: Prized mineral lick and elk feeding area near Lubec Lake.

Knowledge acquisition through transfer is a widely recognized and respected cultural precept that should and does guide individual and group behavior. The fact that it is often diluted by cultural loss, altered by external influences, or interrupted by the demands of reservation life has not deterred traditional sectors of the tribe from practicing and teaching this epistemology. However, Blackfeet land users variously incorporate cultural information obtained from other ethnic groups and in alternative learning contexts. Interethnic marriage, Christian indoctrination, or school education, for instance, continuously add new dimensions to traditional knowledge obtained through transfer. Whereas one would expect new information to increase variation in land use signatures, the core of most conspicuous uses (hunting, trapping, plant gathering, fasting, and paint collecting) remain remarkably faithful to a handful of concepts and practices that have endured the passage of time. Traditional

land users are nonetheless able to detect subtle deviations from the norm (e.g., unfamiliar ceremonial offerings and rock features built in unusual places), which they attribute to external influences.

Among ubiquitous landscape users, knowledge in all its traditional, neotraditional, and Western expressions is at once experiential, intellectual, and mystical. Individuals engage multiple knowledge sources in daily activities and appeal to these sources when asked to explain the logical sequence of their actions or the importance of a particular place or resource they use. Recalling the teachings of persons who inhabit the Blackfeet pantheon and their culture hero, Napi, as they personally understand them, further allows land users to frame their activities within culturally and socially accepted parameters and to unpack networks that connect places and resources.

In conclusion, Blackfeet landscape knowledge owes much of its prevalence to the people who engage its power to cope with individual and collective crises, and use traditional resources in everyday life. Aside from being a source of tremendous ethnic pride, intimate knowledge of the landscape is a foremost mechanism for asserting sovereign rights and for maintaining social memory. For the contemporary Blackfeet, the Badger-Two Medicine landscape is not simply a repository of knowledge, but a teacher of life's principles. It was in the spirit of preserving the last of such teachers that consultants agreed to participate in the research projects.

The Badger-Two Medicine landscape can accommodate changing environmental, cultural, and sociopolitical conditions as long as critical resources are not permanently damaged, and spiritual qualities are not desecrated beyond repair. Whereas tribal and state institutions may find a preservation middle ground that benefits the collective and respects cultural fundamentals, the expert eye of the traditional land user can best determine what types of actions will adversely affect not only the physical integrity, but also the cultural viability of particular places in the landscape.

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# THE BOIS FORTE OJIBWE'S HISTORIC USE OF THE VOYAGEURS NATIONAL PARK AREA

**Jeffrey J. Richner**

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**V**oyageurs National Park (VOYA) encompasses about 218,000 acres within the southwestern edge of the Border Lakes Region adjacent to the U.S.-Canada border east of International Falls, Minnesota. The Border Lakes Region is part of a largely undeveloped ecosystem of nearly three million acres that includes Quetico Provincial Park to the northeast and the U.S. Forest Service's Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness to the east. Although some authors have included the park fully within the boreal forest zone, the park occurs within a transition zone between the northern hardwoods of the eastern deciduous forests to the south and the conifer-dominated boreal forests to the north. It is that interface that makes it a unique location for a long history of use by Native Americans, in combination with its position along a major historic water transportation route that ultimately connects Lake Superior with Hudson's Bay on the north and the Plains on the west.

The park area includes a chain of four major interconnected lakes and their associated uplands, wetlands, and hundreds of islands, bays, inlets, and sinuous lake shorelines. These settings have been used over the last 9,000 or more years by Native Americans. This brief paper summarizes ongoing research into the late historic use of this unique landscape by Ojibwe (synonymous with Chippewa) bands, collectively known as the Bois Forte.

## Researching Ojibwe History

By the late 1970s, it was known that the Ojibwe's historic use of the park had resulted in some archaeological sites, but these had not yet been associated with particular groups of Ojibwe, much less to named Ojibwe individuals. Over the past 20-plus years, I have collaborated with Mary Graves (Lead Resources Management Specialist) at VOYA to locate and study the archaeological and historical record of Ojibwe use of the park area. For most of that time, there was no specific funding or project for addressing those goals, but we used a variety of means to continue the research. Numerous small-scale archaeological inventory efforts ranging from park-wide sampling projects to studies of prescribed burn zones, campsite development, and removal of nonhistoric buildings slowly revealed details about the sites. This fieldwork was combined with examination of a wide range of published and unpublished historical sources to develop an overview of Ojibwe use of the park for a period of over 200 years. This lengthy, initial phase of work culminated in the publication of a summary of Bois Forte Ojibwe occupation of the park (Richner 2002).

The first project specifically targeted to research the Bois Forte's use of the lands within the park was funded through the NPS's Cultural Resources Planning and Preservation's Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program from 2004 through 2006. That project allowed us to focus on intensive site inventory and mapping efforts as well as to greatly expand the study of historical documents. While this work was ongoing, VOYA, again under Mary Graves's direction, continued and refined both formal and informal



Figure 1: Map showing location of Voyageurs National Park Area.

consultation and interaction with the Bois Forte Ojibwe. Currently, I am writing a synthesis of the work that will document not only the distribution, content, and significance of nearly 50 archaeological sites resulting from the activities of the Bois Forte from the early A.D. 1700s into the middle 1900s, but will connect those activities to the complex historic documentation that spans that temporal range.

Since much of the Bois Forte's territory was remote well into the twentieth century, they were often at the periphery of interest for the various governmental entities that claimed their lands. However, their position on one of the primary fur trade routes across the continent has resulted in a complex and varied historic literature that must be consulted to reconstruct their history in the park area. That literature is extensive and difficult to synthesize. To date, the following kinds of historical sources have been studied:

1. Government records, including territorial records (Bois Forte lands have been under a bewildering array of entities since the 1780s, including the Northwest Territories, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota territories), records of the Office of Indian Affairs (later known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA]) and its various superintendencies and agencies, data from the Indian Claims Commission, U.S. and tribal census rolls, various tribal payment rolls, treaties and laws (especially related to the allotment process), homestead records, death and heirship records, and related sources;
2. fur trade-related sources dating from the late 1600s into the very late nineteenth century;
3. literature from explorers and international boundary surveyors;
4. diaries;
5. local newspaper accounts;
6. oral histories;
7. photographs (mostly unpublished);
8. maps (some unpublished); and
9. archaeological and ethnohistorical literature.



As a result of this research, a more complete picture of Bois Forte history and their use of the park through time has emerged.

### Bounding Bois Forte Ojibwe Territory

In early history, and in some cases continuing today, an Ojibwe person would identify himself as “Anishinabeg,” meaning something akin to “human being,” “spontaneous man,” or “original man.” The Ojibwe were first identified by the French in 1639 as the “Nation of the Sault” (Sauteur) (Schenck 1997:18). This name derives from their homeland near the falls of the St. Mary’s River at the outlet of Lake Superior. They were also referred to as the “Pauoitigoueieuhak,” from the Ojibwe name for these rapids (Cleland 1992:95; Schenck 1997:18). In 1667, these “People of the Rapids” were also identified by the name “Outchibouec,” one of a myriad of spellings of the name Ojibwe that appear in the literature. Schenck (1997:23), following Hickerson’s (1970:44) lead, suggests that the word Outchibouec may be derived from the ancient Algonquin word for “crane;” thus, “the Crane People” (cf. Cleland 1992:95) or possibly more specifically “the voice of the crane.”



Figure 2: Bois Forte Ojibwe canoeing on Namakan Lake, early twentieth century.

In its earliest usage in the middle AD 1600s, the word “Ojibwe” and its synonym “Sauteur” referred to a distinct, autonomous Algonkian group that lived at the important fishery at the rapids of the St. Mary’s River. Cleland (1992:95) estimates that this group numbered about 150 people. By the late A.D. 1700s, that name was applied to related Algonkian groups numbering in the thousands who were living over a vast territory extending west from Lake Superior through the Border Lakes Region to the edge of the prairies and northward nearly to Hudson’s Bay. The mechanism and history of this apparent expansion into the VOYA area, both through movement of people and a complex realignment and re-identification process, is one topic to be considered in the final project report.

Once the Ojibwe were spread over a large territory, they were identified by geographical divisions, with other names applied to groups by their specific place of residence. The main body of the Bois Forte were known as “Sug wun dug ah win e wug” to other Ojibwe (Warren 1974:39). Although translated in various ways, the most typical usage is “men of the thick fir woods.” In French, this became “Bois Forte,” which has been taken to mean “strong wood” or perhaps “strength of the woods,” although the term also had broader historical usages beyond identifying a specific group of Ojibwe. By the time the U.S. government wanted to obtain Ojibwe lands in northern Minnesota through treaty cessions, the Bois Forte had become a specific “tribal” subset of the Ojibwe in the view of the government, even though the multiple, essentially autonomous bands occupying the area may not have viewed their structure in precisely that manner.

Historical research has revealed that, by the late 1800s, 18 bands constituted the Bois Forte Ojibwe as identified by the U.S. government. Those bands were largely autonomous, each with its own hereditary chief who led by consensus, application of traditional knowledge and judgment, and personal strength of character. The bands were strictly exogamous, with women moving to their husband’s band upon marriage. This traditional Ojibwe band structure resulted in kin interrelationships across the various bands. Bands ranged in size from about 25 to 75 members. It is likely that the bands were originally clan-based, which would be one reason for the strict band exogamy since an Ojibwe man was not permitted to marry within his own clan. Children became members of the father’s clan. While bands coalesced for certain activities, for much of the year they maintained specific territories across which they were highly mobile. Members from at least four of the bands lived upon the lakes now within or immediately adjacent to the current park boundaries.

The Bois Forte geographic grouping of Ojibwe bands formerly occupied a very large area extending from north of present-day Duluth through Nett, Vermilion, Pelican, and Basswood Lakes to the international border. The northern edge of their territory included the portions of Namakan, Rainy, Kabetogama, and Sand Point Lakes now subsumed within VOYA. Via treaties with the U.S. government in 1854 and 1866, several, but apparently not all, of the Bois Forte bands agreed to cede these lands to the U.S. in exchange for annual payments of goods, supplies, and cash, and they were provided with a 12-sq-mile reservation at Nett Lake. Later, small parcels were added at nearby Deer Creek and Vermilion Lake. Today, many enrolled members of the Bois Forte Ojibwe reside at Nett and Vermilion Lakes, although, as they have been for centuries, band members are scattered across northern Minnesota and other locations.

### Bois Forte Ojibwe in the Park

One of the most interesting aspects of the Bois Forte occupation of the park is how they were able to maintain their off-reservation settlements, community structure, and traditional subsistence strategies well into the late historic era. In fact, more than 100, and probably closer to 200, Bois Forte continued to live in and adjacent to what is now the park into the 1910s era. That would have constituted perhaps 20 percent of the tribe at that time. Yet this was 50 years after they had ceded these lands to the U.S.

The Bois Forte living in and near the park were able to maintain their seasonal subsistence rounds and continue to occupy most of their original territory through a variety of means. They purchased land, selected homesteads, took outside reservation land allotments, and continued to live on otherwise unclaimed parcels. As late as 1900, 30 or more Bois Forte individuals owned a minimum of 2,000 acres within what is now the park. In many cases, they continued to live on those parcels, following traditional subsistence and other activities, until major changes forced them to eventually move to the Nett Lake and Vermilion Lake reservations. Despite increasing pressure from their Euro-American neighbors, losses through waves of disease, significant environmental change, erosion of traditional belief systems, and changing lifeways, significant numbers of Bois Forte continued to occupy the park until at least 1920. By the 1930s, however, only scattered individuals remained in the park on a permanent basis, although large numbers came to participate in the commercial blueberry "industry." The few individuals who remained were all from families (Rottenwood, Whiteman, Bego, and others) who had a long history of occupation of the lakes in the park. Today, of the original 30-plus individually owned parcels of land that have been identified within the park to date, a single outside reservation allotment remains in Bois Forte ownership. Another parcel is held for them in trust by the BIA.

Alteration of the local environment and other changes eventually led to the abandonment of settlements within the park. The raising of water levels by dam construction at International Falls and Kettle Falls, continuing waves of disease, a general closing of the northern frontier, removal of forest cover through logging, the influx of settlers and tourists, the death of older allottees who owned the outside reservation parcels, loss of traditional knowledge resulting from those deaths and the influence of Indian Agents and boarding schools, and sale of land to speculators and settlers were all contributing factors. However, even as late as 1940, a few Bois Forte individuals were still living within what is now the park.

### Archaeology of the Bois Forte Ojibwe

Of the approximately 50 sites currently recorded within the park that are potentially associated with the Bois Forte Ojibwe, a few are artifact scatters not associated with land parcels known to have been owned by Bois Forte individuals. Three of those sites were analyzed in a recent publication (Birk and Richner 2004). Their probable Bois Forte association is suggested through their temporal placement, artifact content, location, and size. Most of these sites are relatively early in the chronology of Bois Forte use of the area.



