



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Connected and isolated: a discussion about Gallina archaeology with no resolutions

Borck, L.

Citation

Borck, L. (2017). Connected and isolated: a discussion about Gallina archaeology with no resolutions. *Kiva: Journal Of Southwestern Anthropology And History*, 83(4), 443-449.
doi:10.1080/00231940.2017.1391600

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licensed under Article 25fa Copyright Act/Law \(Amendment Taverne\)](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3720160>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

50 Free eprint copies available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/ayZbXm7whHTGu2WxZwtN/full>



KIVA
Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History

ISSN: 0023-1940 (Print) 2051-6177 (Online) Journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ykiv20>

Connected and Isolated: A Discussion About Gallina Archaeology with no Resolutions

Lewis Borck

To cite this article: Lewis Borck (2017) Connected and Isolated: A Discussion About Gallina Archaeology with no Resolutions, KIVA, 83:4, 443-449

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00231940.2017.1391600>



Published online: 22 Nov 2017.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Connected and Isolated: A Discussion About Gallina Archaeology with no Resolutions

LEWIS BORCK

Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, Netherlands
lsborck@gmail.com

KEYWORDS Ancestral Pueblo, Frontier, Non-place, Gallina, Archaeological epistemology

I wrote a pretty nice introduction for this Kiva issue devoted to Gallina archaeology. After my first read through though, I realized it was pointless. Not because this research did not deserve an introduction or because all Southwestern researchers are caught up on recent developments in Gallina archaeology. It is more that the archaeology in the Gallina region does not need another introduction. Because of the ever-present lists of material traits and cultural patterns present in almost every article, thesis, dissertation, and book chapter devoted to Gallina archaeology (pointed bottom pot—check, tri-notched axes—check, combed shaft straighteners—check, historically seen as isolated—check, violence—check)—something that seems rare in publications for other culture areas—there are already many good introductions.¹ But most important, while this is the first special issue devoted to the topic, this is not the beginning of Gallina archaeology.

After more than 130 years of research in the region, it is time to move past introductions.

As the time is not quite—nor likely ever will be—ripe for a conclusion, this is going to be a discussion. Because the inhabitants living between ~AD 1100 and 1300 in the highlands mostly west of the Rio Chama and centered on the Llaves Valley (Bannister 1951; Bannister et al. 1970; Borck 2012; Bremer and Burns 2013; Constan 2011; Dick 1976; Ellis 1988; Hibben 1939; Simpson 2008; Simpson 2016) have a lot to tell us (Figure 1). The articles in this issue will continue this discussion, but there are many important voices missing.

This special issue of Kiva emerged out of an Archaeology Southwest magazine geared for public audiences co-edited by Borck and Bremer (2015). During the process of contacting potential authors, the range of research programs of current Gallina archaeologists and the dramatic jumps away from our understandings of Gallina archaeology from the 1950s through 1990s that many people still cite as relevant research, made it clear there needs to be a broader effort to engage

