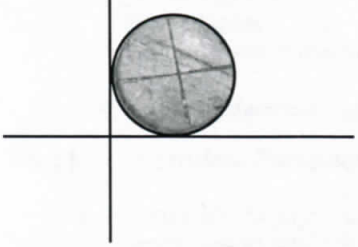
Handbook of Landscape Archaeology



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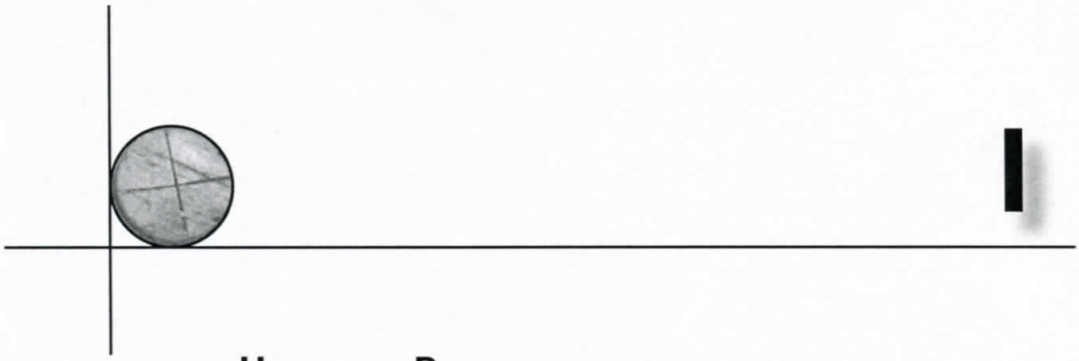


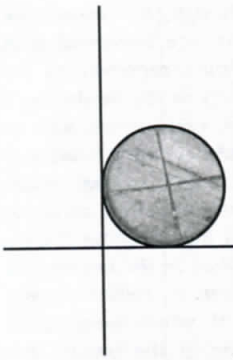
Historical Perspectives

The concept of landscape is rich and protean and has inspired a dazzling array of different archaeologies. It follows that a historical perspective is vital if we are to unravel the many ways that archaeologists have chosen to address space and place, and the reasons behind their choices. Landscape archaeology is today an outstandingly vibrant aspect of the discipline, because it brings together a series of quite distinct traditions of thought and practice, but these are by no means reconciled to a common set of objectives or approaches.

For many decades, landscape has provided archaeologists with a framework for contextualizing observations and establishing relations and parallels between sites of a particular period. Moreover, it presents the opportunity for diachronic investigations, in which the changing use and inhabitation of a particular region are the focus. In these studies, the scale of analysis and the potential for integration each provides the imperatives for a landscape perspective. However, the landscape can also be understood as an aggregation of resources, affording both opportunities and limitations for human development. In this strand of landscape archaeology, it is the spatial relationships among people, soils, raw materials, and water sources that demand attention.

More recently, a philosophical concern with landscape has become influential, with the recognition that the lived world is not simply a backdrop to everyday action but integral to all human activity. Thus, landscape becomes a source of reference and a context of meaning, central to archaeological theorizing. Consequently, "landscape archaeology" has become a terrain in which highly evolved empirical methodologies confront conceptual approaches that draw on discourses that extend beyond the discipline and sometimes achieve accommodation.

Historically, concerns with space and landscape have appeared on the archaeological agenda at times when difference, variability, and plurality have been at issue. In some cases, this has been connected with an acknowledgment of human diversity and the celebration of the particularity of both national and Indigenous communities. But equally, the mapping of difference can resonate with atavistic beliefs. It is not surprising, then, that there are regional and national differences in the ways in which archaeologists seek to put their evidence into a landscape setting—or, in some cases, decline to do so. The chapters in this first section of the volume draw out the theoretical and historical trajectories involved in the development of landscape archaeology in different parts of the world, exploring major themes that have come to influence, and at times dominate, landscape approaches to regional archaeological programs.



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Landscape Archaeology: Introduction

Bruno David and Julian Thomas

> [Without place] there would be neither language, nor action nor being as they have come to consciousness through time. There would be no "where" within which history could take place. "Where" is never there, a region over against us, isolated and objective. "Where" is always part of us and we part of it. It mingles with our being, so much so that place and human being are enmeshed, forming a fabric that is particular, concrete and dense. (Joseph Grange 1985: 71)

> . . . a given place takes on the qualities of its occupants, reflecting these qualities in its own constitution and description and expressing them in its occurrence as event: places not only *are*, they *happen* (and it is because they happen that they lend themselves so well to narration, whether as history or as story). (Edward S. Casey 1996: 27)

The term *landscape* came into being in the final years of the 16th century, when the early Dutch landscape artists began to paint rural sceneries that incorporated reference to changing conditions of life (see Cosgrove [1988] for comparable observations on Renaissance Venetian art; see Cosgrove [1998], Daniels and Cosgrove [1988], and Schama [1995] for masterful discussions of "landscape" in art history). It was introduced, as *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Simpson and Weiner 1989: 628) notes, "as a technical term of painters." The word "entered the English language . . . as a Dutch import. And 'landschap,' like its Germanic root, 'Landschaft,' signified a unit of human occupation, indeed a jurisdiction, as much as anything that might be a pleasing object of depiction" (Schama 1995: 10). The tension between landscape as an entity to be viewed like a painting from afar, and either analyzed or aestheticized, and landscape as a context of dwelling or inhabitation is one that has haunted landscape studies, and that was bequeathed to archaeology once it began to be concerned with the concept, much later on.