Figure 3: Portrait of a Bois Forte Ojibwe man identified by family members as "Me-tigo-mah-kah-keence" ("Tree Frog," also known as "Jim Wooden-frog"); an anonymous notation on the back of the original print, however, identifies the subject as "All Day" ("O-gah-bay-ke-shig"). Circa 1920.

Focus over the past three years has been on sites that can be more confidently associated with the Bois Forte and that in many cases can be identified with Bois Forte families or even named individuals. Typically, these sites are within land parcels formerly owned by Bois Forte individuals, often via the outside reservation allotment process. Under that system, when the Bois Forte relinquished group or tribal ownership and agreed to private ownership (severalty) of the lands on their reservation via an 1889 act (25 Stat. 642), some individuals took advantage of a clause that allowed them to select their allotment outside the reservation boundaries (providing that the land they desired had been surveyed and was not otherwise owned or claimed). Of the over 50 known outside reservation allotments, about half are within the current boundaries of VOYA. This clearly attests to the importance of that area to the Bois Forte. Plotting and subsequent archaeological inventory of those parcels resulted in the study of numerous sites through intensive mapping and nondestructive study of surface features.



Figure 4: Abandoned Bois Forte Ojibwe log house on Chief Wooden Frogs Island, 1947.

These sites typically contain evidence of log cabins in the form of earthen berms that served to insulate the cabin floors during the cold Minnesota winters. The berms appear as low, rectangular mounds of soil that mark the former perimeters of the cabins. Although we know that various traditional Ojibwe house forms (gable-style bark-covered houses, dome-shaped wigwams, tipis, etc.) were also commonly used in the park, evidence for those structures is not often visible on the ground surface. The sites also contain other features, including clearings from former corrals and garden areas, culturally modified trees, storage pits, exotic vegetation resulting from keeping and feeding Indian ponies, surface artifact scatters, and small rock alignments, many of which appear to mark individual graves.

The sites are typically extremely well preserved, although reforestation, dense growth of underbrush, and shoreline erosion are preservation concerns in some locations. In several cases, the sites occur in distinct clusters. For example, at Moose Bay on Namakan Lake, numerous sites with late historic Bois Forte components all occur within a 7-sq-km area. Several of these sites are within sight of each other, since they are positioned on flat, raised points of land immediately adjacent to the water. Former Bois Forte Superintendent and Special Disbursing Agent Albert Reagan visited this area sometime between 1909 and 1914 and referred to “the Indian village of Moose River” (Reagan 1923). We now realize that the village was not a single large site but instead was comprised of numerous, relatively small sites. Although separated from each other by water, when combined, these sites formed a settlement consisting of numerous families.

A Bois Forte Ojibwe man named “Ke che gishig waib” was the former owner of a 75.75-acre parcel in Moose Bay that contains a multicomponent archaeological site. He was known to the Indian agents as “O.M. [Old Man] Sky,” but his name translates more accurately as “The Big Sky Man.” In 2004, I was honored to guide a group of Bois Forte band members, including direct descendants of The Big Sky Man, to this and other sites in the park. Perhaps the most meaningful experience I have had in my 33 years as a professional archaeologist came as we visited his former log cabin site and the elders mentioned some of the family stories told to them many years earlier. Although the family still knew that their ancestor had owned land somewhere on Namakan Lake and had been buried on this land, the actual location had been forgotten, and they were not aware of how to conduct the research needed to relocate it. Their family had provided them with certain details about the setting that would help them identify the location of The Big Sky Man’s grave site, should they ever find and return to his former allotment. As we stood under the beautiful hardwood forest cover on the site, with great emotion they positively identified certain unique landscape features that they had had been told about in their youth.

I realized that I had played some useful role in reconnecting Bois Forte families with their heritage. In this specific case, that connection was not merely to their great grandfather's former home site, but to his final resting place.

### Concluding Thoughts

The story of the Bois Forte Ojibwe occupation of the Voyageurs National Park area is a compelling one. It shares some similarities with, and exhibits notable differences from, the typical pattern of dispossession of Indian lands in several ways. The Bois Forte never warred with the Americans, who obtained their territory through 1854 and 1866 treaties. Like many other tribes, their land was taken largely for the timber and minerals it was thought or known to contain. However, since their Voyageurs area homeland remained essentially open and unoccupied after 1866, the Bois Forte used every means at their disposal to stay there. Against rather long odds, they were successful at holding this territory for over 50 years after they had legally relinquished it in the 1866 treaty. Today, few park visitors, or even local people, seem to be aware of the span or significance of this occupation. Hopefully, the results of the research program summarized here will partially rectify that situation.

More information on the Bois Forte Ojibwe and additional photos can be found at the Midwest Archeological Center's web site at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/mwac>.

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# SPONTANEOUS STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS

## SERENDIPITOUS OPPORTUNITIES TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD WORKING WITH DIRECT DESCENDANTS

Johannes H. N. Loubser

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**O**n a Friday afternoon in the fall of 1985, a Venda-speaking man stopped to watch a small group of people excavate an ashy protohistoric refuse heap interspersed with hut floors. The man was a migrant worker returning from coal mines some 200 miles away in the Republic of South Africa to visit his family living in the nearby rural area known at the time as the Republic of Venda. The excavation team comprised me (at the time conducting fieldwork for my Ph.D. dissertation on Venda ethnogenesis) and three Venda-speaking assistants, young males whom I hired from nearby farms. The site on which the trash heap was located went by the traditional name of “Tshirululuni,” a former capital town intermittently inhabited by ruling Venda-speaking chiefs between the 1650s and the early 1890s. Tshirululuni derived its name from the Venda word for a raised platform, *marululu*, an apt description of the site’s elevated appearance on an artificially terraced hill above and behind the modern town of Louis Trichardt, recently renamed “Makhado” in honor of a prominent Venda chief who ruled over most of the Venda people until 1895.

In 1985, Tshirululuni was located next to the end of a prominent footpath at the back edge of Louis Trichardt; the site was a virtual doorway between the ordered street pattern of the town below and the subtropical forests of the Soutpansberg Mountains above. Pausing to watch us excavate, the migrant worker physically stood between two worlds: the one of late twentieth-century industrialism with its square steel-and-mortar structures, and the other of traditional agricultural and pastoralist pursuits with its round wattle-and-daub-huts. The political economy of South Africa in 1985 was still dominated by Apartheid, a system intended to ensure that black migrant workers regularly returned to their traditional “homelands.” During Apartheid rule, black migrant workers had to show their “pass books” whenever police requested them to do so. After successfully evading police on his walk up from the bus depot in town, the migrant worker wryly remarked that now he had to face the ancestor spirits and witches of his village. It was almost as if the worker, known as “Kodobo,” hovered in a

twilight zone between modern state control and the age-old control of the spirit world. As it turned out, Kodobo was one of those rare individuals who seemed to know a substantial amount about traditional Venda practices and beliefs.

### Learning the Past from Kodobo

While working with Venda-speaking people, as well as people from a variety of other cultures, it became apparent to me, as an outsider, just how big a role religious experiences, beliefs, and actions play in shaping other aspects of their lives. When Kodobo saw segments of wound copper wire bangles that we recovered from a burnt clay hut floor, he expressed interest to take a small fragment as an offering to his ancestor spirits, or *vhadzimu*. He wanted to place it at the back of his hut, an area generally believed to be the favored abode of *vhadzimu*. In rural areas of the Soutpansberg region today, married orthodox Venda-speaking women still wear similar wound copper bangles around their necks, wrists, and ankles. Belonging to the totemic group, or *mutupo*, known as Kwinda, Kodobo felt he had rightful claim to the fragment. Kodobo’s claim seemed justified, considering that his Kwinda ancestors did live with chiefs of the ruling Singo clan at Tshirululuni. Conventional protocol in South African archaeology was that all excavated artifacts went for analysis, curation, and storage at the institution that had the government-authorized excavation permit. Noting in my field notebook that I handed the bangle fragment to Kodobo, I am still not sure if I followed correct protocol in a legal sense, even though I had a gut feeling that it was appropriate in an ethical sense.

That afternoon, Kodobo took the excavation crew for a tour through the overgrown stone-walled ruins of Tshirululuni. Among the features he pointed out was a candelabra tree (*Euphorbia ingens*) that marked the location of the chief’s council area. This tree not only provided shade in a physical sense but also epitomized the condition of “cool” for the Venda and neighboring Bantu speakers in southern Africa. Among these groups, “cool” was sought after, since it represented order as opposed to the chaos signified by “hot.” Disagreements among

people, upset ancestor spirits, menstruating women, malignant diviners, unruly teenagers, suspected witches, and police looking for “pass books” were all considered difficult to handle, or “hot.”

In addition to being versed in Venda beliefs, Kodobo could also identify remnants of long-abandoned features. For instance, he identified depressions in the lawn of a neighboring farm yard as the remains of bell-shaped sorghum storage pits. Such interpretations could be too easily dismissed as hearsay or anecdotal evidence if it had not been for similar statements made independently by other knowledgeable informants and excavations at related sites. Based on the location of the layered ash and hut floor area that we excavated near the top of Tshirululuni, Kodobo proposed that we were working in an area once occupied by royal wives. His suggestion was subsequently confirmed by our recovery of clay spindle whorls and carved ivory bodkins, artifacts associated in the ethnographic literature with the spinning and weaving of wild cotton by semi-specialist women.

Later that afternoon, as Kodobo left for his family residence behind the cloud-covered Lutshindwi Mountain, we arranged that I would visit his residence in the winter. The Kodobo compound, comprising a clay and dung-smeared courtyard surrounded by sleeping and cooking huts, was part of the bigger settlement known as “Gaza” that contained an aggregation of similar compounds. Gaza has been the traditional capital of the ruling Singo dynasty and its Kwindas allies after their final defeat by Boer commandoes in the early twentieth century. It is within a hut located in a sacred grove that chiefs such as Makhado and Mphephu are buried. As recently as 1985, the royal wives of the chief Edward Mphephu lived in huts behind branch-covered stone-terraced walls at the top end of Gaza. The elite among the Venda normally ruled from comparatively secluded locations, where they privately consulted with special diviners and made decisions on behalf of the entire populace—power was defined by seeing the commoners but not being seen by them. For the most part, commoners considered this royal area as being “hot” and off-limits.

### Learning to Negotiate the Present

Two months later, I followed Kodobo to visit Gaza. Alternative trails wound through the undulating forested terrain up to the settlement. Having carefully studied the topographic map beforehand, I knew that the right-hand trail was the more direct route, yet Kodobo politely insisted we take the left-hand one. This longer route took us in a wide arc around the settlement and brought us to the front of Gaza. Later on, Kodobo explained to me that had we taken the more direct route, we would have approached the settlement from the back—where the royalty resides. In Venda culture, this is not prudent, since those who approach settlements from behind are suspected of

witchcraft. This brought to mind Zulu oral traditions of the Voortrekker leader Piet Retief being suspected as a witch in 1836 when he and his advanced party of scouts approached the Zulu capital of Bulawayo from the rear. On numerous other occasions, I came to realize the importance of approaching sites, even long-abandoned ones, from a downhill direction and pausing at the entrance. At the abandoned ruins of Dzata, capital of the Venda empire around 1750, traditionally minded commoners refused to enter the royal precinct in the belief that doing so would result in unpleasant visions and dreams of grotesque snakes. Traditionally, carved stone or wooden monoliths implanted in the wall next to the zigzag passageway to the royal area marked the stopping point for commoners.

Such claims and actions could easily be ignored or dismissed as “just-so” stories or behaviors to impress the archaeologist, but they have been repeated by different individuals at different places and often in serious situations. Mountains, caves, pools, or groves of special trees considered sacred by the Venda are off-limits to certain people. Interestingly, Singo Venda royals who wrested political power from their Mbedzi Venda predecessors around 200 years ago do not dare venture into Mbedzi areas. Sometimes, however, it becomes necessary for a Singo to discuss matters with Mbedzi, especially topics concerning rainmaking. Ever since the Singo subjugated the Mbedzi politically, female rainmakers have ruled as ritual intermediaries over the Mbedzi. Known as the “Tshisinavhute” (She-who-does-not-set-a-price) dynasty, Mbedzi rainmaking functionaries carry considerable ritual status, so much so that even powerful Singo chiefs cannot talk to them face-to-face. Venda people who assisted me during excavations alerted me of this custom, an awareness that saved me from embarrassment when I took the Singo minister of Interior Affairs to visit a Mbedzi ancestral site of “Tshitaka-tsha-Makoleni” (Small Bush of the Clouds). I first had to introduce the Singo minister and headwoman Tshisinavhute before we ascended Tswingoni Mountain to the ruins of her ancestors. The visit turned out well, with the minister sitting on one side of the thick dung-and-clay wall of the visitor’s hut while the headwoman sat within, facing the opposite direction. Fortunately, not once did the politician and rainmaker make eye contact, for to do so could have meant a very “hot” situation that might not have boded well for the future fertility of the land.