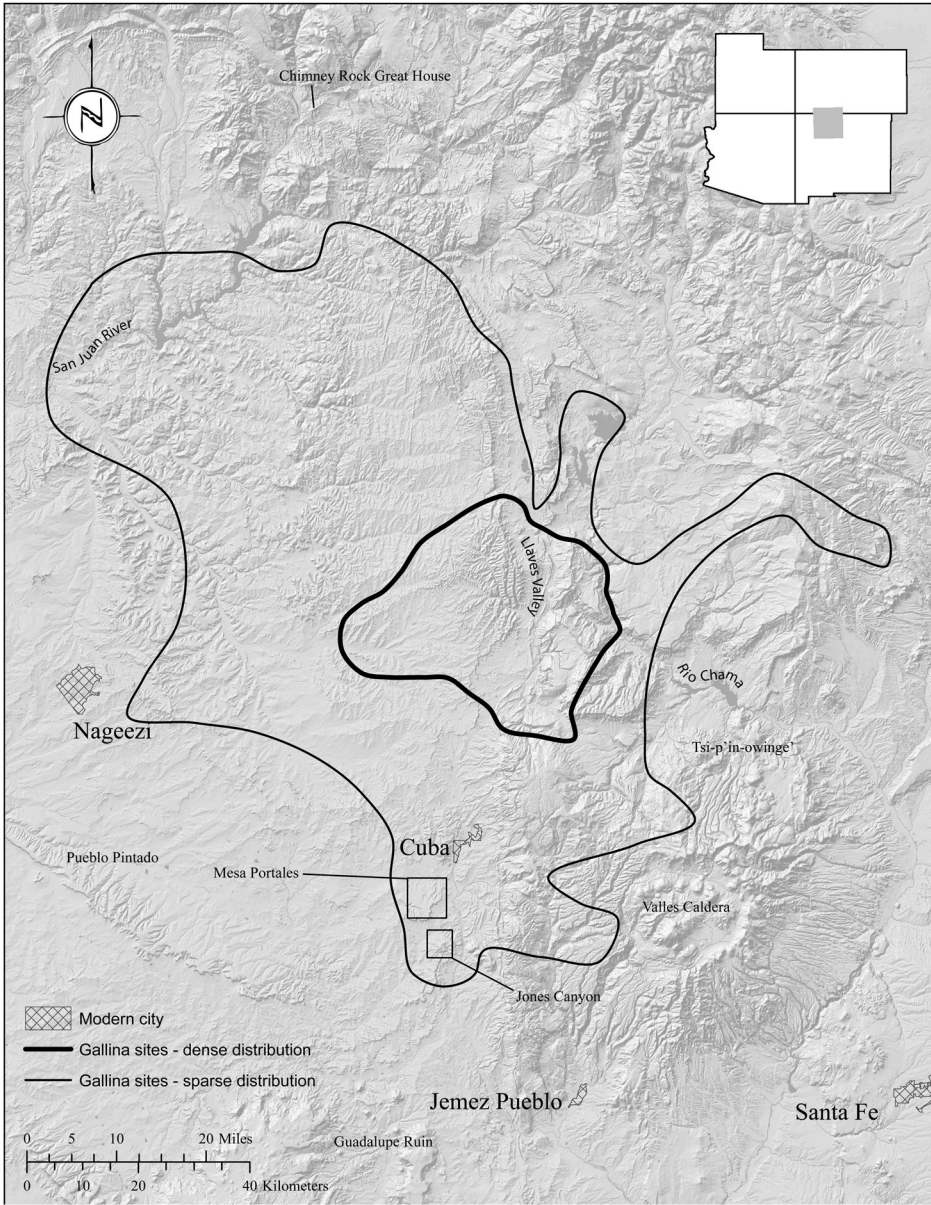


FIGURE 1. Location of Gallina region based on distribution of Gallina phase sites.

Southwestern archaeologists with contemporary Gallina research. There is not enough space within one issue to accommodate all of this research, though. Missing is the continuing work in the Mesa Portales area by Eastern New Mexico University researchers started by Steven Durand, dissertation findings from Byrd (2016) and Massouh (2009), thesis findings by Myers (2007) and Stanerson (2012), current National Science Foundation funded research conducted by Ron

Towner and his students through the University of Arizona's Tree Ring Laboratory, continuous Santa Fe National Forest, Bureau of Land Management, and Jicarilla Apache funded contract and management projects, along with avocational work by many passionate people, such as Denver Burns.

There are currently more researchers investigating Gallina archaeology than possibly at any time since Ellis (e.g., 1988), Dick (e.g., 1976), or Hibben (e.g., 1939) conducted extensive excavations and trained numerous students in the region. It is a renaissance in many ways, although as with much relating to the Gallina region, it has a unique flavor and (I believe) friendly disagreements.

While Gallina archaeology was once seen as foundational to cultural, or at least ceramic, developments in other areas of the ancestral Pueblo world (e.g., Mera 1935), after absolute dating and chronological ceramic sequences were worked out, it became apparent that Gallina material culture was either contemporaneous with areas that early researchers thought it was ancestral to or it came after them. This temporal revision—along with the region's remoteness from modern urban settings and a decorated ceramic tradition that does not enliven the Santa Fe artistic sensibilities—likely pushed Gallina archaeology into the contemporary periphery of Southwestern, especially Ancestral Pueblo, research.