"Landscape archaeology" does not have a particularly long history. It was perhaps first used by Mick Aston and Trevor Rowley in the mid-1970s (Aston and Rowley 1974), but it was only in the mid- to late-1980s that it began to be widely cited in academic work. This is not to say that archaeologists have not long employed notions of "landscape" (see Darvill, this volume). But it is arguable that during the 1970s and 1980s "landscape" ceased to be simply a unit of analysis over and above the "site" and became instead an object of investigation in its own right. As a specialized term within the archaeological discipline, the word has witnessed a recent efflorescence, and with this a privileged

if somewhat uneasy use. This is because what archaeologists have understood to be "landscape archaeology" has shifted, so that today it does not mean exactly what it used to even 20 years ago. Nor is it presently employed in quite the same way by everyone (see below). When "landscape" *has* been used by archaeologists, it cannot therefore be assumed *a priori* to refer to one particular preconceived thing or another. Indeed, even within the works of individual archaeologists, the term may shift its connotation according to context.

We return to a definition of "landscape archaeology" toward the end of this chapter. First, however, to get a better sense of its nuances and its boundaries, we begin by discussing aspects of its historical emergence, focusing on the post-1970s years (for this is when landscape archaeology began to take its present shape), and discuss also its various attributes. We direct the reader to chapters in this volume by Darvill, Patterson, and McIntosh for histories of landscape archaeology in various parts of the world.

There is little mention of the term *landscape archaeology* in any of the major archaeological journals until the mid-1980s (see Table 1.1), as far as we are aware anywhere in the world.[1] Indeed, silences are telling. In 1978, the leading international journal *World Archaeology* dedicated an entire issue of the journal to the theme "landscape archaeology," but not a single paper in that issue ever used the term. Instead, we find the papers directing their attention to site distributions in environmental settings (e.g., Hurst and Stager 1978; Marshall 1978; Stjernquist 1978), economic strategies and their interregional dynamics (Irwin 1978), economic determinants of settlement patterns (e.g., Conrad 1978), artifact distributions (e.g., Foard 1978; Hirth 1978), environmental impacts and limitations on agricultural production (Marshall 1978), and demographic processes and socio-organizational complexity (e.g., Hirth 1978) in particular regional settings.

This is not to say that there is anything inherently wrong with the approaches chosen by these authors. What these directions do highlight, however, is the way landscape archaeology was understood at that time. The focus was then firmly on human impacts on and interactions with their physical surroundings, evidencing disciplinary concerns also apparent in many contemporary books, which almost invariably used the language of "environmental" or "ecological" archaeology rather than "landscape" archaeology *per se*. (Although there are exceptions, as in Aston and Rowley's [1974] landmark text, which outlined a field of study combining archaeological fieldwork with landscape history. Here, though, the conception of landscape employed was one borrowed from another discipline, rather than representing the emergence of an "archaeology of the landscape.") We thus have during these early years, and on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond, a number of influential works all aiming to address past human historical landscapes as *environmental* archaeology. Examples abound, and include John Evans's *The Environment of Early Man in the British Isles* (1975) and *An Introduction to Environmental Archaeology* (1978), each of which approached the topic mainly by looking at the impact that people had on the land. Karl Butzer's classics, *Environment and Archaeology: An Ecological Approach to Prehistory* (1964) and his subsequent *Archaeology as Human Ecology* (1982), explore the "dynamic interactions between human groups or societies and their environments" (Butzer 1982: xi). Many of these books aimed to understand human-environment relations in terms of the *economic* and/or *adaptive* settlement-subsistence strategies adopted by people in the past, such as in Eric Higgs's (1975) *Palaeoeconomy* and Michael Jochim's (1976) *Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence and Settlement: A Predictive Model*, respectively. During the 1970s and into the 1980s, the focus was very much on "economic" (in the United Kingdom) and "adaptive" (in the United States) attitudes toward the environment.

With such a focus on relationships between people and their physical environments came ongoing calls to more accurately and systematically characterize the way people occupied and used places in the past (e.g., Clarke 1968; Foard 1978; Redman 1975). This meant refinements in field methodologies and statistical analyses, in particular as they relate to the distribution of archaeological materials and sites across the landscape. It also led to a more detailed understanding of landscape formation processes (ultimately to better assess human impacts on the environment and environmental constraints on demographic processes). These new targets of enquiry were aimed at more systematically addressing human organization and scheduling in the landscape, and, to achieve these aims, innovative analytical techniques were required. What was also necessary was a new spatial scale of approach, one that targeted relatively small and well-defined regions. The results were major developments in survey methodologies (e.g., Foard 1978), simulation and predictive modeling (e.g., Sabloff 1981), taphonomy (e.g., Wood and Johnson 1978), geoarchaeology (e.g., Hassan 1979; Neumann 1978), and bioarchaeology and palaeoecology (e.g., Shawcross 1967a, 1967b). Although

papers that include the plant

Antiquity		Current Anthropology		Journal of Field Archaeology		World Archaeology		American Antiquity	
abstract & ywords	Text	Title, abstract & keywords	Text	Title, abstract & keywords	Text	Title, abstract & keywords	Text	Title, abstract & keywords	Text
7	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	0	1	0	4	0	3	0	0
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0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	Starts 1974		0	0	0	0
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0	0	0	0					0	0
0	0	0	0					0	0
0	0	Starts 1955						0	0
0	0							0	0
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0	0							Starts 1935	
Starts 1927									

each of these specialist developments had deeper historical roots (e.g., see the papers in Brothwell and Higgs [1969]), including multidisciplinary faunal and vegetation investigations incorporating pollen, land snail, and beetle remains, the 1960s to 1970s saw an exciting explosion of ideas generally focused on how to better investigate past human-environmental relations at fine-grained geographical scales. Many of these developments were closely associated with an increasing sophistication of statistical procedures (e.g., LeBlanc 1973; Simek and Leslie 1983; Spaulding 1976; Wilcock and Laflin 1974; see reviews by Clark 1982; Clark and Stafford 1982).