In the winter of 1986, I finally got permission from headwoman Tshisinavhute to excavate the former royal area within the ruins of Tshitaka-tsha-Makoleni. To locate the ruins had been quite an undertaking, with the headwoman sending us off on a wild-goose chase through the humid forested slopes; she was clearly not thrilled for us to find the place where her ancestors resided and reputedly made rain for other Venda *mitupo*. Translators told me that she thought of me as far too inquisitive and that I rudely pointed at objects and features

and asked too many questions. My Venda assistants told me that this kind of behavior resembled that of witches and that it would be wise not to point with my finger or ask questions while the revered rainmaker was around. One thing that my experience taught me was that she had genuine feelings for the ruins of her ancestors and was concerned that we would negatively impact the integrity of the place. I also had to go through considerable trials and tribulations to obtain permission for excavating the ruins of Dzata, the well-known ruins of a far-flung Singo empire in the mid-eighteenth century. Those sites for which I got relatively easy permission to excavate tended to be the less important centers or very old ones predating the limits of oral traditions at more than 600 years ago or so.

### Understanding Human Burials

Part of the difficulty in obtaining excavation rights seemed to be that we might encounter burials of direct ancestors. Generally speaking, Venda-speaking people did not appear to care one way or another when we did come across human remains, as long as they were not the remains of anybody whom they knew, such as a well-known chief or a remembered ancestor. Comparatively thick ash and dung deposits in the Soutpansberg area provided an alkaline buffer between bones and the soil, thus facilitating preservation of faunal and human remains. At times, I found that some of my older field assistants wanted to take samples of bone remains, particularly conveniently sized finger or toe phalanges or the astragales of cattle or goats. When asked what they want to do with the remains, they generally said that old artifacts or bones make good protective charms. Pulverized and ground up as a powder, objects from old sites also were believed to be good ingredients in powerful medicinal concoctions, such as protection against lightning or night-time visits by malignant witch familiars. Considering that these requests came from people who were not direct descendants of those whose sites we excavated, I did not feel justified in giving them samples.

What puzzled me for some time were the remains of isolated

human skulls that we occasionally recovered from the sides of grain pits. In most instances, only the skull was found, occasionally with an atlas and axis but nothing else. The first time we recovered a skull it came from a small alcove directly next to a shallow grain pit. At the time of discovery, my field assistants said something about a dead body in the trunk of a car—a cryptic statement the significance of which only became apparent to me some years later. It did not occur to me at the

time that I should write down what they were saying; I disregarded the advice of my professor in Social Anthropology, David Hammond-Tooke, who reminded his students that it is often the off-hand or ostensibly bizarre statements that turn out to be the critical ones to record and investigate.

During a chance visit to the Police Museum in Pretoria (now known as “Tswene”) some years later, I saw a surprisingly informative exhibit on forensics. Not only was I impressed by the *CSI*-style physics and chemistry but also the ethnographic knowledge required to solve cases involving crimes in traditional cultures. Solving a crime is often more than the gathering of cold scientific facts; an understanding of worldviews and attitudes of suspects is often necessary. When dealing with crimes in our own society, knowledge of the generally shared culture is normally a given. When dealing with crimes in other cultures, this knowledge has to be learnt first. The same applies to archaeology, where knowledge of cultures under investigation goes a long way to interpret past remains with greater confidence. It was in one of the exhibits that the ubiquity of ritual murders in traditional cultures of sub-equatorial

Africa was highlighted.

When I later mentioned the isolated skulls to Victor Ralushai, a Social Anthropology professor at the University of Venda and a direct descendant of the Ndou clan that has inhabited the eastern portion of the Soutpansberg Mountains for centuries, he said that the skulls must be the remains of ritual murder. He told me of a case where a group of migrant workers from Venda stalked and ultimately murdered a successful shopkeeper in the coastal town of Durban. Transporting the chopped-up



Figure 1: Headwoman Tshisinavhute officiating at the Tshitaka-tsha-Makoleni Ruins on the slopes of Tswingoni Mountain.

human remains in the trunk of a car to Venda country, the body parts then were distributed among struggling shopkeepers who wished to obtain some of the spiritual potency believed to reside within the remains.

Traditionally, particularly during times of drought and widespread crop failures, those farmers with good harvests were often branded as witches by the chief and his immediate followers. The chiefs, who together with their diviners and ancestors were generally held responsible for the fertility of the land, were willing to blame certain successful individuals for their own failures. Successful people without an extended family were particularly favored as ritual murder victims. Normally, accomplices of the chief ambushed and murdered the victims in isolated locations. The chopped-up remains of the victims were boiled in big ceramic pots to extract the fat. This fat was mixed with grain within the pits of the chief's settlement, while the decapitated head was placed on the side of the pit. Sorghum seeds mixed with the fat were eventually distributed to the rest of the population for planting. In this fashion, people believed that the fertile powers thought to reside within particular individuals could be shared for the benefit of the entire population.

Such details are sometimes unfortunate by-products of archaeological excavations and ethnographic investigations that expose and interpret remnants of past misdeeds. Without the assistance and helpful comments of the Venda people, the full meaning of such excavated remains would not have come to light.

### Situating Archaeology

Some of my Venda assistants hinted that archaeologists are no different from diviners seeking ancient remains to further their own careers. To them, archaeologists' attempt to attain knowledge from the past is nothing more than a journey into the world of the dead. Decaying carved wooden drums and seemingly abandoned ceramic jars that are still to be seen in some settlements of living Venda people are material representations of dead ancestral spirits. When I mentioned to a Venda headman that the badly weathered wooden drum on the edge of his assembly area can be conserved at a museum, he insisted that the drum is better off left to decay and blend with the ancestors in its current location. In another instance, I saw a broken ceramic jar sticking partly out of the dirt next to a vegetable garden. Chickens sat on its rim and goats drank rain water that accumulated within. Assuming that the ceramic was a good example of so-called "utilitarian ware," I inquired if I might purchase the vessel for my comparative collection. The owner declined my offer on the grounds that the vessel was deliberately placed to attract ancestors at night time. This and other instances of artifact contexts have shown to me that distinctions between "utilitarian" and "ritual" artifacts are often oversimplifications.

Many ethnographers and archaeologists claim that informants tell you what you wish to hear. However, my own experience has been that informants sometimes had to rectify my misunderstandings of their statements. For example, when I referred to spirit animals, such as snakes and leopards at caves and pools, as ancestor spirits, Venda people went to great lengths explaining that these apparitions are messengers of the ancestors, or ancestor familiars, instead of the ancestors themselves.

Perhaps it is a result of my personal research style that I did not find a list of prepared questions very fruitful—it is from recognizing the potential significance of at least some unsolicited statements and actions of my excavation assistants that I obtained the most meaningful information. At the same time, I almost certainly missed the importance of many other statements and actions, in no small part due to my unfamiliarity with the Venda language and incomplete knowledge of their complex culture and intricate history. All in all, instead of disregarding the thoughts, speech, and actions of impoverished and disenfranchised descendants, it behooves archaeologists to pay close attention.

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# THE GANADO IRRIGATION PROJECT

## CULTURAL RESOURCE MITIGATION AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

Jon S. Czaplicki

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**S**ection 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 requires a federal agency to identify significant cultural resources that will be disturbed or destroyed by a project and to mitigate the impacts to these resources through data recovery or other appropriate measures. The Ganado Irrigation Project resulted in the destruction of a significant historic irrigation system that played a major role in the history and economy of the Navajo community of Ganado. The Bureau of Reclamation's Phoenix Area Office, working with a variety of federal, tribal, and private groups, developed a community-based mitigation approach for the historic Ganado irrigation system.

### History of Ganado Irrigation Farming

The community of Ganado is located on the Navajo Reservation in northeastern Arizona at the western edge of the Defiance Plateau. Ganado's rich cultural history is reflected in numerous Ancestral Puebloan sites located along Pueblo Colorado Wash and its tributary drainages. For both fourth-century Basketmaker farmers living along the wash and their twenty-first-century Navajo counterparts, water—or the lack of it—was and remains the determining factor for a successful harvest. With an average annual precipitation of less than 11 inches, water has always been critical not only for supporting life, but for supporting a way of life that is part of Navajo culture. Ever since the ancestors of today's Navajo settled in the area some 500 or so years ago, farming has played an important role in Navajo culture.

The history of modern irrigation farming in Ganado began when John Lorenzo Hubbell acquired a small trading post on Pueblo Colorado Wash in 1876. A shrewd trader, he spent the next two decades building his trading operation and establishing relationships with the military, railroad workers, and, most importantly, with the Navajo. By 1903, Hubbell had acquired the 160 acres of land on which his home and business were located as a private in-holding within the Navajo Reservation and began construction of an irrigation canal from Pueblo Colorado Wash to a small holding reservoir near his fields. For several years, a steam pump provided water for his fields, but the pump was expensive to operate and maintain. An enterprising trader, Hubbell began work on a dam to provide water for the irrigation system (Figure 1). As an aspiring politician, Hubbell was able to get the federal government to complete construction of the dam and irrigation system that federal engineers had recommended as early as 1892. Construction of Ganado Dam was completed in 1914, and expansion of the irrigation system continued sporadically until the 1930s.

Ganado Dam was fed by a canal coming off the Pueblo Colorado Wash. By the early 1930s, there were about eight miles of open ditch with siphons to carry water under, or flumes to carry water over, washes. Turnouts directed water to fields, and drop structures and weirs helped control the flow. It was a small, well-engineered irrigation system that became an integral part of the economy of Hubbell's trading post and the Navajo community at Ganado (Figure 2). Originally intended to serve the trading post farm and a few Navajo farmers, the irrigation system soon was providing water to the farm at the Presbyterian mission and hospital complex located near the trading post and to Navajo farms upstream as well as several miles downstream of the trading post. It served the Ganado community for some 50 years.

In the late 1960s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) stopped funding the repair and maintenance of the irrigation system and, in the 1970s, declared Ganado dam unsafe and drained it. Irrigated farming in Ganado had effectively ceased. The loss of farming had a devastating effect on the local Navajo economy, although a few Navajo farmers persisted, relying on the summer rains to water their fields. The decline of farming in Ganado and numerous similar communities on the Navajo Reservation was a serious concern for community elders. In addition to a serious decline of income to farmers and the local economy in general, the loss of farming skills and the loosening ties to the land and water experienced by recent generations of Ganado residents was a dilemma for the older Navajo farmers. There was a deepening sense among Navajo elders that an integral part of Navajo culture is a fading memory.



Figure 1: An early picture of Ganado Dam (NPS HUTR photograph).

In the 1990s, the BIA decided to replace Ganado Dam and asked Reclamation to design and construct a new dam. The dam was completed in 1998, but the irrigation system remained unusable except for areas immediately below the dam, where limited but inefficient irrigation could still be done. Navajo farmers could only look at the water behind the dam and wonder if the irrigation system would ever be fixed so they could once again farm. Beginning in 1999, a concerted effort was made by federal and Navajo tribal agencies to restore irrigation for Ganado farmers. As the lead federal agency, Reclamation worked with a coalition of Navajo and federal water specialists, farmers, economists, and engineers. The process of bringing disparate tribal, state, and federal agencies to the table to discuss how to fix the irrigation system was difficult, but slowly a consensus emerged and funding and political support from Washington, D.C. were obtained. In 2001, ground was finally broken, and a modern, piped irrigation system began to replace the open canals, wooden flumes, and hand-laid sandstone-block drop structures of the historic Hubbell irrigation system (Figure 3).

### Mitigating Project Impact with Video

NHPA required Reclamation to consider impacts to cultural resources. Reclamation conducted surveys along the canal right-of-way and in potential construction staging areas. The project also involved improvements to many of the Navajo fields previously fed by the irrigation system, and an archaeologist with the National Resources Conservation Service surveyed these fields. Identification of traditional cultural properties (TCPs) was an important component of both surveys.

Reclamation engineers designed the new irrigation system to avoid prehistoric sites identified along the canal, while sites located in the fields were to be avoided by fencing. The historic irrigation system, however, was to be completely replaced with buried pipe to conserve water and provide flexibility for how farmers could use the water on their fields. In such a case, the standard mitigation approach would be a Historic American Engineering Report (HAER) to thoroughly document the system through archival research, photographs, and as-built drawings. While the HAER document would mitigate the loss of the historic irrigation system, it would be of little use or interest to the people of Ganado.

Because the Ganado irrigation system had been an integral part of local Navajo culture and economy, Reclamation sought a mitigation approach that would incorporate these aspects into a history of the system and its significance for the people who used it. We were looking for some way to keep the results of the mitigation project in the community, for some way to get the community involved in the mitigation. After several meetings with representatives from the agencies that had worked together to rebuild the system, it was decided that a video offered the best medium for the mitigation project. When the local farmers and community leaders learned about the video and that it was to be a community-based project that could be used in the schools, Chapter House, day care centers, Mission hospital, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site (NHS), and elsewhere in the community, many saw it as an opportunity

to educate current and future generations of Ganado children, as well as visitors to the community, about the importance of the land, water, and farming to the Navajo.