This is not a unique problem for Gallina archaeology, of course. It arises throughout almost all regions labeled as peripheral, frontier, marginal or otherwise discussed as external or exterior to what are considered the main cultural developments within Southwestern archaeology (e.g., Harry and Herr 2018; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995).

Yet regions treated as marginalia in the story of the Southwest are emergent, recursive, constantly changing sociopolitical constructs built on human, as well as human and non-human, relationships. And, as arose in a recent conversation on Facebook with a colleague, marginalia are often the most interesting part of the book because they shed light on the story, almost as much as they do on themselves. In archaeology, this story often comprises neighboring social institutions and communities. Archaeologists should work where their interests draw them, of course, but we should also try to understand why some regions and times shoulder the weight of many archaeological boots while others bear almost no weight at all.

Non-places can help interpret this discrepancy.

Non-places are oppositional to anthropological places (Augé 1995; *sensu* Merleau-Ponty 1962), or places inhabited, known, and meaningfully constituted by both occupants and observers (Merriman 2011). Places are relational. They constitute identity. They have history. Non-places invert this. They “cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity” (Augé 1995:77–79). Non-places emerge as temporally located spaces separate from places in modern thought. Instead of creating connections, or being part of connections, they are instead “listed, classified, promoted to the status of ‘places of memory’, and assigned to a circumscribed and specific position” (Augé 1995:78).

In archaeology, the “circumscribed and specific position” is recognized by a negative signatory. Not Chaco. Not Mesa Verde. Not Phoenix Basin. Not Upper Middle Rio Grande. Or the more general, Out-of-Phase. Areas discussed as frontiers,

borderlands, edges, margins, or the periphery are non-places. They have been defined to exist outside of some place.

Modern researchers study airports and similar environments as non-places. Airports' particularly non-relational (keep your eyes down, keep moving) and temporary (you are not in them for long) nature is perhaps one of the best examples for explaining non-places to a modern audience.

But—as the archaeological mantra says—context is important. Airports are only non-places for the traveler. For workers and the unlucky few stuck in border limbo, they are anthropological places replete with connections and meaning-making.

If non-places say as much about their surrounding places, their definition as non-places also exposes some of the implicit ideas leading to the construction of worth for the archaeologist's gaze. It reveals an interesting, underlying pattern in Southwestern research possibly indicative of an implicit bias. The construction of non-places—or frontiers and borderlands—is not simply a spatial or cultural decision. It is also a cross-temporal one. These non-places are created through aggregated and recursive decisions of contemporary researchers. They emerge from our unintended desire to work with something that conforms most closely to us.

Many of these frontier and borderland zones in the Greater American Southwest—these non-places—are often non-hierarchical, or at least less hierarchical than many areas in the Chacoan World. Some of these non-places even prefer a more traditional style of architecture. Places like the crater houses around Chimney Rock (Chuiyka 2011), the Gallina, the Valdez Phase near Taos (Boyer 1997; Fowles 2010), and Homol'ovi Pueblo III pithouse communities (Barker and Young 2017) often get labeled as “Out-of-Phase,” as though they failed to predict the eventual rise of the Pecos Classification System or the Northern Rio Grande Sequence.

This highlights one of the major underlying processes for the construction of “sexy,” the construction of archaeological popularity, in archaeology. Things that look more like us, get more attention. And in the US Southwest at least, hierarchy is sexy (Borck under review).

The Gallina region of contemporary northern New Mexico offers a compelling example of what the construction of non-places in archaeological research looks like. The Gallina people inhabited (Figure 1) an area of high elevations with inaccessible mesas, razorback ridges, and deep canyons. This rugged landscape likely highlighted and facilitated the “traditional” archaeological interpretation of the Gallina as “isolated” (Sleeter 1987), “backwards” (Stuart and Gauthier 1981:152), or even as refugees forcefully excluded from the contemporary cultural processes of the Southwest during the Pueblo II and III periods (Schulman 1950:293).

The current turn of research in the Gallina region has focused on drawing out connections (see also Constan and Bremer 2017 for an overview) from a material assemblage that has predominantly precluded the identification of those connections (e.g., Borck 2018; Simpson 2008; Simpson 2016; see also Bellorado; Constan and Bremer 2017; O'Donnell and Ragsdale 2017). Of Placing the Gallina, both historically and in the present.