In this context, both in the United Kingdom and in the United States there emerged schools of thought that systematically sought to access past spatial patterning of settlements and cultural objects across landscapes (e.g., in the United Kingdom: Clarke 1977; Hodder and Orton 1976; in the United States: Bettinger 1977; King 1978; Mueller 1975), and similar approaches to the archaeological record also emerged—not entirely independently—across the globe (e.g., Bakels 1978). One key development in the United States was a differentiation by Winters (1967, cited in Parsons 1972: 132) of the terms *settlement pattern* (the spatial distribution of sites) and *settlement system* (the way that people organized themselves in the landscape). These now-disaggregated concepts quickly took hold throughout much of the English-speaking archaeological world. However, they remained most influential in the United States, where the processual interests of the New Archaeology, as championed by Lewis Binford in particular, targeted settlement *systems* (incorporating an understanding of settlement patterns) for their ability to inform on an "archaeology of place" that was reduced largely to relationships between settlement (places where people lived and undertook economic activities) and subsistence (things that people ate). Settlement-subsistence system analyses, such as the influential and impressive investigations among the Nunamiut of Anaktuvuk Pass in Alaska by Binford (e.g., 1978, 1981), were largely strategies by which to investigate humans responding to biological needs for food and shelter in their particular environmental settings. As Binford (1982: 6) notes, in undertaking an "archaeology of place": "I am interested in sites, the fixed places in the topography when man [*sic*] may periodically pause and carry out actions." But these were "long-term repetitive patterns in the positioning of adaptive systems in geographic space . . . arising from the interaction between *economic zonation* . . . and tactical mobility" (Binford 1982: 6). As McNiven and colleagues (2006: 14) cogently put it, these were landscapes "stripped . . . of their cosmological, symbolic and spiritual meaning" that failed to mention religious sites and concepts that were important to the Nunamiut themselves and "that clearly mediated ecological relationships." It was "an archaeology of place devoid of meaningful place and of meaningful emplacement, just as it is devoid of social experience and salience" (see also Insoll 2004). We return to these latter notions later in this chapter.

By focusing on settlement systems rather than settlement patterns in and for themselves, archaeological attention in the United States thus quickly turned to *process* rather than *location* of human behavior in the landscape. This is perhaps best exemplified by Binford's (1980) very influential differentiation between "collectors" who generally "map onto" resources "through residential moves and adjustments in groups size" (Binford 1980: 10) (producing three kinds of sites in the process: *field camps*, *stations,* and *caches*); and "logistically" organized "foragers" who bring back resources to base camps on a daily "encounter" basis (and who produce two kinds of sites along the way: residential *base camps* and resourcing *locations*). Such differentiation of what are essentially economically (and largely subsistence-) driven mobility strategies aimed to distinguish among various forms of organizational alternatives in specific environmental settings so as to better model evolutionary pathways under changing environmental conditions. Thus, "since systems of adaptation are energy-capturing systems, the strategies that they employ *must* bear some relationship to the energy or, more important, the entrophy structure of the environments in which they seek energy" (Binford 1980: 13, italics in original); changing environmental conditions will in this formulation have considerable influence on settlement-subsistence systems.

In the United Kingdom, however, archaeological interest took what initially looked like a minor turn in a different direction aimed more at characterizing the spatial *patterning* of archaeological sites and artifacts, an originally potentially insignificant turn that eventually led to what could be described as a paradigmatic shift (see below).

The 1970s into the 1980s also saw the rapid development of various multidisciplinary methodologies, principally geoarchaeological and bioarchaeological, enabling a more detailed characterization of human-environmental relations through notions of palaeoecology. Developments along these lines were apparent in many English-speaking nations, including the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, as is evident by

the many works that appeared at that time. For example:

- in Australia, Coutts 1970; Mulvaney and Golson 1971
- in Ireland, Reeves-Smyth and Hamond 1983
- in the United Kingdom, Higgs 1975; Pryor 1980
- in the United States, Butzer 1982
- in central America, Hirth et al. 1989
- in Africa, Greenwood and Todd 1976; Stewart 1989
- in Japan, Hiroko 1986
- in New Zealand, Shawcross 1967a
- in Holland, Bakels 1978

A contemporary interest on taphonomic studies by United States and South African practitioners in particular benefited hugely from a new focus on middle range research (e.g., Behrensmeyer and Hill 1980; Binford 1981; Brain 1981). Major developments in the ecological sciences began to be systematically applied to archaeological problems, such as in New Zealand, when Wilfred Shawcross combined information on the local environmental productivity of shellfish species with archaeological deposition rates of those same species to determine the likely duration of occupation at specific campsites (Shawcross 1967a) and the carrying capacity of specific locations (Shawcross 1967b). These and other related methods were innovative, but they tended to be closely tied to an ongoing preoccupation with settlement-subsistence systems and ecological modeling, which were themselves closely associated with developments both in methods of data retrieval (for example, concerned with characterizing artifact distributions; see below) and "natural" environmental details, such as faunal and vegetation distributions (usually seen as actual exploited rather than just potential exploitable resources for local populations) across landscapes.

Settlement patterns in their environmental settings were thus an important focus at the time, along with spatial patterning of environmental variables. Together, detailed data on environmental and cultural distributions were targeted, so as to better characterize the economic nature and reasoning behind settlement-subsistence systems and patterns. This was much the underlying logic of both the adaptive thinking of the New Archaeology in the United States (and in the United Kingdom largely expressed by exponents of systems theory, in particular David Clarke [1968]) and of the British school of economic archaeology and its focus on site catchment analyses. Such a general focus on environmental perspectives and economic parameters are well summed up in the 1978 *World Archaeology* issue dedicated to landscape archaeology, in which Stjernquist (1978: 261) concludes that a "clearly noticeable trend is the concentration on ecological archaeology studying man's [*sic*] role in and adaptation to his [*sic*] environment over time;" Irwin (1978: 306) writes of "technology, economy and environment," and Foard (1978: 372) concludes with a call for a "total archaeology" that is concerned with understanding human behavior in the environment, necessitating a multidisciplinary approach to settlement-subsistence systems. In essence, like Michael Reed's (1990: xii) in *The Landscape of Britain*, the general understanding during those early years of landscape archaeology was that "the theme of the landscape historian is the evolution of that external world in which men and women have carried on the everyday business of their lives from the remotest periods of prehistory down to the present" and the settlement-subsistence history of human societies in those environmental contexts.