The video would be in English and Navajo with English subtitles and would integrate the history and importance of the irrigation system with personal stories, anecdotes, and memories of the farmers and community elders for whom the irrigation system had been an important part of their culture and life. These people and their parents and grandparents used the irrigation system and in some cases helped to construct and maintain it. The staff of Navajo Nation TV Channel 5 in the Navajo capital at Window Rock agreed to do the videography. Through Reclamation's Phoenix Area Office archaeological contractor, Archaeological Consulting Services, Inc. (ACS), two ethnographers—Harris Francis, who is Navajo, and Klara Kelley, both of whom have along history of working on the Navajo reservation—identified farmers who would be willing to be filmed for oral interviews, developed interview questions, and coordinated the interviews. More than seven hours of video interviews were collected. ACS also had a specialist experienced in video production to head the project, write the storyboard, and oversee the editing and production of the video. Looking at the raw video leaves one with the distinct impression that the elders, dressed in their best Navajo clothing and jewelry, felt quite at home in front of the camera! We also acquired video of the current system before rehabilitation began and of the first phase of construction that began in early 2002. From the archives at Hubbell Trading Post NHS, we obtained historic photographs of the trading post. Ernst Kirk, the ditch rider for the Ganado irrigation system, agreed to narrate the video. (The ditch rider releases water from the dam and insures that it reaches farmers fields at the time they requested it. He is also responsible for maintaining the headgates, turnout structures, and other canal features.)

A small advisory team, including the video narrator, the two ethnographers, the cameraman from Navajo Channel 5 Television, and personnel from Hubbell Trading Post and Reclamation, assisted ACS personnel in developing the storyboard. Originally, the video was to be about 28 minutes long, but it soon became apparent that a one-hour video was more realistic. An important consideration for the longer video was pointed out by Francis Harris, the Navajo Cultural Rights Specialist. The interviewees offered to share their time and knowledge of farming and the irrigation system; they responded with enthusiasm because their stories would be used to educate Navajo children about the importance of farming in Navajo culture. To edit the interviews to a series of 30- or 60-second sound bites would not only be considered an insult and jeopardize the ethnographers' credibility but also would not do justice to the interviewees' stories nor to the primary purpose of the video project.

Filming was completed in 2003, and, after several unexpected delays, the final video—now in DVD format—was completed in the summer of 2005. The DVD, *NIHIZANI K'EEDA'DIDLEE' NT'EE* (Our Elders All Knew How to Farm), was premiered on October 5, 2005, at the Ganado Chapter House to a very receptive audience that included several of the interviewees, along with members of their families, personnel from Hubbell Trading Post NHS, members of the Ganado Farm Board and Water Users Association, and members of the Ganado community. Since then, the DVD has won the 2006 Arizona Governor's Historic Preservation Award for Education and the American Cultural Resources Association Quality Product Award.

During its heyday in the 1920s and 1930s, the Ganado irrigation system enabled Navajo farmers to produce a variety and abundance of crops that have not been equaled since. With water once again available for farming, Ganado farmers are learning to adapt to the new system and in some cases re-learning how to farm. A portion of the field at Hubbell Trading Post NHS has been planted in crops



Figure 2: Early view of Hubbell's trading post looking east across Pueblo Colorado Wash (NPS HUTR photograph).

that were grown during the heydays of the trading post. A large part of the field was made available to local schools so students can hone their farming skills and various crops can be tested and evaluated for Ganado farmers. After a hiatus of some 50 years, irrigation water is again available to farmers in Ganado where farming holds promise for a new generation of Navajo farmers.

### Acknowledgments

This project was a learning experience both in Navajo culture and in how to develop a mitigation project to serve both as data recovery and public outreach. Specialists from a number of federal, tribal, and private groups assisted Reclamation in this project. Concurrence for a video as an appropriate medium for mitigating the loss of the historic irrigation system was given by the Navajo National Historic Preservation Department (NNHPD). The original mitigation planning team consisted of Ron P. Maldonado, NNHPD; Teresa M. Showa and Ernest Kirk, Navajo Department of Water Resources; Flo Long, Sage Memorial Hospital; Aubry Raus, the Navajo Health Foundation; Kee Long and Phillip Denny, Navajo Nation Channel 5 Television; Klara Kelley, Ph.D., Consulting Anthropologist and Harris Francis, Cultural Rights Consultant, Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd. (ACS); Nancy Stone, Superintendent Hubbell Trading Post (NHS); John Allison, Archaeologist, and Dan Bloedel, National Resources Conservation Service; Shirley Powell, Ph.D. and Susan L. Shaffer-Nahmias, Ph.D., ACS; and Kevin Black and Jon S. Czaplicki, Phoenix Area Office, Bureau of Reclamation. The video planning team was comprised of Shirley Powell, Susan Shaffer Nahmias, and Margerie Green, Ph.D. (ACS), Ernest Kirk, Mary Furney, Hubbell Trading Post NHS, Klara Kelley, Harris Francis, Phillip Denney, and Jon S. Czaplicki. The story board for the video was written by Susan Shaffer Nahmias. Harris Francis assisted in translating portions of the interviews that were in Navajo.

Without the support and cooperation of a number of Ganado residents, the video project would never have succeeded. The following Ganado residents graciously agreed to be interviewed and videotaped: Rose Morgan (sadly, Ms. Morgan died before the video project was completed), Rose Tracy, Ella May Kaye, Frances Chambers, Teresa Showa, Edward Tracy, James Bluehouse, Ernest Kirk, Frank Showa, and Nancy Stone. Klara Kelley and Harris Francis designed and conducted the interviews. Filming and preliminary video editing was done by Kee Long and Phillip Denney. Editing and final production of the DVD were completed by Johanna Devine and Larry Sullivan of Glori B. Productions, and Peter Blystone and Brian Cass of Echo Productions. Funding for the project was provided by the Bureau of Reclamation.



Figure 3: Navajo workers install a segment of pipe for the new irrigation system (Bureau of Reclamation photograph).

### Don't Miss Out!

The SAA Public Education Committee is sponsoring a variety of outreach and education sessions, symposia, and workshops at the upcoming conference. Listed below are only a few of the opportunities. A search of your program will reveal many more sessions. (Key words: Community Archaeology, Heritage Tourism, Public Programs, Public Archaeology.)

- If you develop public outreach programs, you will not want to miss the "Education Programs Evaluation: Prospects and Planning" workshop, Thursday, April 26, 8:00 A.M.–12:00 P.M.
- Friday's offerings include a forum, "Heritage Tourism and Archaeology—Challenges and Opportunities;" two symposia: "Diversifying Archaeology's Impact through New Forms of Public Engagement: Current Happenings in Public Archaeology" and "Taking the Camino Real to School"; and a poster session titled "Public Education and Community Archaeology."
- Saturday morning *ArchaeologyLand!* returns. Stop by to try some child-tested, archaeologist-approved activities that focus on archaeology, cultural history, and historic preservation. Saturday afternoon is the CRM Expo and a symposium, "Public Archaeology and Education in Northeast Research and Compliance Projects."
- For the over 2,000 SAA members who have checked the Public Archaeology Interest Group box on their membership forms, the Public Archaeology Interest Group meeting is Saturday evening, 5:00–6:00 P.M. Stop by, say, "Hi," and get connected.



# INDIGENOUS INVOLVEMENT IN ARGENTINEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

## A FUTURE VENTURE

María Isabel Hernández Llosas and Jorge Ñancucheo

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### Indigenous Peoples Before the Conquest

Before the European conquest occurred at the beginning of the sixteenth century, what is today Argentina was fully occupied by many different indigenous peoples in diverse geographical regions, summarized as follows (Figure 1):

**Northwest:** This area corresponds with the south-central Andes within the Argentinean border. It includes part of the high plateau, or *puna*, shared with Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, as well as several high rift and mountain valleys. At the time of the Spanish conquest, this region was populated by different groups with intensive food production, complex technologies, social differentiation, and centralization of power. These peoples were incorporated under the Inca not long before the Spanish arrival.

**Central West:** Following the main chain of the Andes farther south, this region is characterized by arid valleys. At the time of the Spanish conquest, it was populated by people similar to those described above but with a less complex social and economic organization.

**Center:** The geographical center of the country is characterized by low hills crossed by fertile valleys, which were extensively populated in prehispanic times by people similar to the ones described for the Central West.

**Northeast:** This area corresponds with lowlands that have different characteristics. Some are crossed by large rivers and covered by rain forest, and were occupied by groups whose economy included agriculture. Others are extensive plains with tropical woodlands that were occupied by different groups of hunter-fisher-gatherer peoples.

**Pampa-Patagonia:** Although characterized by different environments, this area is dominated by extensive lowlands, grasslands, and plains, which were occupied mainly by hunter-gatherer groups.

### Western Conquest and Colonization

The Western conquest of these vast territories occurred in two stages (Figure 2). The first corresponded with Spanish invasion and colonization (ca. 1500–1810). The second corresponded with Independence and expansion of the Argentinean Republic (ca. 1810–1910). During the first stage, conquest focused only in regions where the characteristics of the indigenous peoples were compatible with Spanish interests, particularly their potential to be slave workers within the colonial system. Forced labor was implemented using two institutions: the *encomiendas* of private families and the missions of Catholic religious orders, both of which received royal gifts consisting of both land and indigenous workers. The *encomienda* system was used mainly in the Northwest and the Central West areas, where the characteristics of the indigenous people and their previous status as part of the Inca Empire ensured better performance as slave workers. The Center and part of the Northeast areas were given to missions instead, because not only were these regions inhabited by indigenous people more difficult to manage as forced labor, but also because conquest there was mainly for geopolitical reasons—the Center provided a connection with Perú, and the Northeast was a front line to prevent the advance of the Portuguese from Brazil. This Spanish strategy of colonization left huge territories untouched because they were occupied by hunter-gatherers who were useless within their imperial economic system (e.g., the Pampa-Patagonia area).

During the second stage of colonization, Western interests were different. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Spanish Empire was decaying and the British Empire starting to dominate globally. The British strategy required empty lands to establish new economic networks supported by the construction of extensive communications systems, especially railways and telegraph lines. This process occurred almost world-



Figure 1: Map of Argentina with regions described in article.

wide at the same time, so territories as distant as Patagonia and central Australia both had their first train and telegraph station around 1890. In the Pampa-Patagonia area, this coincided with the end of the war against the indigenous inhabitants, who were killed by the national army in order to empty those lands for use in the new economic ventures of cattle grazing and other agricultural enterprises. At this time, the foundations of the present Argentinean nation were built, with a new model in the minds of the leading political generation, which became known as the “generation of 1890.”

### The Myth of the Nation and the Past Erased

This “generation of 1890” dreamed of a modernized “new nation,” and to build it they wanted to bring “new people” to



Figure 2: Stages of the Western conquest of Argentina.

populate the territories that had just been taken from indigenous people. They especially wanted to bring Europeans, because they considered Europe as the model of civilization, as opposed to the local indigenous and creole traditions that were considered uncivilized. In so doing, numerous European immigrants came to Argentina between 1890 and 1910, and the bulk of the present Argentinean population consists of their descendents.

During these changes, the policy regarding indigenous people was denial. The “generation of 1890” even denied their existence, referring to the recent war won in Pampa, Patagonia, and Gran Chaco as “the conquest of the desert,” as if those territories had been empty of people. In fact, the indigenous people were emptied from the landscape—the survivors were put

onto reservations, and the remains of their past were moved to museum collections, placing them out of sight and erasing the social memory of their past.

All of this led to the invention of a new nation with new people and to the construction of a segregated past; the indigenous past and present were relegated to “natural history,” while Colonial and Republican times became the official past, the “history” (Hernández Llosas 2004, 2006). The European past and present became the mythical roots and model, the “heritage.” This process occurred not only in Argentina, but also in other countries (Byrne 1991).

### Archaeology and Indigenous People

The consequence for the practice of archaeology in Argentina is obvious: since the indigenous past was perceived as an extension of nature, archaeological heritage was significant only for its scientific value. Even today, the social and cultural value of the archaeological heritage and its relationship to the presence, identity, and revalorization of the indigenous peoples of Argentina is poorly recognized. As a result, there has been little interaction between archaeologists and indigenous communities. The ultimate expression of this is the new Federal Law to Protect the Paleontological and Archaeological Heritage (25.743/03), approved as recently as 2003. This law, as its name clearly shows, still considers the indigenous past as part of natural history, denying once again its status as cultural history and its link with present indigenous people.

There are a few exceptions to this (see Endere 2005). The only direct action taken to connect archaeologists with indigenous people around a declaration of ethics is a recent attempt by a few archaeologists that started during the XV Congress of Argentinean Archaeology and was formalized in April 2005 when the Declaration of Río Cuarto was subscribed to by a few archaeologists and indigenous delegates (Declaración de Río Cuarto 2005).

### Indigenous People Today in Argentina

Indigenous people in Argentina today are estimated at around 4 million persons by the Organization of Nations and Indigenous Peoples in Argentina (ONPIA). The situation for them varies from region to region. Populations in areas that were colonized fewer than 180 years ago (the Northeast and Pampa-Patagonia areas) have maintained their identity more clearly, even though they were and still are under great pressure to give up their traditions. Some governmental agencies and different churches (Catholic and Protestant) try to acculturate them using economic dependence as a primary strategy. The Guaraní, Wichi, Toba, Tapiete, Chane, Chorote, Pilaga, and Mocovi in the Northeast and the Mapuche and Tehuelches of the Pampa-Patagonia are some of the indigenous peoples of these areas.