This is a driving theme through the articles in this issue. Constan and Bremer historically situate past research to understand the shape of Gallina archaeology.

Bellorado and Borck and Simpson use different approaches to discuss how Gallina people, households, and communities were connected to other communities and social processes in the northern Southwest. O'Donnell and Ragsdale look at descendant connections to understand where at least some Gallina individuals may have went after the region was depopulated around AD 1300 (or possibly later). Kocer examines how tool stone procurement differed between the Gallina region and the Chacoan World and how these differences may reveal awareness of neighboring politics.

Those well-versed in the history of Gallina archaeology know how interests in external connections stitched together the papers of some of the earliest archaeologists in the region (see Constan and Bremer 2017). Based on the presence of pointed bottom vessels, tri-notched axes, and misidentified cord-marked pottery, researchers posited possible Great Plains, Great Basin, Apache, Navajo, and even Mississippian or Woodlands origins, or at least relationships.

These ideas have been lambasted around campfires and in print since the 1960s, yet not all of these questions of external connections have been settled, or at least not settled well. And in the detritus of these earlier dialogues with the archaeological record are some gems of future research. For instance, pointed bottom vessels such as are found in the Gallina region could be an independent invention, they could have been acquired from groups already using these pots and then begun to be made by Gallina ceramicists, they could have been brought in by groups using these pots, or they could be a product of typological reification. So they may not even be stylistically or technologically much different than corrugated necked pots throughout the northern Southwest that were just not given a specific name.

Regardless of where our archaeological investigations will take us, though, new research—including in this special issue—is unveiling a complex social story that situates the Gallina as purposely isolated while simultaneously strongly connected to the contemporary concerns, and external societies, of their day. To awkwardly quote myself, the Gallina are emerging as “perceptive cultural reformers intent on creating a new society” (Borck 2018:120).

Note

- 1 Borck and Bremer 2015; Bremer and Burns 2013; Constan 2017; Constan and Bremer 2017 are all good overviews if you want an updated one.

References

- Augé, Marc
1995 *Non-Lieux*. Verso, New York.
- Bannister, Bryant
1951 *Tree-Ring Dates for the Gallina Area*. Tree-Ring Bulletin, New Mexico.
- Bannister, Bryant, John W. Hannah, and William J. Robison
1970 *Tree-Ring Dates from New Mexico: M-N, S, Z: Southwestern New Mexico*. Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, University of Arizona, Tucson.

Barker, Claire S., and Lisa C. Young

- 2017 Networks of Ceramic Exchange: Comparing Homol'ovi Pueblo III Pithouse and Pueblo Communities. *KIVA: Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History* 83(2):183–202.

Borck, Lewis

- Under review Non-Places and the Construction of “Sexy” in Archaeology: A Study from the U.S. Southwest. In *Frontiers and Borderlands in the Chacoan World*, edited by David E. Witt, University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
- 2012 Patterns of Resistance: Violence, Migration, and Trade in the Gallina Heartland. Master's Thesis, University of Arizona.
- 2018 Sophisticated Rebels: Meaning Maps and Settlement Structure as Evidence for a Social Movement in the Gallina Region of the North American Southwest. In *Life Beyond the Boundaries: Constructing Identity in Edge Regions of the North American Southwest*, edited by Karen G. Harry, and Sarah Herr, pp. 118–164. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Borck, Lewis, and J. Michael Bremer

- 2015 An Introduction to Gallina Archaeology. *Archaeology Southwest Magazine* 29(1):7–11.

Boyer, Jeffery L.

- 1997 *Dating the Valdez Phase: Chronometric Re-Evaluation of the Initial Anasazi Occupation of North-Central New Mexico*, vol. *Archaeological Notes* 164. Office of Archaeological Studies, Museum of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Bremer, Michael, and Denver Burns

- 2013 Living It Up: Upland Adaptation and High Altitude Occupation by Ancestral Pueblo People During the Gallina Phase Along the Continental Divide. In *From Mountain Top to Valley Bottom: Understanding Past Land Use in the Northern Rio Grande Valley, New Mexico*, edited by Bradley J. Vierra, pp. 113–130. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Byrd, Adam Muir

- 2016 A GIS-Based Investigation into Social Violence and Settlement Patterns in the Gallina Area of the American Southwest. Ph.D., The University of New Mexico. <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy4.library.arizona.edu/docview/1808233632/abstract/FA1DF933C5994FD5PQ/1>

Chuiпка, Jason P.