It is during this period of focus on past human-environmental relations that field surveying strategies began to change from site-based to "off-site" (or "non-site" or "siteless") surveys (e.g., Dunnell and Dancey 1983; Foley 1981), with a greater emphasis on probability sampling (of both "site" and "off-site" surveys) (e.g., Cowgill 1975), because it was quickly realized that what were often effectively continuous (but varied) artifact distributions across the landscape had to be accurately characterized and cross-referenced with environmental variables. In the United States, these developments took place synergistically with the development of the "regional" approach that helped define the New Archaeology. By recording information on artifact distributions and environmental patterns at unprecedented levels of detail, new advances were made in landscape archaeology. This rethinking of surveying methodology took hold both in the United Kingdom and the United States, in many ways world leaders in landscape archaeology at that time, although such developments also took place in many other countries (in particular South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand). But in the United Kingdom, the search for functional and adaptive processes in landscape archaeology never really took hold in the same way as it did in the United States.[2] Rather, partly through developments in methods aimed at exploring settlement and artifact patterning, there came a realization that archaeologists were

not simply dealing with humans adapting to environmental circumstances, but rather with people interacting among themselves as much as they were interacting with their physical environments (e.g., see Renfrew's [1983] critical first Plenary Address to the Society for American Archaeology). In this respect a key publication was Ian Hodder's 1978 edited volume, *The Spatial Organisation of Culture*, which explicitly addressed the relationship between spatial distributions of material culture and human identities. It has been argued that British archaeology (as opposed to that of the United States) has always had a deeper conviction that artifact assemblages reflect the existence of coherent and bounded social entities in the past (Binford and Sabloff 1982: 141). It was continuing unease over precisely what spatial patterning *meant* that led Hodder and others to the insight that the adoption of specific artifact types might represent a deliberate strategy of social inclusion and exclusion, rather than simply reflecting a pregiven identity. By the mid-1980s, Hodder had become one of the most important and innovative exponents of a new kind of *social* archaeology that soon came to inform landscape archaeology itself. The critique here was pervasive across the discipline, contributing significantly to the creation of a new community of culture that came to stay (although it influenced different national archaeological agendas in different ways and to various degrees): the archaeological record now signaled not so much *adaptive (biological) humans* as *interacting (social) people* who engaged with their surroundings in various ways. These included symbolic practices that required social and philosophical rather than environmental understandings to decipher. This key period heralded the beginning of contemporary notions of landscape archaeology. This broad shift toward social dimensions of landscapes expands the earlier emphasis on more behavioral modes of interaction.

Changing Directions: From Environmental to Social Landscapes

The move toward a more socially oriented landscape archaeology came from many fronts, and it came together as part of a broadly changing culture of understanding. Four major influences on archaeological practices were (1) sourcing studies; (2) the rising importance of cultural heritage management and public archaeology; (3) a developing interest in "style;" and (4) Indigenous critiques.

Sourcing Studies

Sourcing studies around the world quickly developed from the 1960s onward, although earlier moves had been made, such as in the petrology of stone axes (e.g., Keiller et al. 1941) and in trace-element analyses of faience beads from Bronze Age Britain (e.g., Hawkes and Hawkes 1947) and obsidian from the Near East in the late 1940s and 1950s (e.g., see Cann et al. 1969). In his influential paper, "Trade as action at a distance," Colin Renfrew (1975) argued that social change often occurred simultaneously over wide geographical expanses, necessitating a focus not just on individual places but on relationships between places in systems of peer polity interactions. This recognition gave new impetus for a *socially* oriented economic archaeology, in particular an emphasis on trade. In the British context, this set of concerns was given further momentum by the introduction of ideas drawn from neo-Marxist anthropology, which emphasized the importance of long-distance exchange relations in creating and reproducing patterns of alliance and positions of authority (e.g., Bradley 1982, 1984; Bradley and Edmonds 1993). Here the objects themselves were acknowledged as being the means by which social relationships were articulated, rather than necessarily being of purely pragmatic value.

Similar developments were also taking place in the Pacific on the opposite side of the globe, where Shutler and Marck (1975) and Bellwood (1978), following earlier observations (see Avias 1950; Gifford and Shutler 1956; Golson 1961), came to link the distribution of Lapita ceramics across vast seascapes into a single and unified historical sphere of interaction with people who spoke Austronesian languages. In this way, these researchers populated the archaeological record with language-speaking people rather than just material objects such as ceramic sherds (see Spriggs 1997: 67–107 for a review). This region of Austronesia subsequently became a focus for lithic and ceramic sourcing studies, in particular by archaeologists in New Zealand (e.g., Green 1987; Summerhayes 2000). Of concern here were not so much environmentally adaptive histories as social processes of colonization across vast and previously unoccupied seascapes. In Australia also, similar concerns for the sociality of interregional interaction were being voiced by Isabel McBryde (initially with Ray Binns, then with Alan Watchman), who undertook a series of sourcing studies of ground stone hatchets, at first among the stone quarries of northern New South Wales (Binns and McBryde 1972) and subsequently and