The situation in areas colonized for over 500 years also varies according to location. In the Center and the Center West, where the pressure of Western immigrants has been higher, indigenous populations are smaller, but still some recognize themselves as Huarpe or Comechingon. The Northwest, in contrast, is the area that demographically has more indigenous and mestizo people who recognize themselves today as Kolla and Diaguita Calchaquí; here, despite the long period of colonial domination, indigenous knowledge, beliefs, technologies, and ways of life are still alive—despite the adoption of some European and Christian traditions.

For many years, indigenous people did not have legal rights in Argentina. The Constitution of 1953 (art. 67) promoted a policy that deliberately attempted to acculturate them, through not only government actions but also by encouraging religious institutions (Catholic and Protestant) to join this initiative—the Bible has been translated into all the indigenous languages. In many cases, military forces were used to subdue any resistance by indigenous populations. Not until 1994, when the Constitution was modified, were indigenous rights recognized for the first time. Later, in 2001, Argentina ratified the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169 (ILO 1989). These are the main legal achievements, but they are not yet applied in basic matters such as land ownership or the recognition of cultural differences in language, traditions, and spirituality.

Indigenous people themselves are today involved in a process of reorganization. After so many years of discrimination and actions to prevent them from organizing, many denied their indigenous heritage to survive the hostile environment. Even though indigenous resistance and rights claims appeared in different parts of the country, it was not until 1985 that a national law (23.302) gave them some rights over communal property, which helped in the initial steps to organize themselves. Since then, local and regional organizations have been created and are still in the process of emerging. At a national level, ONPIA, for instance, could not be formally created until as recently as 2003 (Figure 3). Currently, these new indigenous organizations focus mainly on the struggle for basic rights—enforcement of existing legislation, land rights, prevention of discrimination, cultural and spiritual rights, and basic improvement of sanitary conditions are among the priorities.

An active process of “re-ethnization” is occurring, together with the reinforcement of indigenous cultural identities based mostly on relationships with land (ancestral territories), language, oral traditions, and cultural practices (mainly social networks and spirituality). Land is appreciated not only for its economic value but especially for its cultural value—these ancestral territories represent their cultural landscapes where their identity is inscribed (e.g., Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Bender 1994; Bradley 2001). This process of recovering and reinforcing



Figure 3: Organizational meeting of the Organization of Indigenous Peoples and Nations in Argentina (ONPIA).

ing indigenous identity has not been based in or helped by archaeological practice—the scientific information resulting from archaeology has never reached the indigenous community in a way useful for rebuilding identity.

### Linking Archaeological and Indigenous Knowledge

The link between archaeologists and indigenous people is still being established. A consequence of this is that, up to now, archaeological practice has not focused on developing indigenous knowledge, and neither have indigenous people had access to archaeological information recovered from their ancestral territories. The authors of this paper think this link is not only possible, but necessary and for the benefit of all.

The first step to achieve this is to change from the notion that the indigenous past is linked with natural history to the recognition of the indigenous past and present as continuing cultural history, along with a corresponding recognition of indigenous territories as cultural landscapes. The second step should be to recognize the equal relevance of scientific and indige-

nous knowledge to produce information and understanding of these landscapes. We agree with UNESCO that

Modern science does not constitute the only form of knowledge, and closer links need to be established between this and other forms, systems, and approaches to knowledge, for their mutual enrichment and benefit. A constructive inter-cultural debate is in order, to help find ways of better linking modern science to the broader knowledge heritage of humankind [UNESCO 1999].

“Local and indigenous knowledge” refers to the cumulative and complex bodies of knowledge, know-how, practices, and representations that are maintained and developed by peoples with extended histories of interactions with the natural environment. These cognitive systems are part of a complex that also includes language, attachment to place, spirituality, and worldview... Knowledge, practice, and representations are intertwined and mutually dependent [UNESCO 2001, The LINKS Project].

The third step should be to promote the indigenous past by communicating knowledge gained through joint efforts of indigenous people and archaeologists.

To build this kind of visibility, it is necessary to implement good interpretative strategies within a coordinated management policy (Sullivan 1996). We understand interpretation as “a communication process, using a variety of approaches and techniques, designed to reveal meanings and relationships of our cultural and natural heritage to the public” (Evans 1985), and we are aware that “as any communication process will convey a certain message, it is important to be conscious that the message and the interpretation itself are, by their nature, subjective” (Sullivan 1996). Accordingly, we believe interpretation has to come from the joint effort of all people—indigenous and archaeologists—who wish to share their knowledge, values, and points of view with others.

We conceive interpretation as one effective way to enhance the visibility of an indigenous past that was erased and hidden from the public for so long, as well as a powerful tool to recover the significance of the indigenous past. This can only be achieved by joining efforts, a challenge for present and future generations of both indigenous peoples and archaeologists.

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# RECOGNIZING ZUNI PLACE AND LANDSCAPE WITHIN THE FORT WINGATE MILITARY DEPOT ACTIVITY

Kurt E. Dongoske and Jonathan E. Damp

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The identification and evaluation of traditional cultural properties (TCPs) has become a standard aspect of Section 106 compliance. Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, Inc. (ZCRE) implements ethnographic research on a regular basis as part of the process to identify Zuni traditionally important places on and off the Zuni Reservation. In 2003, the Office of Contract Archaeology at University of New Mexico, under contract to the Department of the Army (Army Environmental Center), partnered with ZCRE to identify, study, and manage the natural and cultural resources of the Fort Wingate Military Depot from a Zuni perspective. ZCRE designed the research to be grounded in Zuni oral traditions because they represent a rich storehouse of knowledge regarding many important subjects, particularly the natural environment in which the Zuni live. The depth and breadth of relevant information contained in oral traditions were obtained through a series of ethnographic interviews conducted with Zuni tribal members (Figure 1).

## The Zuni Cultural Landscape

Throughout recorded history, the Zuni have consistently described their traditional landscape to Spanish conquistadors, American military personnel, early anthropologists, and in land claim cases against the U.S. government. The area claimed by the Zunis to be their aboriginal homeland is located in adjoining portions of southwestern McKinley, western Valencia, and northwestern Catron counties in western New Mexico, and in adjacent parts of central Apache, Navajo, and Coconino counties in eastern Arizona. This includes the greater Fort Wingate area, which is located approximately 20 miles north of the Pueblo of Zuni. The Fort Wingate Depot Activity (Fort Wingate) occupies approximately 32.5 square miles (20,816 acres) in McKinley County, New Mexico, approximately eight miles east of Gallup. The original Fort Wingate dates back to the 1850s and was located to the east of the present Fort Wingate; the current facility was constructed in 1941.

Research into Zuni traditions informed on the unique perception the Zuni have of their relationship to the broader landscape in which Fort Wingate is situated. The Zuni people maintain a knowledge of, an affinity with, and empathy for the landscape about them. They believe in the conservation of the landscape from the point of view of caring for one's relative and not from a "Western" scientific perspective of conserving or managing a natural resource. The Zuni believe that they exist in a special relationship with the land upon which they are dependent and, in turn, the landscape is dependent upon them.

Through the centuries, the Zuni developed an encyclopedic knowledge of the landscape and the many different resources it contains. The Zuni know which clay could be gathered from a mesa to the south for producing a certain type of pottery. They also know that a certain plant gathered along the banks of the Little Colorado River could be used for the treatment of a specific illness. The Zuni people also utilized this area for ceremonial land use, hunting, trapping, gathering, agriculture, irrigation, grazing, and village occupation. It is through the religious groups, kiva societies, priesthoods, and clans that people remember and transmit these different pieces of knowledge. In this way, traditional knowledge about the landscape is shared throughout the tribe, resulting in the long-term, continuous management of a vast amount of knowledge about its animals, plants, and waterways.

Specific geographical reference points define this cultural landscape, with which the Zuni have a cultural and spiritual bond maintained through visits to and uses of the many sacred places, shrines, springs, plant and mineral collecting areas, trails, and ancestral (archaeological) sites, as well as through recitation of stories that name these places. The intricate rituals and ceremonies performed by present-day Zuni pay reverence and homage to these ancient sites, shrines, and other sacred places in the context of spiritual associations. Even if these



Figure 1: Zuni Cultural Advisory Team member inspecting the post-Chacoan Fenced-up Horse Canyon site.

places are over a hundred miles away from the Middle Place (*Idiwan'a*), or Pueblo of Zuni, they are no less significant than those located within close proximity to the Pueblo that are used on an annual, seasonal, or intermittent basis.

### Fort Wingate as Traditional Cultural Property

Fort Wingate is situated within the Zuni cultural landscape area, and according to Zuni cultural advisors, the entire Fort Wingate area was considered to be Zuni land before it became a military reservation. Today, the area that comprises the Fort Wingate still embodies significant cultural and religious meaning for the Zuni people. Based on this knowledge, ZCRE designed the research to identify and evaluate places and resources of traditional cultural importance located within Fort Wingate from a cultural landscape perspective. This approach emphasized that to fully appreciate and understand the significance of Zuni TCPs and resources that are located within the Fort Wingate area, these places and resources must be perceived and contextualized within the larger landscape with which the Zuni people have maintained a historical and ongoing relationship.

In evaluating the role that the Zuni aboriginal land claim area played in the continuation of the cultural identity of the Zuni people, ZCRE determined that the Zuni cultural landscape met the eligibility requirements for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. The Zuni cultural landscape was recommended to the Army as historically significant because it contains special places that reveal aspects of the Zuni culture's ori-

gin, development, and continuation through the form, features, and ways in which these special places are utilized. The decision to recommend the Zuni cultural landscape as a Register-eligible TCP was based on the role the landscape plays in maintaining the practical and spiritual preservation of the Zuni people. Zuni religion and culture are intrinsically tied to this landscape because it contains places where prayer offerings are made, medicinal herbs are gathered, special wood for prayer sticks are collected, specific birds for feathers are captured, and numerous other activities occur that are vital to the continuation of Zuni culture. The identity of individual Zuni, as well as of the collective community, is in part determined and reinforced by their conceptualization of their place within this cultural landscape.

The area encompassed by this cultural landscape and its central role in defining Zuni cultural identity has been consistently described by the Zuni people for well over 200 years of documented history. The geographical places that demarcate the boundaries of this cultural landscape are considered sacred symbols that serve as cultural identity and boundary markers for the Zuni people. This defined area was specifically claimed by the Zuni Indian Tribe as being exclusively owned, used, and occupied by the Zuni Tribe from time immemorial; these lands were held by "aboriginal title" but were subsequently taken from the Zuni Tribe by the U.S. without adequate compensation at various times between 1846 and 1939 (Yannello 1987:242).

### Building the Case for Eligibility

When one considers the Zuni cultural landscape as a Register-eligible TCP, the scale of this property may appear to be a troublesome issue. However, regulations place no size limits on National Register properties (36 CFR Part 60). The pertinent issues regarding eligibility are whether the property meets any of the National Register significance criteria and whether it retains integrity (King 2002:129). For the Fort Wingate study, ZCRE recommended that the Zuni land claim area be considered a Register-eligible TCP under criteria (a), (b), and (d).

For a property to be eligible for listing on the National Register under criterion (a), it must be strongly associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of national, state, or local history (Hardesty and Little 2000:33). The identified events significant in Zuni history that are represented throughout this cultural landscape are the emergence of the Zuni people, the migrations of the Zuni clans to the "middle place," the amalgamation of two archaeological cultures (Anasazi and Mogollon) into one cohesive Zuni culture, and the historical evolution and adaptation of Zuni culture to a changing social and natural environment.

The Zuni cultural landscape is also considered eligible under

criterion (b). In order for a property to be eligible under criterion (b), the property must have a strong association with the lives of a person or persons who have made a significant contribution to national, state, or local history (Hardesty and Little 2000:34). The cultural landscape defined by the Zuni land claim area has a strong association with the collective group of persons known as the Zuni people, who represent a unique Native American Indian culture that has evolved from its indigenous roots to the present form that maintains historic, religious, and contemporaneous ties to the landscape. Zuni culture and its interdependent secret religious societies, which are concerned with different aspects of Zuni physical, economic, and spiritual health, are the cornerstones of Zuni social cohesion. The large cultural landscape surrounding the Pueblo of Zuni is inextricably united with Zuni society through the many ceremonial locations, secret caves, and shrines that dot the landscape and figure into the cycle of rituals and ceremonial dances that punctuate the Zuni religious cycle.

The Zuni people are a unique part of the history of the Southwest and represent a significant cultural influence on the multicultural environment of the American Southwest. The unique quality of the Zuni culture is, in part, attested to by their language. While other Native American tribes share linguistic genealogies, the Zuni language has no direct relatives elsewhere in the Americas. The Zuni culture is a unique and significant expression of adaptation to the Southwestern environment. The Zuni people, through their culture, have endured the test of time by not only surviving the harsh environment, but also by surviving the encroachment of the Spanish, Mexicans, and Euro-Americans. In the latter years of the nineteenth century, people from the U.S. surged into the West, descending upon the small Zuni community with their enormous political, military, economic, and technological power. Many other Native American cultures succumbed to this advancing American civilization, but not the Zuni. The Zuni people endured, in part because of who and what Zuni were and are, but also as a result of Zuni exerting its own marked influence on the development of American anthropology, history, and the greater American consciousness (see McFeely 2001). It is precisely because of the unique quality of Zuni culture, its relationship to the broader landscape, and how that relationship has been expressed through the cultural and natural aspects of the landscape that this property is eligible under criterion (b).