- 2011 The Chaco to Post-Chaco Transition in the San Juan Region: Persistence of Cultural Traditions on the Northeastern Frontier. Paper presented at the 76th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. Sacramento, California.

Constan, Connie

- 2011 Ceramic Resource Selection and Social Violence in the Gallina Area of the American Southwest. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Constan, Connie L.

- 2017 A New Synthesis of the Gallina Culture of Northwestern New Mexico. In *Parallel Passions: A Life Together in Archaeology, Papers in Honor of Karl W. Laumbach and Toni S. Laumbach*, edited by Emily J. Brown, Carol J. Condie and Helen K. Crotty, pp. 75–90. The Archaeological Society of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Constan, Connie L. and J. Michael Bremer

- 2017 From Discovery to Explanation: The History of Gallina Archaeology. *Kiva* 83(4):443–449.

Dick, Herbert W.

- 1976 Archaeological Excavations in the Llaves Area, Santa Fe National Forest, New Mexico, 1972–1974. Pt. 1: Architecture. Archeological Report 13. Santa Fe: Manuscript on file at USDA Forest Service, Southwestern Regional Office.

Ellis, Florence Hawley

- 1988 *From Drought to Drought: Gallina Culture Patterns: Canjilon Mountain Hunting and Gathering Sites, Vol. 1*. Sunstone Press, Santa Fe.

Fowles, Severin

- 2010 A People's History of the American Southwest. In *Ancient Complexities: New Perspectives in Pre-Columbian North America*, edited by Susan Alt, pp. 183–204. University of Utah Press, Provo.

Harry, Karen G., and Sarah A. Herr, eds

- 2018 *Life Beyond the Boundaries: Constructing Identity in Edge Regions of the North American Southwest*. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Hibben, Frank C.

- 1939 The Gallina Culture of North Central New Mexico. Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Lightfoot, Kent G., and Antoinette Martinez

- 1995 Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:471–492.

Massouh, Paula Ann

- 2009 The Largo-Gallina Household: A View from the L102 Site. Doctoral Dissertation, American University, Washington D.C.

Mera, Harry P.

- 1935 Ceramic Clues to the Prehistory of North Central New Mexico. Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice

- 1962 *Phenomenology of Perception*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, Abingdon.

Merriman, Peter

- 2011 *Driving Spaces: A Cultural-Historical Geography of England's M1 Motorway*. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken.

O'Donnell, Alexis, and Ragsdale, Corey S.

- 2017 Biological distance analysis and the fate of the Gallina in the American Southwest. *Kiva* 83(4):443–449.

Myers, Nate

- 2007 A Typological Assessment of the Mesa Portales Ceramics. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Eastern New Mexico University, Portales.

Schulman, Albert

- 1950 Pre-Columbian Towers in the Southwest. *American Antiquity* 15(4):288–297.

Simpson, Erik

- 2008 Architectural Patterning in Residential Structures in the Gallina Area. Master's Thesis, Prescott College, Prescott.

- 2016 Modeling Post A.D. 700 Population Movements and Culture in the Upper San Juan Region. In *Exploring Cause and Explanation: Historical Ecology, Demography, and Movement in the American Southwest*, edited by Cynthia L. Herhahn and Ann F. Ramenofsky, pp. 257–274. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Sleeter, Richard Stanley

- 1987 Cultural Interaction of the Prehistoric Gallina: A Study of Settlement Patterns in North-Central New Mexico. Unpublished Master's Thesis, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces.

Stanerson, Vlisha L.

- 2012 The Gallina of New Mexico: A Culture of Violence? Unpublished Master's Thesis, Colorado State University, Fort Collins.

Stuart, David E., and Rory P. Gauthier

- 1981 *Prehistoric New Mexico: Background for Survey*. Historic Preservation Bureau, Santa Fe.