more influentially among the greenstone quarries of Mt. William, Mt. Camel, and Berrambool, Baronga, Geelong, Jallukar, and Howqua in central and western Victoria (e.g., McBryde 1978; McBryde and Harrison 1981; McBryde and Watchman 1976). In these latter investigations, McBryde showed that although ground-edged hatchet heads were traded to distant lands more than 600 kilometers away, examples from the Mt. William quarry were preferentially traded toward the north and southwest, practically halting 150 kilometers away. She further identified anomalies in the distance-decay curve—especially in an absence of Mt. William axes in the Wimmera-Mallee region and in eastern Victoria—and thereby posited strong socioterritorial deterrents to past exchange relations beyond those frontiers. Her interpretations were supported by regional ethnohistoric records indicating the presence of two major and largely antagonistic social groups, the Kulin and Kurnai of central and eastern Victoria, respectively. Her study came to be significantly informed by linguistic and other ethnographic knowledge, which indicated that social groups were aligned not only in abstract geographical space but also in *territorial* space and social systems of alliance. (See Lourandos [1977] for another influential Australian example of the archaeology of socioterritorial space; see Tamisari and Wallace [2006] for discussion of the significance of this work.) This form of geographical configuration had not hitherto received a great deal of archaeological attention in Australia, although such approaches had much in common with Renfrew's (and others') contemporary concerns elsewhere, with the additional insights offered by 19th- and early 20th-century ethnohistorical texts.

Cultural Resource Management

The late 1960s into the 1970s saw major transformations to cultural heritage management, the working face of public archaeology. This was a time of increasing popular and professional awareness of the progressive dwindling of cultural sites as heritage places, including the establishment of new legal mechanisms by which sites could be protected (e.g., see Colley 2002; King 1998). Along with a major influx in the scale and rate of cultural heritage studies came an increasing need for explicit assessment of the significance of sites and landscapes as cultural resource catchments. (See Schiffer and Gummerman [1977] for an excellent contemporary assessment of the state of cultural heritage management.) The need for increased protection of archaeological sites was prefaced by new and explicit criteria for the assessment of heritage places as locations of social significance. Hence recognition of the educational, cultural, historical and aesthetic values of archaeological sites and landscapes effectively rendered them significant public places that went beyond their environmental and academic significance (e.g., King et al. 1977). These new social dimensions of significance, as expressions of public recognition, meant that the significance of archaeological sites and archaeological landscapes could no longer be reduced to environmental, ecological, or economic agendas (e.g., Lipe 1984; Moratto and Kelly 1978).

A striking example of the way that cultural resource management issues have shifted the focus toward a *social* landscape is provided by the case of Stonehenge in southern Britain. Here, the parallel debates over the upgrading of visitor facilities and the visitor "experience" in general, the rerouting of the A303 main road from its present position beside the monument, and access to the prehistoric monument (particularly at the solstices) by diverse groups, including Druids, New Age "Travelers," and Pagans, all explicitly implicate the landscape. The landscape is recognized as the aesthetic setting of Stonehenge and its attendant monuments, as the topographical context in which the visitor experience is embedded, and as the political terrain over which struggles between interests (past and present) have been played out and within which identities are negotiated (see Bender 1998; Chippindale et al. 1990; Darvill 2006; Worthington 2004). In the case of Stonehenge, it is now very difficult to imagine the monument in a landscape that is either purely "ecological" in character, or socially uncontested. These new directions are well illustrated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) criteria for the inclusion of places in the World Heritage list, which include "archaeological sites that are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological, or anthropological points of view" (http://whc.unesco.org/opgulist.htm#para23). These criteria were adopted by UNESCO at its 17th session, held in Paris in 1972, precisely during the period when a more socially informed landscape archaeology was gaining momentum.

Another, slightly distinct aspect of cultural resource management that has also fueled the growing concern with social landscapes has been the changing character of "salvage" or "rescue" archaeology in the industrialized nations. Since the 1960s, the construction of new homes, industrial facilities, and infrastructure (particularly telecommunications) has continued apace in many areas.

This has coincided with a growing conviction on the part of national and regional governments that the archaeological heritage should be preserved, or at least recorded. Whether funded by government or by the developers themselves (as in the case of Britain, following the adoption of *Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning* in 1990), the colossal scale of development has increasingly been matched by the scale of archaeological interventions in advance. To give some examples: the Aldenhovener Platte Project in the Rhineland (1965–1981) was occasioned by large-scale opencast extraction of brown coal (Lüning 1982); the Hardinxveld sites in the Rhine/Meuse delta of Holland were excavated in advance of the expansion of the port of Rotterdam and its attendant rail link (Louwe Kooimans 2001); the urban expansion of Malmö in southern Sweden has resulted in a series of very large-scale open-area excavations, including four vast Neolithic palisaded enclosures (Brink and Hydén 2006); the new terminal for London's Heathrow Airport required similarly large investigations (Andrews et al. 2000), as did the bypass road around Dorchester in Dorset (Smith et al. 1997) and gravel extraction at Barrow Hills in Oxfordshire, England (Barclay and Halpin 1999). Each of these projects has resulted in the recovery of highly important archaeological evidence, but in each case the sheer size of the undertaking has demanded that the investigation must be conceived at the landscape (as opposed to "site") scale.

Although in some cases it has been possible to address these landscapes in purely environmental terms, for the most part the nature of these projects has required a consideration of social networks that extend beyond residential locations, and the dispersal of social practices across the landscape. Moreover, salvage projects conducted at the multisite level have inevitably often tended to be multiperiod as well, frequently prompting a consideration of landscape development over time. It may be, then, that the issue of social landscapes is one area in which the "two cultures" of the discipline, commercial field archaeology and academic field archaeology, can find a degree of common ground.