ZCRE also recommended that the Zuni cultural landscape be considered eligible for listing under criterion (d). Significance criterion (d) requires a property to have yielded or be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history. Significance is determined by a property's importance to scientific or scholarly research (Hardesty and Little 2000:37). The cultural landscape that is the Zuni land claim area in its totality has the

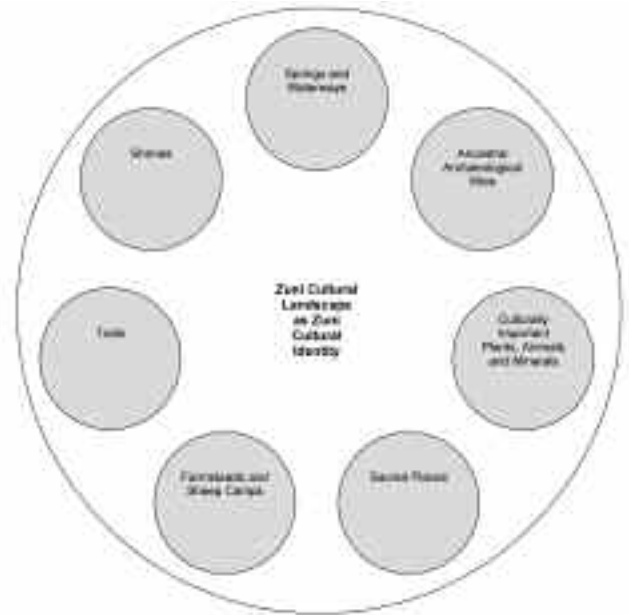


Figure 2: Diagram indicating the various contributing Register-eligible and contributing non-Register-eligible properties/resources to the Register-eligible Zuni cultural landscape.

ability to yield important scientific, archaeological, ethnographic, and historic information regarding the Zuni cultural and technological adaptation to and use of the natural and cultural environment.

To be considered eligible for listing on the National Register, a property must also retain integrity. The Zuni cultural landscape, because it is in part a natural landscape, maintains integrity of location since this is the physical place where Zuni migrations occurred, ancestral habitation places were established, shrines and offering and collection areas created, and the Zuni culture evolved. The Zuni cultural landscape retains integrity of setting because the physical environment of the Colorado Plateau, in which the Zuni cultural landscape is located, has not significantly changed since prehistoric times. This is particularly important in conveying a sense of the physical environment that characterized the landscape in which Zuni culture evolved. The cultural landscape also retains integrity of association because it is the precise location where the historical events important to the Zuni occurred and because the landscape continues to convey this relationship to Zuni and non-Zunis alike. For example, many of the topographic features (e.g., San Francisco Peaks) visible from points across the landscape continue to convey aspects of cultural value that tie the Zuni to the landscape and define their collective and individual cultural identity.

ZCRE argued that the Zuni cultural landscape met all of the requirements for consideration as a Register-eligible property. In fact, the importance of this area to the Zuni people and validity of its defined boundaries had been previously verified and officially recognized by the U.S. Claims Court (Yannello 1987). Therefore, it seemed reasonable that, for the purposes of evaluating the Zuni TCPs located within Fort Wingate, the Army recognize the entire Zuni cultural landscape as a Register-eligible TCP. That was not to suggest that the Zuni Tribe wanted this entire area nominated for listing on the National Register. Rather, ZCRE argued that recognizing the Zuni land claim area as Register-eligible provided the appropriate cultural and historic contexts in which to evaluate the individually important Zuni places and resources contained within Fort Wingate. The Section 106 process (36 CFR 800) supports this type of effort, for it provides an agency the option of considering places as eligible without making any kind of formal determination or nomination (King 2002:133).

Additionally, the utility of employing this approach is that it makes Zuni resources and places of traditional importance located within Fort Wingate contributing elements to the larger Register-eligible property. This is akin to recognizing individual architectural elements as contributing to the eligibility of a historic building or individual buildings as contributing elements to the eligibility of an urban historic district (see King 2002:130). Many culturally important Zuni places, physical resources, and topographic features located within the Zuni cultural landscape may not be considered Register-eligible properties within their own right. However, they act as important contributing elements in conveying the Zuni relationship with this cultural landscape and therefore become vital components in transmitting the historical and cultural significance of this Register-eligible landscape. Individual springs, remnants of Zuni farmsteads and sheep camps, important topographic features, and culturally important biological resources may not be Register-eligible, but collectively they act as contributing elements in conveying to the Zuni the important relationship they have with this landscape and the landscape's important role in the continuation of Zuni culture.

Moreover, trails, ceremonial pilgrimage circuits, springs, significant landmarks, and physical and biological resources become important components in the Zuni perception of their environment, because they are symbolic, meaningful, and expressive, even though they can be complex and ambiguous. Figure 2 illustrates the important role that these contributing elements play in collectively defining and maintaining the important relationship that the Zuni have with this landscape.

Within the Fort Wingate area, there are many important Zuni places, some of which are Register-eligible in their own right. They consist of archaeological sites, shrines, trails, and a named

Zuni place, Bear Springs. The area also contains many important Zuni places and resources that are not individually Register-eligible, but continue to perform as important contributing elements because they convey how the Zuni interacted and utilized this landscape. For example, many springs, waterways, and biological resources located within the Fort Wingate area convey important historical and ethnographic information on how the Zuni interrelated with their environment and how they applied rules of access to and allocation of specific resources within this landscape, regardless of whether particular spaces were actively used or occupied. These places and resources transmit a sense of feeling or identity to the Zuni's relationship with the physical, natural, and cultural properties of the landscape.

### Cultural Landscapes as TCPs

The recognition of place is a human attribute that helps people organize or model their environment. The predictive code for modeling the environment is the cultural context in which a society operates, which in this case is the Zuni cultural landscape. For society to model the environment, it must link the recognition of place with other information that provides meaning to place. The ZCRE Fort Wingate project promoted a participatory approach to assimilating spatial information for the goal of empowering our perception of the Zuni cultural landscape and disseminating the management, analysis, and communication of spatial information to the Zuni people and to the Army. By treating the entire cultural landscape not just as individual places but as a larger TCP, ZCRE shifted focus to the historic and cultural context of the use of the environment. This effort broadens the narrow focus of looking at place and posits a larger contextual approach that collects, assimilates or analyzes, and interprets geographic information within specific cultural paradigms that constitute cultural landscapes.

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# THE INDIGENOUS TRANSFORMATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRACTICE

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A quiet revolution is happening in archaeology. Indigenous knowledge and worldviews are transforming important aspects of archaeological practice. This is not a revolution that aims to upturn current practices. Rather, it involves enriching and broadening these practices and breaking down stereotypes from two directions. The expanding interface between Indigenous peoples and archaeology is creating a zone in which both archaeologists and Native peoples can move toward a better understanding of each other. This moves beyond an unthinking contrast between “us” (Indigenous peoples or archaeologists) and “them” (archaeologists or Indigenous peoples), failing to recognize the elisions between the two, especially in terms of the numbers of Indigenous archaeologists. (Note that I use the term “Indigenous peoples,” with the capital “I” emphasizing the political autonomy and nationhood status of individual groups—like Greek, Italian, Polish, American—while use of “peoples” recognizes the heterogeneity of Indigenous experiences.)

This process is part of a global movement that is addressing social justice issues as an integral part of archaeological practice—seen, for example, in the recently established Archaeologists for Global Justice (<http://www.shef.ac.uk/archaeology/global-justice.html>) and the long-standing position of the World Archaeological Congress on Indigenous issues and emerging issues of global justice (<http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org>). Significant changes are occurring in the relationships between Indigenous peoples and archaeologists. After more than 20 years of published discussion aimed at improving these relationships (see Dongoske et al. 2000; Mihesuah 1999; Swidler et al. 1997; Watkins 2000; Zimmerman 1989), we have reached a point where, in many places, Indigenous knowledge is being incorporated into archaeological practice. Cumulatively, this is bringing about a substantive reorientation within our discipline. This issue of the *SAA Archaeological Record*, Indigenous Knowledge in Archaeological Practice, is but one an indicator of this transformation.

This article gives an overview of the emergence of Indigenous

archaeology, one that is informed by Indigenous values and agendas. Indigenous archaeology moves beyond research “about” Indigenous peoples to focus on research that is conducted by, with, and for them. From the viewpoint of many Indigenous peoples, much archaeological and anthropological research has been nothing more than a tool of colonial exploitation. However, Indigenous scholars now argue that Indigenous values and worldviews should be central to archaeological practice (e.g., Atalay 2006), and they advocate shaping this practice to provide greater benefits for communities (e.g., Isaacson 2003). This can be interpreted in terms of the idea of “survivance,” coined by Anishinaabe scholar, Gerald Vizenor (1999). Survivance is the process by which Native peoples adopt the tools that were used to change, control, and dispose of them in order to ensure the survival of their own societies and cultural values. The Indigenous transformation of archaeological practice is one part of this process.

## Worldviews

Indigenous worldviews and the Western scientific approach to research represent two quite different knowledge systems. Generally, archaeological practice is conducted within the box of a Western worldview, and often this is not congruent with Indigenous systems of knowledge. Lacking an understanding of how Indigenous peoples might approach the data, archaeologists generally present Indigenous material culture in terms of the logics of Western typologies and classificatory systems. Grounded in Western knowledge systems, archaeological systems of classification often fail to see the potentially varying and different typological logics of Indigenous societies (Wobst 2005). There can be significant differences between the two: for example, while Western worldviews tend to emphasize bounded entities, discontinuities, and individualism, Indigenous worldviews tend to emphasize linkages, continuities, and relationships.

Indigenous theory and logic has a place in all aspects of archaeological practice, not just in eliminating the worst colonialist practices. It is clear that any centering of Indigenous

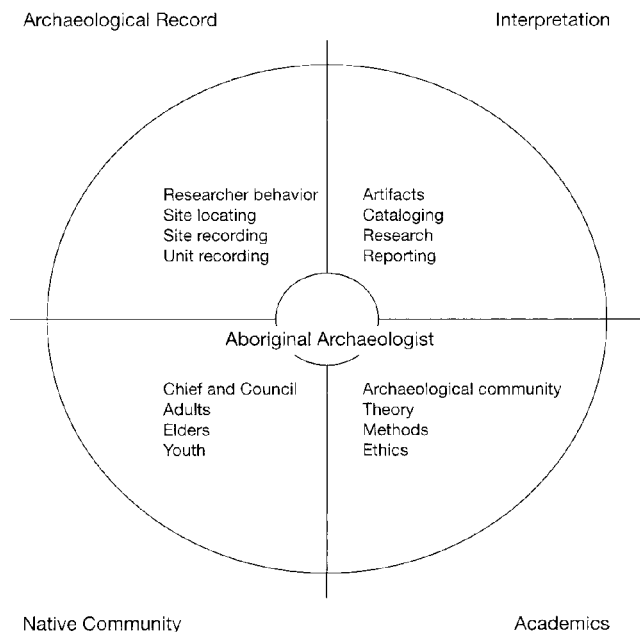


Figure 1: Tara Million's Circular Research Model (after Million 2005:45).

knowledge will involve substantive changes in archaeological practice:

In bringing to the center some of the concepts held by Indigenous people about the past, traditional ways of teaching about history, heritage, and ancestral remains, and the role and responsibility of research knowledge for communities, we would be in a position to envisage a very different type of archaeological practice—one that emphasizes ethics and social justice for a wider, more diverse audience [Atalay 2006:295–296].

As Indigenous knowledge is incorporated increasingly into archaeological practice, it is evident that some systems of classification will link, crosscut, or even contravene “normal” archaeological classes and types. For example, archaeologist Tara Million uses her Cree heritage to guide her practice from research design to excavation and analysis. Guided by Cree philosophy, Million developed a circular research model with four quadrants: Native community, academics, the archaeological record, and interpretation (Figure 1). Deriving from this model is an archaeological practice in which she undertakes excavation in circles, rather than squares. Million's work demonstrates that developing an Aboriginal archaeology involves numerous challenges and negotiations, as is evident in the following passage:

My archaeological projects and publications are based on building a bridge between two conflicting and competing value systems: Aboriginal and mainstream Western academic... I am being pulled in several contradictory directions. Cultural values are being brought to the table and are informing the requests expressed by each individual, Aboriginal and academic... I chose instead to compromise and negotiate with these two specific cultures [Million 2005:51].

### The Academy

There are a growing number of Native people with tertiary qualifications, especially doctorates. For example, at the moment, there are at least 51 Native Americans who have received a doctorate in either anthropology or archaeology, 12 of whom are archaeologists. However, the distribution of Native American doctoral awardees in tertiary institutions is varied. In the years 2000–2005, the institutions that awarded the greatest number of doctorates to American Indians were Oklahoma State University, University of Oklahoma, and Arizona State University (NORC 2005: Table 10), closely followed by University of New Mexico, Stanford University, and University of California–Berkeley. In part, this may be because some of these universities are firmly located in “Indian country,” but it is probably also due to well-established and successful diversity initiatives within these institutions.