Landscapes with Style

A third approach toward the social began to take effect through concerns for the symbolic. Although the notion of "style" (especially when it is opposed to that of "function") has been the subject of searching critiques in recent years (e.g., Boast 1997), it is undeniable that it was the focus of some of the most important developments in the archaeology of the 1980s and 1990s. In particular, the concept was implicated in the rise of a socially informed landscape archaeology both in the United Kingdom and in the United States, where economic and adaptive frameworks had established a strong grip. In "style," the move was toward an understanding of the past that focused more on social relationships within and between communities of people through the way they decorated items of material culture, a move that was also happening in sourcing studies. This was not so much an environmentally as a socially informed disciplinary interest, although geographic distance and the presence of geographical barriers limiting the spread of ideas also came into play.

In stylistic studies it quickly became apparent that geographical barriers are as much social as they are environmental, as McBryde (1978) was similarly finding in her sourcing studies. Through ethnoarchaeological and ethnohistorical research across many parts of the globe—for example:

- among the Ilchamus, Tugen, and Pokot of the Lake Baringo district of western Kenya, Ian Hodder (e.g., 1982)
- among the San of the Kalahari desert in Namibia, Polly Wiessner (e.g., 1983, 1984)
- among Yugoslavian ethnic groups, Martin Wobst (1977)
- subsequently in central and northern Australia, Claire Smith (e.g., 1992)

—a new form of landscape archaeology was being fashioned, one that talked of symbolic rather than of environmental configurations (for a review see Conkey 1990).

While archaeologists with interests other than symbolic archaeology were also increasingly involved in ethnoarchaeological research—for example:

- Gould [1968, 1971] among the Ngatatjara of Western Australia
- Hayden [1979] among the Pintupi of central Australia
- Binford and O'Connell (1984) among the Alyawarra, also in central Australia
- Binford [e.g., 1978] among the Nunamiut of Alaska
- Jacobs [1979] among Fars province villagers of Iran
- White (e.g., 1967) among the Duna of New Guinea

- Yellen (1977) among Dobe !Kung San of the Kalahari desert, to name but a few; see David and Kramer (2001) for a review

—new concerns with information exchange via symbolic behavior began to refashion landscape archaeology as social archaeology. A new, largely ethnographically informed focus on the social geography of stylistic behavior among interacting communities of people effectively bridged the gap between an environmental archaeology concerned with artifact and site distributions in physical landscapes and a social and symbolic archaeology interested in the geographical spread of stylistic conventions among archaeological objects (in particular rock art) (e.g., Gamble 1982; for subsequent applications, cf. Bradley 1997).

Indigenous Critiques

Each of these new and influential directions helped to reformat landscape archaeology increasingly toward the social. But a fourth and most significant influence also made its very considerable mark: the realization that environmental notions of landscape archaeology did not by themselves accurately reflect Indigenous peoples' own notions of their landscapes or the reasons why they lived in certain ways. Such a realization came about from an increasing reading of anthropological texts by archaeologists around the globe (and the development of ethnoarchaeology as a distinct subdiscipline of its own), increasing direct engagements with the Indigenous peoples whose homelands and histories were often being studied and increasing dissatisfaction with abstract archaeological concerns that often seemed far removed from Indigenous notions of their own histories and lifeways. These changes were to some extent connected with a retreat from the more extreme positions of processual archaeology, and its demand for universal laws of human behavior, valid in all temporal and spatial contexts. Increasingly, archaeologists have come to recognize the value of multiple perspectives and perceptions. Thus, at the 1982 Australian Archaeological Association (AAA) annual conference, the Indigenous representative Ros Langford (1983) impressed on the audience how the local Aboriginal community had had enough of archaeological characterizations of Indigenous lands and Indigenous history (and through this, the Indigenous present) as an archaeological playground. "Our heritage, your playground" became a rallying point from which to make archaeologists aware of the inadequacy of then-predominant archaeological practices and to change the discipline toward a more socially aware enterprise. This episode was a turning point in Australian archaeological practice, with the subsequent adoption by the AAA of a code of ethics that gave prominence to Indigenous rights and to the recognition of requisite ethical standards in the archaeological research of Indigenous history and Indigenous lands (see Colley [2002]; McNiven and Russell [2005] for discussions on the decolonization of archaeological practice in Australia).

Around the globe, the growing number of Indigenous archaeologists considerably influenced such developments; although initially few, Indigenous archaeological voices were increasingly heard in academic writings, at conferences and in the field (Watkins 2000). Together, these four sets of disciplinary developments—increasing concern with social landscapes as informed by sourcing studies, cultural heritage management, symbolic archaeology, and Indigenous constructions of place—signaled an increasingly *anthropological* archaeology (and not coincidently, the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* was founded during this period, in 1982). Colin Renfrew (1982: 6) has coined that period prior to the emergence of this more socially oriented, anthropologically informed archaeology as the "long sleep of archaeological theory."

In many Indigenous languages there is no word for landscape-as-environment. But there is a word for *country*, referring to the places of human existence in all their existential and phenomenological (experiential) dimensions (e.g., see Bradley; Teeman, both this volume). These notions of country include not just the trees and the rocks of the physical land but also the spirits of the land and the waters and the skies that others may not know. And because the ancestral spirits from whence present people came reside in place, country itself identifies history as it historicizes identity. Landscape as country concerns people's relationships with places, a landscape richly inscribed with history, agency, territorial rights, ancestral laws, and behavioral protocols. From the 1980s onward, Indigenous critiques increasingly began to seriously influence the general study of archaeological landscapes in Indigenous peoples' own terms (e.g., Langford 1983; Ross et al. 1996; Watkins 2000; see Lane, this volume; McNiven, this volume).

As a result of these critiques, the landscape increasingly began to be seen as engaged socially and culturally as much as it is engaged environmentally, and it is this engagement that defines the lie of the land, what a landscape looks like. Landscapes are topographies of the social and the cultural as much as they are physical contours. To understand a landscape one has to outline its

means of engagement, the way it is understood, codified, and lived in social practice; and each of these, along with the landscape itself, have history. Engagement gives and is defined by the way we give cultural meaning to the location of our existence—so that even the trees and the rocks mean different things to different people.

The anthropologist Marcia Langton (2002) notes that in Western systems of knowledge, we look at the stars in the sky and understand that millions of light years away gigantic balls of fire emanate their light across the vast expanses of the universe. The night sky glows with innumerable lights that we understand through and that confirms to us a sense of, astronomical time. She points out that among Australian Aboriginal peoples a similar process of landscape recognition takes place: the land, as are the waters and the skies, is populated by the ancestors who are ever-present and by various Dreaming spirit beings who created the law of the land, the social codes of conduct, and who generally imbue the world with its defining features. This is a temporal landscape that combines the past and the future through the timeless truth of a codified law of conduct sanctified in an ever-present Dreaming. Here, too, as in the Western night sky, the landscape emanates a sense of time, a sense of cosmological order. In the words of Veronica Strang (1997), we can thus speak of landscape as "uncommon ground"—one land but multiple visions of that land, multiple understandings, multiple landscapes. Such an approach allows for an archaeology not only of monuments but also of so-called natural places (e.g., Bradley 2000), because they, too, are culturally inscribed in social consciousness and therefore possess archaeological signatures defined by social attitude. This move toward a more socially informed, and in this a more ethically responsible, landscape archaeology recognizes that the world has many voices. But this recognition has come at a price: some would say that archaeology's innocence has come of age, but others would say that its guilt has been found out, highlighting the discipline's inherently ethical entanglements.

Landscape Archaeology Today

In such a historical context that began largely with an *environmental* archaeology (but see also Darvill [this volume] for a longer-term history of landscape archaeology), it comes as no surprise to find little use of the term *landscape archaeology* in any of the major archaeology journals until the mid-1980s (Table 1.1), anywhere in the world. Yet a general paucity of reference to "landscape archaeology" in academic texts until the 1980s is only part of the story; both *landscape* and *archaeology* have long been widely used by professional practitioners. The question thus remains as to why we did not find a common conjunction of the two words until the closing years of the 20th century. Indeed, this question is brought into sharp focus when one realizes that, in computer searches undertaken on *Google* and *ninemsn* between 18 and 25 July 2006, "landscape archaeology" rates sixth after "historical archaeology," "classical archaeology," "industrial archaeology," "prehistoric archaeology," and "environmental archaeology" in a long list of archaeologies (see Table 1.2). It is apparent that the four most commonly used forms each pertains to an established subdiscipline of archaeology in its own right. Based on these counts, it would appear that "landscape archaeology" is even more popular than "social archaeology," "marine archaeology," "processual archaeology," "gender archaeology," "behavioral/behavioral archaeology," and many others. The question remains: what has made "landscape archaeology" so attractive to archaeologists since the last decade of the 20th century, while despite the widespread use of the individual terms "landscape" and "archaeology," little reference was previously made to "landscape archaeology" as a unified concept.

We argue that the answer lies in three related factors: first, the recent emergence of "landscape" as something other, and more, than "environment"; second, an understanding that being-in-the-world is entangled in social process and is not entirely reducible to notions of environmental adaptation; and third, along with these changes in perception of social landscapes, the recent development of a culture of understanding that sees people and culture at the core of worldly engagements.

In this context, landscape archaeology today is much different from what it was in the 1970s and 1980s. By the first decade of the 21st century, many archaeologists around the world have turned their attention to spiritual dimensions of Indigenous landscapes:

- "ritual engines" (Gibbs and Veth 2002) in Aboriginal Australia
- "spiritscapes" (David et al. 2005; McNiven 2003) and "ritual orchestration" (McNiven and Feldman 2003) in northern Australia and Torres Strait
- "sacred geographies" in Papua New Guinea (Ballard 1994)
- "*kastom*" and the "spirit world" in Vanuatu (Wilson et al. 2000)
- "cosmovisions" in central America (Broda 1987); cosmologies in southern India (Boivin 2004)

Table 1.2 Number of hits made using two different search engines in July 2006 (all searches were made in double quotation marks).

Term	*Google*	*ninemsn*
historical archaeology	c.609,000	44,511
classical archaeology	c.400,000	46,998
industrial archaeology	c.386,000	48,813
prehistoric archaeology	c.183,000	28,829
environmental archaeology	c.133,000	18,977
landscape archaeology	**c.125,000**	**25,172**
marine archaeology	c.114,000	18,057
ethnoarchaeology/ ethno-archaeology	c.105,610	15,820
social archaeology	c.72,800	7,399
new archaeology	c.65,700	13,410
community archaeology	c.47,900	6,952
cognitive archaeology	c.27,600	3,810
processual archaeology	c.23,400	3,469
settlement archaeology	c.22,500	2,648
theoretical archaeology	c.20,900	6,669
gender archaeology	c.13,900	3,307
indigenous archaeology	c.12,100	1,805
colonial archaeology	c.10,200	1,186
postprocessual/ post-processual archaeology	c.10,944	1,057
Darwinian archaeology	c.5,260	219
behavioural/behavioral archaeology	c.1,095	400
ecological archaeology	c.752	244
symbolic archaeology	c.458	122
postcolonial/post-colonial archaeology	c.190	92
total archaeology	c.157	85
postmodern/post-modern archaeology	c.139	127

- shamanism in South Africa (e.g., Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1990) and parts of the United States (e.g., Whitley 1992)
- "sympathetic control" in southern Africa (Thackeray 2005)
- generally "ceremonial landscapes" (Ashmore this volume), "religious experience" (e.g., Dornan 2004), and liminal spaces (cf. Turner 1995) in various parts of the world

What we now have today is an archaeology of landscapes that is as much about the ontological and cosmological dimensions of places as it is about their physical characteristics. Landscape archaeology has come to refer to the places that are meaningful to people, and in so doing, to the archaeology of that meaningfulness.