Nevertheless, the numbers are still far too small. In 2005, there were only three American Indians out of 455 doctoral recipients (.65 percent) in the field of anthropology and none out of the 44 doctoral graduates in archaeology (NORC 2005: Appendix Table A-2). Still, the trend is upward. While in 1985, doctoral recipients who were American Indians, in all fields, constituted .41 percent of recipients of known race/ethnicity, by 2005, this figure had risen to .54 percent (NORC 2005: Table 8). While this represents an increase of 32 percent, it is still well below the around 1 percent of Native Americans in the overall population. However, the scholars who are emerging are making substantive changes in their parts of the world, not only as “poster children” and role models, but also through the ways in which they conduct archaeology themselves and the cultural values they bring to the discipline.

This process is being reinforced by the hiring practices of particular universities. For example, the Department of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst recently advertised a tenure-track position for someone with “a vision and record of research and teaching in the archaeology of racism and social inequality, preferably in the Indigenous Americas and/or the African Diaspora,” as part of a program that is building on “teaching, research, and service concentration on the causes and manifestations of inequality and the

promotion of social justice in the Americas" (<http://www.saa.org/careers/job-listing.html>). One of the criteria for this position is that candidates are "are integrated into the racialized communities they study, as a means to build on the strong community outreach initiative of the department." Strategic hires such as these play an important structural role in the shaping of archaeology.

Given the ongoing effects of colonial histories, once they are in college environments, Indigenous scholars face particular challenges, but they also bring special skills to their studies. Because they are often the subject of research, many Indigenous scholars come to the academy with firsthand experience of what it is like to be researched and how this affects the people being studied. Therefore, Indigenous scholars already have a strong sense of what is "good" and "bad" research practice. Moreover, having lived within the frameworks of colonialism, even if these frameworks have been altered of late, these Native scholars arrive in the academy with their critical skills finely honed. They use these skills not only to critique those in the academy, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, but also their own emerging roles in the discipline and the institutional structures of their country.

One of the most important recent sustained critiques of an Indigenous structure by Indigenous scholars is in the Fall 2006 issue of *American Indian Quarterly*, in which Guest Editor Amy Lonetree brings together a range of critical engagements with the recently established Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). Among a range of scholarly critiques are several papers that explicitly call for the NMAI to engage actively with colonial processes. This is particularly apparent in Sonya Atalay's paper, "No Sense of the Struggle: Creating a Context for Survivance at the NMAI" and Myla Vincenti Carpio's "(Un)disturbing Exhibitions: Indigenous Historical Memory at the NMAI." Lonetree's paper takes a similar stance, although in terms of whether the relatively abstract treatment of colonialism best fulfils the NMAI's mission to educate the public about the effects of colonialism in the Americas. Staff at the NMAI were well aware that the Museum would be open to such critiques, and Director Rick West informed the *Washington Post*

that period of history is at best only about 5 percent of the period we have been in this hemisphere. We do not want to make the National Museum of the American Indian into an Indian Holocaust Museum... what we are talking about in the end is cultural survivance. We are still here (Joel Achenbach, Sept. 14, pg. R01).

Like the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, which opened in Cincinnati in 2004, the NMAI decided to stress human resilience in the face of adversity, rather than

memorialize a tragic past. While my own view is that the NMAI successfully challenges the very notion of what constitutes a museum, especially in terms of the extent of Native involvement in shaping the institution, the matter that I would like to point to here is the vigorous engagement between various Indigenous peoples concerning the most significant representation of Indigenous history in the U.S. This intellectual engagement is shaping much more than just NMAI.

### Information Dissemination and Global Alliancing

There are significant changes in the ways that archaeological information is being disseminated. Perhaps the most important change is expansion in the number of publications by Indigenous peoples. For example, Indigenous authors or coauthors are responsible for 8 of the 26 (31 percent) chapters in Dongoske et al.'s *Working Together: Native Americans and Archaeologists* (2000) and for 3 of the 11 (27 percent) chapters in Biolsi and L. Zimmerman's *Indians and Anthropologists* (1997). Similarly, 12 of the 21 chapters (57 percent) in the edited volume *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonizing Theory and Practice* (Smith and Wobst 2005) are by Indigenous authors, as are 9 of the 22 papers (41 percent) in the 2006 double issue of *American Indian Quarterly*, "Decolonizing Archaeology," edited by Sonya Atalay, and "Critical Engagements with the National Museum of the American Indian," edited by Amy Lonetree. Likewise, the upcoming issue of *Archaeologies, Journal World Archaeological Congress*, "Aboriginal Archaeologies," will have only papers that are authored or coauthored by Indigenous scholars (Smith and Modzelewski 2007). This increase in Indigenous voice in the literature of archaeology and related disciplines reflects two trends: an increase in co-publication by archaeologists and the people with whom they work, and the increase in Indigenous academics and researchers. Publications by these researchers are playing an important role in having Indigenous knowledge shape contemporary archaeological practice.

A related trend is that of archaeologists choosing to share the financial benefits of research. Increasingly, royalties from books on Indigenous topics are being directed to funds that are dedicated to assist Indigenous scholars. For example, the royalties from *Skull Wars* (Thomas 2000) are directed to the SAA Native American Scholarships fund. Similarly, royalties from AltaMira Press's Indigenous Archaeologies Series are used to support Indigenous attendance at meetings of the World Archaeological Congress. While the sums involved may be relatively small, the motivation behind such gestures is to share the financial benefits of archaeological research with people whose culture makes that research possible. Depending on the particular publication, this is being done in terms of individual communities, specific target groups, and the wider Indigenous community.



Figure 2: Inuk Elder Luke Suluk with Ngadjuri and Narrunga Descendents Dance Group at the opening of the symposium *Cultural Heritage and Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property*, Burra, South Australia, December, 2006 (Photo by Daniel Puletama).

Another trend is that of increased Indigenous participation in archaeological meetings. At one level, this is a natural outcome of the increased number of Indigenous scholars. However, there is also a trend to share the benefits of research through ensuring that community members can travel to participate in archaeological meetings. Sometimes, this travel is undertaken at the behest of an Indigenous community that is seeking to enhance its knowledge in a particular area, and this involves not only travel within North America, but also overseas (Figure 2).

The Indigenous scholars or community members who attend conferences obtain a deeper understanding of the research process and are better able to actively participate in the shaping of archaeology as a discipline. At the same time, non-Indigenous archaeologists who facilitate the attendance of Indigenous community members at archaeological meetings send a message of shared intellectual property and genuine collaboration. In addition, attendance at archaeological conferences has value for Indigenous people, not only through having their voices heard, but also with opportunities for alliancing, both nationally and globally. Such alliances allow Indigenous peoples strategies to share for success, avoid pitfalls, and develop both personal and group strength. At the moment, much of this is happening “off-camera,” so to speak—through the Internet and in specialized symposia, not just in archaeology, but also in related disciplines. Although this is a slow process, it is only a matter of time before Indigenous scholars and community members are seen to have a more prominent role in mainstream archaeological meetings.

The SAA has an important role in this process, not only through its Native American Scholarships Program, but also

through its Committee on Native American Relations (CNAR), whose mandate is to increase understanding by archaeologists of the issues of concern to Native Americans, promote understanding by Native Americans of the value and relevance of archaeology, and foster better relationships between both groups (<http://www.saa.org>). Over the last few years, the CNAR has made substantial progress in helping Native people attend meetings. This involves holding a symposium for community people who live where the meetings are held and working to have fee waivers of meeting registration and SAA member fees—and to have this process institutionalized within the SAA. In its Spring report for 2007, CNAR identified three goals to achieve its charge and foster better understanding and communication between the Native American community and SAA: increase the number of Native American archaeologists who participate in the SAA, increase interaction between CNAR and other SAA committees and individuals who deal with issues sensitive to Native Americans, and identify important issues that may affect the relations between the SAA and Native Americans and suggest appropriate actions. Guided by CNAR, the SAA is instigating a number of very positive changes, many of which are unlikely to have happened without the input of Indigenous voices.

## Discussion

I have sketched some of the changes to archaeological practices that are arising from Indigenous knowledge and cultural values. However, the process is wider than this. The developments I describe here key into, and in some cases arise from, a postmodern acceptance of multiple narratives, as well as the newly developed “values-based” management methodologies that are being applied in both natural and cultural heritage management. Emerging from the marketing and business sectors of the economy (see Sawhney 2002), values-based heritage management focuses on relationships between organizations and their clients and the development of a culture of trust based on a clear understanding of roles and responsibilities. For people working with Indigenous nations, there is a clear mandate to enhance trust and respect between archaeologists and Indigenous groups. Apart from this, the process outlined in this article articulates with international discussions regarding the decolonization of archaeology (Atalay 2006; McGuire 1997), Indigenous control over Indigenous cultural and intellectual property (Blakeney 1999; Nicholas and Bannister 2004), and archaeological ethics (Meskell and Pels 2005; Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Zimmerman et al. 2003).

Finally, I’d like to pose the question: “Who benefits from the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge into archaeological practice?” The answer is that everyone benefits. Indigenous worldviews are challenging some of the basic assumptions that underpin archaeological research, and this is producing a



broadening of disciplinary methods and more culturally nuanced interpretations of the past. Apart from this, the incorporation of Indigenous views into archaeological practice has important implications for contemporary policymaking and for shaping public opinion, as well as for the expectations we bring to our discipline. From little things, big things grow.

### Acknowledgments

I am very grateful for comments on drafts of this paper by Sonya Atalay, Gary Jackson, Dorothy Lippert, Randy McGuire, Eirik Thorsgard, H. Martin Wobst, and Larry Zimmerman. Also, over the years I have had many fruitful discussions with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous colleagues, usually over chicken dinners, and I thank all the people concerned. Figure 2 is published courtesy of Luke Suluk and the Ngadjuri and Narrunga Descendants Dance Group.

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## ROBERT S. SANTLEY

1948–2006

Robert S. Santley, Professor of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico, passed away at his Albuquerque home on March 23, 2006 at the age of 57. He was a competitive and generous free spirit who left a body of scholarship that will influence Mesoamerican archaeology for years to come.

Santley grew up in Bethlehem, PA, the only son of professional musicians. He carried a love of music and drawing throughout his life, even coupling his anthropology major at Pennsylvania State University (B.A. 1970) with a minor in art. His drafting, technical drawing, and cartographic expertise served him well as he matriculated into Penn State's graduate anthropology program and earned M.A. (1974) and Ph.D. (1976) degrees under the tutelage of Fred Matson and William Sanders, respectively. Those same art skills enabled Santley to produce the corpus of detailed, hand-drawn maps that accompanied the pathbreaking *The Basin of Mexico: Ecological Processes in the Evolution of a Civilization* (Academic Press, 1979) coauthored with Sanders and Jeffrey Parsons. His training, under Sanders especially, left Santley with a lifelong orientation to human ecology, the material relations of social life, and the preeminence of population and the economy in the evolution of human society



In 1978, Santley joined the faculty of the University of New Mexico as an assistant professor. Allegiance and loyalty, both personal and professional, played a large role in Santley's life; having spent his entire student career at one institution, he stayed true to form and remained at New Mexico throughout his professional career. As he progressed through tenure and promotion to Full Professor he developed an enormously prolific and successful regimen of publication, grantsmanship, and mentoring. Santley reveled in both large- and small-scale archaeological phenomena, moving easily between regional settlement analysis and the attributes of a single obsidian blade. His fieldwork included experience with both survey and excavation in the Basin of Mexico as well as a short stint at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala. Most of Santley's research, however, focused on the archaeological record of southern Ver-

acruz, Mexico, where he directed several major archaeological projects and generated fieldwork opportunities for both U.S. and Mexican students. His prodigious record of journal articles, book chapters, monographs, comments, and reviews is remarkable. It was even rumored that his NSF proposals, notorious for their numerous and lengthy appendices, prompted revisions to NSF submission policies.

Santley was an equally adept and engaging teacher. His undergraduate and graduate classes were exciting and provocative; his lectures were occasionally vaudevillian and often peppered with allusions to old cinema. But his most significant impact occurred outside the classroom, talking with students on his sofa or gathered around his kitchen table. As an ardent fan of Penn State football and Coach Joe Paterno, Santley's living room was always a meeting place during football season. While in college, he worked at a pizzeria—years later, he could still throw together a mouth-watering, thin-crust pie during half time. Santley made it clear to his students that archaeological research was a joint effort; he involved them in his work and he validated their contributions through coauthor-

ship. He not only showed students how to collect and analyze data, he also taught them to disseminate the results.

Although hampered by extremely poor health during his final years, Santley remained productive until his very last day. His latest book, *The Prehistory of the Tuxtlas*, is available from the University of New Mexico Press. In the mold of the very best competitors, Robert Santley gave it all he had and left everything on the playing field. Coach Paterno would be proud.