What Is Landscape?

Disciplinary subdivisions are pointers to how we normalize the world; they direct our attention and enable us to approach the world through very particular frames of reference and understanding. "Landscape archaeology" does just this in ways peculiar to the post-1970s era, continuing today to inspire our archaeological endeavors and archaeological imagination in novel ways. And this is what "landscape archaeology" gives us: a conceptual framework that enables us to address human pasts in all their contexts and that goes beyond a purely environmental archaeology. In this sense, and along with other developments, it enables us to go forward from our own disciplinary pasts.

This, then, is the crux of landscape archaeology: it concerns not only the physical environment *onto* which people live out their lives but also the meaningful location *in* which lives are lived. This includes the trees and the rocks and the stars, not as abstract objects but as meaningful things that are located ontologically and experientially in people's lives and social practices (praxis). *People* lie at the core of a landscape archaeology and, befitting the general purpose of all archaeologies (in contrast to ethology, geology, botany, zoology, and the like), it is those past human dimensions that a landscape archaeology targets.

Broadly speaking, landscape archaeology is thus concerned with the things that locate human existence. A landscape archaeology is an archaeology of place, not just as defined in a set of physical nodes in space (cf. Binford 1982) but in all its lived dimensions: experiential, social, ontological, epistemological, emotional, as place and emplacement concern social identity, as much as they concern the economic and environmental aspects of life. If, as Lefebvre (1991: 8) has it, "spatial practice consists in a projection onto a (spatial) field of all aspects, elements and moments of social practice," then landscape archaeology, in its concern with past human engagements with place, concerns the past spatiality of all aspects, elements, and moments of social practice.

Landscape archaeology is an archaeology of how people visualized the world and how they engaged with one another across space, how they chose to manipulate their surroundings or how they were subliminally affected to do things by way of their locational circumstances. It concerns the intentional and the unintentional, the physical and the spiritual, human agency and the subliminal. Landscapes concern how people scheduled their daily routines—seasons affect the rhythms of work and play, and social time is implicated in the daily rhythms of work and play, Tim Ingold's (1993) "taskscapes." Landscapes implicate social order and gender, because who lives where, who goes or works where, and the significance of places are each mediated by social structure, worldviews, and the meaningfulness of place. Landscapes are ecological, all peoples constructing frames of knowledge by which to know the world in which they live. Landscapes are institutional as space is structured and behavior normalized through codified social practice. Landscape concerns moral codes, who can go where, under which conditions, and is played out in ongoing reassessment of social rights and social wrongs. Landscapes are always territorial spaces in that they are controlled and contested in social and political practice. Landscapes are ontological in that they are always known through historically emergent worldviews. And landscapes are always engaged as the location of social and personal experience, as the place of being-in-the-world. There is, as Henri Lefebvre (1991) has pointed out, a truth of space rather than true space, and that truth is generated in social process, in the constant assessment and renegotiation of emplacement. "Social processes are also processes of interaction with the environment as a whole, which provides the medium through which values are created and expressed," writes Veronica Strang (1997: 176); "the landscape is a crucial part of this medium, and the development of an effective relationship with the natural environment depends on the location of certain values in the land."

Landscape archaeology concerns each of these dimensions of social emplacement. We concur with Torrence (2002: 766), who notes that

> by definition, the term "landscape" takes in all physical and natural components of the terrestrial environment. . . . it should be combined with "seascape" . . . to encompass adequately the settings where human behaviour took place. Adding "cultural" to land- and seascapes emphasizes the role of the individuals who conceptualized these spaces and actively created and modified them in culturally specific ways.

This, then, is what has changed from those earliest expressions of the archaeology of landscapes that largely began with economic, environmental, and ecological concerns (dimensions that continue to usefully inform aspects of "landscape archaeology"; for recent volumes, see Dincauze 2000; Rapp and Hill 1998): landscape archaeology has become today more about the archaeology of socially and experientially engaged place as it is an archaeology of the causes and consequences of environmental conditions on human behavior. It is less about an absolute notion of "place" as it is about singular *senses* of place (cf. Feld and Basso 1996). And this is the binding glue of contemporary landscape studies: a concern for the where of all human practice, in any or all of its dimensions.

Notes

1. A digital search (followed by manual perusal) of all papers published in the professional journals *American Antiquity*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Antiquity*, *Current Anthropology*, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, and *World Archaeology* and a less intensive search of the journals *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *Archaeometry*, *Arctic Archaeology*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, *European Journal of Archaeology*, *Journal of African Archaeology*, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, *Journal of Human Evolution*, *Journal of Irish Archaeology*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (incorporating *Man*), *Latin American Antiquity*, *Nyame Akuma*, *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, and the popular magazines *Archaeology*, *Current Archaeology*, and *Popular Archaeology* have failed to recover any evidence for recurrent use of "landscape archaeology" or "landscape archaeologist(s)" in paper titles, abstracts, keywords, or texts until the mid-1980s. Computer searches were made of each volume; all hits were then individually checked for context and to ensure that in-text citations were not limited to reference entries, acknowledgments, and the like (with the exception of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, where footnotes were not searched for the exclusion of bibliographic listings). The latter entry types were excluded from the counts presented in Table 1.1. Book reviews were also excluded.
2. This is probably well illustrated by David Clarke's (1968) *Analytical Archaeology*, a work that is often compared to American-style New Archaeology but that in fact focused more on the logic and methodology of archaeological research as a means of exploring past cultural *patterning* rather than as a means of elucidating universal laws of cultural *process*.

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