—Philip J. Arnold III and Rani T. Alexander

Philip J. Arnold III is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Loyola University Chicago. Rani T. Alexander is Associate Professor of Anthropology at New Mexico State University. The authors gratefully acknowledge contributions from Janet Kerley, Thomas Killion, Patricia McAnany, Christopher Pool, and Lawrence G. Straus.



## NEWS & NOTES

**AD Symposium at the SAA Meetings: Call for Proposals.** The Archaeology Division (AD) of the American Anthropological Association is pleased to sponsor a symposium annually at the SAA meetings. In Austin, the AD will sponsor "Residential Burial: A Multi-regional Exploration," organized by Ron L. Adams (Simon Fraser University) and Joyce C. White (University of Pennsylvania Museum). Proposals for AD sponsorship at the 2008 SAA meetings in Vancouver, British Columbia should be submitted by August 20, 2007. A proposal should include title and abstract of symposium, complete list of participants and titles of papers, and as many abstracts of individual papers as possible. The major criterion for selection is how well the proposed symposium exemplifies a holistic anthropological approach to an archaeological topic. Please send proposals as an email attachment, in either MS Word or plain text format, to President-elect Janet Levy, at [jelevy@uncc.edu](mailto:jelevy@uncc.edu). Organizers will be informed of the selection no later than August 31, 2007.

**New Name, Expanded Mission for School of American Research.** In 2007, the School of American Research celebrates its 100-year anniversary with an expanded mission, special events, and a new name—the School for Advanced Research on the Human Experience (SAR). Founded in 1907 by archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett, SAR has become a unique center for advanced study in anthropology and the indigenous arts. As SAR enters its second century, it is embracing an expanded mission to promote a broader body of anthropologically informed scholarship in the humanities and social sciences and to reach a global constituency of

scholars, policy-makers, and members of the public. New initiatives that reflect SAR's expanded goals include the launch of a Global Indigenous Politics series published by the renowned SAR Press, an enhanced Summer Scholar program that now includes modest stipends, the ability to now accommodate more international scholars in SAR programs, and a new Douglas W. Schwartz Advanced Seminar in Anthropological Archaeology. More information on all of SAR's program, as well as information on special Centennial events, can be found at <http://www.sar-web.org/>.

**National Register Listings.** The following archaeological properties were listed in the National Register of Historic Places during the fourth quarter of 2006. For a full list of National Register listings every week, check "What's New" at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/>

- American Samoa, Western District. *Old Vatia*. Listed 11/02/06.
- Arkansas, Conway County. *Seven Hollows—Petit Jean Mountain Site #1*. (Rock Art Sites in Arkansas TR), Listed 9/20/06.
- Arkansas, Pope County. *Archeological Site 3PP141*. (Rock Art Sites in Arkansas TR), Listed 11/08/06.
- Arkansas, Pope County. *Archeological Site 3PP142*. (Rock Art Sites in Arkansas TR), Listed 11/08/06.
- Arkansas, Yell County. *Archeological Site 3YE958*. (Rock Art Sites in Arkansas TR), Listed 11/08/06.
- Colorado, Gunnison County. *Chance Gulch Site*. Listed 12/06/06.
- Delaware, Sussex County. *Roosevelt Inlet Shipwreck*. Listed, 11/16/06.
- Virginia, Chesterfield County. *Town of Bermuda Hundred Historic Dis-*

*trict*. (Prehistoric through Historic Archeological and Architectural Resources at Bermuda Hundred MPS), Listed 11/08/06.

- Virginia, Petersburg Independent City. *Pocahontas Island Historic District*. Listed 11/03/06.
- Wisconsin, Richland County. *Bloyer Mound Group*. (Late Woodland Sites in Archeological Region 8 MPS), Listed 9/18/06.

In addition, the following archaeological properties were designated National Historic Landmarks by the Secretary of the Interior:

- California, Lake County. *Borax Lake Site*. Designated 9/20/06.
- Florida, Monroe County. *Mud Lake Canal*. (Southern Florida Sites Associated with the Tequesta and Their Ancestors Theme Study). Designated 9/20/06.

**The Society for Historical Archaeology has presented its 2007 John L. Cotter Award in Historical Archaeology to Dr. Carol McDavid for her outstanding achievement using his-**



☞ COTTER AWARD, continued on page 43



## POSITIONS OPEN

**POSITION: ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHAEOLOGIST**

**LOCATION: COLORADO SPRINGS, CO**

Colorado College seeks an anthropological archaeologist specializing in the U.S. Southwest for a one-year sabbatical replacement for the 2007–08 academic year. Colorado College operates on the “block plan”—faculty teach one course at a time, and each course lasts three and one-half weeks. The academic year consists of eight “blocks,” and the regular teaching load consists of six of these. We seek an archaeologist who can teach a two-block field course in the Southwest during September and October 2007. The successful applicant will teach four

additional blocks during the year, including introduction to archaeology, prehistory of the Southwest, and others to be determined. Prior teaching experience, particularly in undergraduate settings, is desirable. Applicants with Ph.D.s will be given highest consideration; ABDs will be considered. Please send curriculum vita, a letter detailing teaching experience, research interests, proposed plans for the field archaeology class, and names and contact information for three references to Ruth Van Dyke, Department of Anthropology, Colorado College, 14 E. Cache La Poudre St., Colorado Springs, CO 80903. Review of applications will begin on March 31. EQUAL

OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER: The Colorado College welcomes members of all groups and reaffirms its commitment not to discriminate on the basis of race, color, age, religion, sex, national origin, disability or sexual orientation in its educational programs, activities, and employment practices.

**POSITION: ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIAN**

**LOCATION: CINCINNATI, OHIO**

BHE Environmental, Inc., an environmental consulting, engineering, and remediation company providing services to clients nationwide, has an opening in our Cincinnati office for an Architectural Historian. Candidates should have

### Full-Time Research Positions



#### How are you spending your career?

Statistical Research, Inc. (SRI), will be conducting interviews at the SAA meeting in Austin seeking junior and senior archaeologists interested in full-time research positions in the western United States. SRI is a private research institution with our own press, technical laboratories, and support services that provide our researchers with unparalleled in-house resources. When you consider that SRI employs more Ph.D.s than most academic anthropology departments and has an annual budget that is more than twice that of the National Science Foundation's entire archaeology program, why would you want to work anywhere else?

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## POSITIONS OPEN

a M.A. or Ph.D. in architectural history, architecture, historic preservation, or a closely related field, and have at least three years experience in Cultural Resources Management as a Principal Investigator. This position requires good project management and organizational skills, marketing abilities, and a solid technical background. For immediate consideration, submit resume, salary history, and references to: BHE Environmental, Inc., Human Resources, Email: [cloyd@bheenvironmental.com](mailto:cloyd@bheenvironmental.com), [www.bheenvironmental.com](http://www.bheenvironmental.com). EOE/M/F/D/V.

COTTER AWARD, from page 41 

torical archaeology to engage local communities. Established by the SHA in 1998, this award is named for John Lambert Cotter (1911-1999), a pioneer in historical archaeology education and an advocate for the discipline. Each year, the SHA presents this award to an individual in the first five years of their career in recognition of a single, outstanding achievement. Dr. McDavid is being honored in 2007 for helping stimulate discussions about Diaspora studies and critical theory in public archaeology. Drawing on social theory, community-based strategies, and new technologies, McDavid has explored how to create a public archaeology discourse that is more democratic, open, multivocal, and relevant to archaeology's diverse audiences. In doing so, McDavid has changed the way archaeologists can both learn about and share archaeological research with the public. For further information on Carol McDavid, or for background information on the above mentioned community archaeology programs, contact: Carol McDavid, Project Director for Public Archaeology, Yates Community Archaeology Project, Rutherford B. H. Yates Museum, Inc. [www.yatesmuseum.org](http://www.yatesmuseum.org)

## CALENDAR



# CALENDAR

2007

### MARCH 23-24

**The Archaeology of Anthropogenic Environments, the 24th Annual Visiting Scholar Conference** sponsored by the Center for Archaeological Investigations, will be held at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. The conference will consider the archaeological evidence for human manipulation of the environment, both as a context for modern environments and as a source of data about past societies. For further information, contact Rebecca Dean, tel: (618) 453-5032; email: [rdean@siu.edu](mailto:rdean@siu.edu); web: <http://www.siu.edu/~cai/vsconference2007.html>.

### APRIL 10

**DNA: A Window into the Human Past** Leakey Foundation Speaker Series. Nicholas Wade, *New York Times* science writer and author of *Before the Dawn*. Time: 6:30pm; Location: Houston Museum of Natural Science, One Hermann Circle Drive, Houston, TX. Tickets: \$12 Members, \$15 General; tel: (713) 639-4629; web: <http://www.hmns.org>.

### APRIL 20

**DNA: A Window into the Human Past** Leakey Foundation Speaker Series. Nicholas Wade, *New York Times* science writer and author of *Before the Dawn*. Time: 7:00pm; Location: Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA. Tickets: \$8 Members, \$10 General, Free Stu-

### APRIL 25-29

**72nd Annual Meeting of The Society for American Archaeology** will be held in Austin, Texas. [www.saa.org](http://www.saa.org).

dents; tel: (415) 561-4646; web: <http://www.leakeyfoundation.org>.

### MAY 11

**The Role of Rock: Technology, Adaptation and Human Evolution** Leakey Foundation Speaker Series. Nicholas Toth and Kathy Schick, paleoanthropologists, Stone Age Institute. Time: 7:30pm; Location: Cleveland Museum of Natural History, 1 Wade Oval Drive University Circle, Cleveland, OH. Tickets: \$7 Members, \$9 General, \$6 Students; tel: (216) 231-1177; web: <http://www.cmnh.org>.

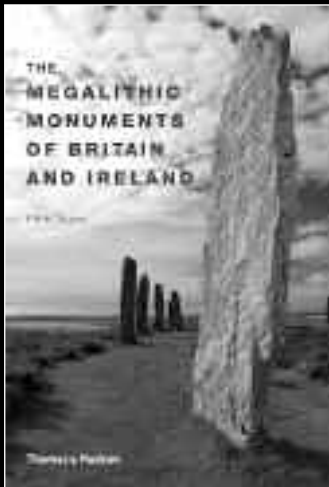
### MAY 17

**What Do Creationists Believe about Human Evolution?** 2007 Leakey Foundation Speaker Series. Eugenie Scott, Executive Director of the National Center for Science Education. Time: 7:00pm; Location: American Museum of Natural History. Tickets: \$8 Members, \$10 General, Free Students; tel: (415) 561-4646; web: <http://www.leakeyfoundation.org>.

### MAY 30

**The Earliest Child: Human Fossil Discoveries at Dikika, Ethiopia.** Zeresenay Alemseged, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Time: 6:30pm; Location: Baird Auditorium, Smithsonian Museum of Natural History, 10th Street and Constitution Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. Tickets: FREE lecture, reservations required, <http://smithsonianassociates.org>.

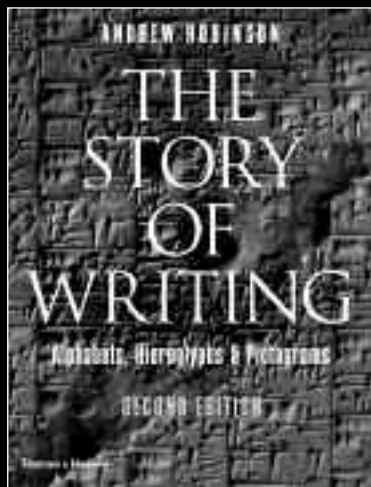
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LLOSAS, from page 30 ➡

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2001 *The Archaeology of Natural Places*. Routledge

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International Labour Organization

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UNESCO

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IN BRIEF, from page 5 ➡

### Staff Welcomes New Information Services Manager

The Society welcomes Torgom Pogossian to staff as the new manager, Information Services. Torgom's expertise is in database management and web development, skills that match SAA's information services goals over the next number of years. You will have an opportunity to meet him and all of the staff in Austin. We hope to see you there! **Austin 72nd Annual Meeting, April 25–29, 2007.**



# Give the SAA a Gift on its 75th!

## CRM Firms Provide Big Boost to the Campaign

Eight private firms stepped up with 10 percent of the overall goal of the ongoing campaign to “Give the SAA a Gift on its 75th.” We want to recognize them here for their generosity and for their vision of the future of the archaeological discipline. Each firm owner expressed the hope that the leadership donation they were making would encourage others to step forward. So, please heed that call to give, and give generously.

The discipline of archaeology has changed dramatically since the Society for American Archaeology was founded 73 years ago. One of the biggest changes in the past 25 years has been the growth of contract-funded archaeology. Some sources suggest that nearly 80 percent of new graduates will be employed in the context broadly labeled as cultural resources management, or CRM. As our primary national professional organization, the Society for American Archaeology has also changed to better serve our increasingly diverse membership of over 7,000 archaeologists.

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Often, CRM projects are in locations where “no one has gone before.” In Tucson, the Las Capas site revealed a 3,000-year-old irrigation canal and some 700 cultural features. Crews excavated for four months between a frontage road and a freeway on-ramp.

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