



# PALIMPSESTOS

REVISTA DE ARQUEOLOGÍA Y ANTROPOLOGÍA ANARQUISTA

Número 0 - Año 1 - Abril de 2017

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*“Homenaje a un sencillo elemento de la naturaleza, que ha marchado junto a los flujos humanos del Planeta Tierra: la piedra. Diario del pasado, herramienta primordial, retrato de nuestra antigüedad ¿Qué historias narran las voces de las rocas? ¿Cuál es el lenguaje de sus huellas?” – Ilustración en acuarela con agua de nieve andina.*

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# **SOPHISTICATED REBELS: MEANING MAPS AND SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE AS EVIDENCE FOR A SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN THE GALLINA REGION OF THE U.S. SOUTHWEST**

*Lewis Borck - @LewisBorck*

*Every force evolves a form.*

***Shaker proverb***

## **Introduction**

The Pueblo Revolt is characterized as one of the most successful acts of indigenous resistance. Yet just as the historical record of European colonial powers in the U.S. Southwest has biased archaeological understandings of contact situations by overlooking contact between indigenous groups, so too has the Pueblo Revolt overshadowed those cultural movements that the documentary record overlooks. Culture contact situations were common in the Southwest prior to the arrival of the Spanish, and acts of resistance and social movements were likely frequent as well. In this chapter, using the Gallina region of northern New Mexico (Figure 1) as an example, I will parse out evidence for one of these overlooked social movements.

The Gallina region has both confused and beguiled researchers for more than a century. Beginning with the Wheeler Survey of 1874 (Cope 1875), investigators described the Gallina (A.D. 1100 – 1300) as orthodox, traditional, archaic, anachronistic, backwards (Stuart and Gauthier 1981:93), culturally isolated, conservative (Cordell 1979; Dick et al. 1978; Green 1956; Hibben 1938, 1939; Mackey and Holbrook 1978; Mera 1938), marginal (Hall 1944), chaotic and socially pathological (Turner et al. 1993:106–107), or simply unaware of the changes happening in the societies that surrounded them (Green 1962:154). In fact, the archaeological literature treats the Gallina similar to what anthropologist Brian Campbell (2009) has called a “semi-arrested frontier;” places where the inhabitants were unable to keep up with the cultural changes of their neighbors. More importantly, though, these adjectives suggest an inability to move forward or change. They pejoratives that imply that the inhabitants of the Gallina region were victims of the times and not agents of their fate. Recent research, however, has begun to reverse these views and to position the Gallina as

culturally aware actors (Borck 2016, Bremer 2013; Constan 2011; Simpson 2010, 2008) who used spatial isolation to enact cultural change through resistance and rejection (Borck 2012).

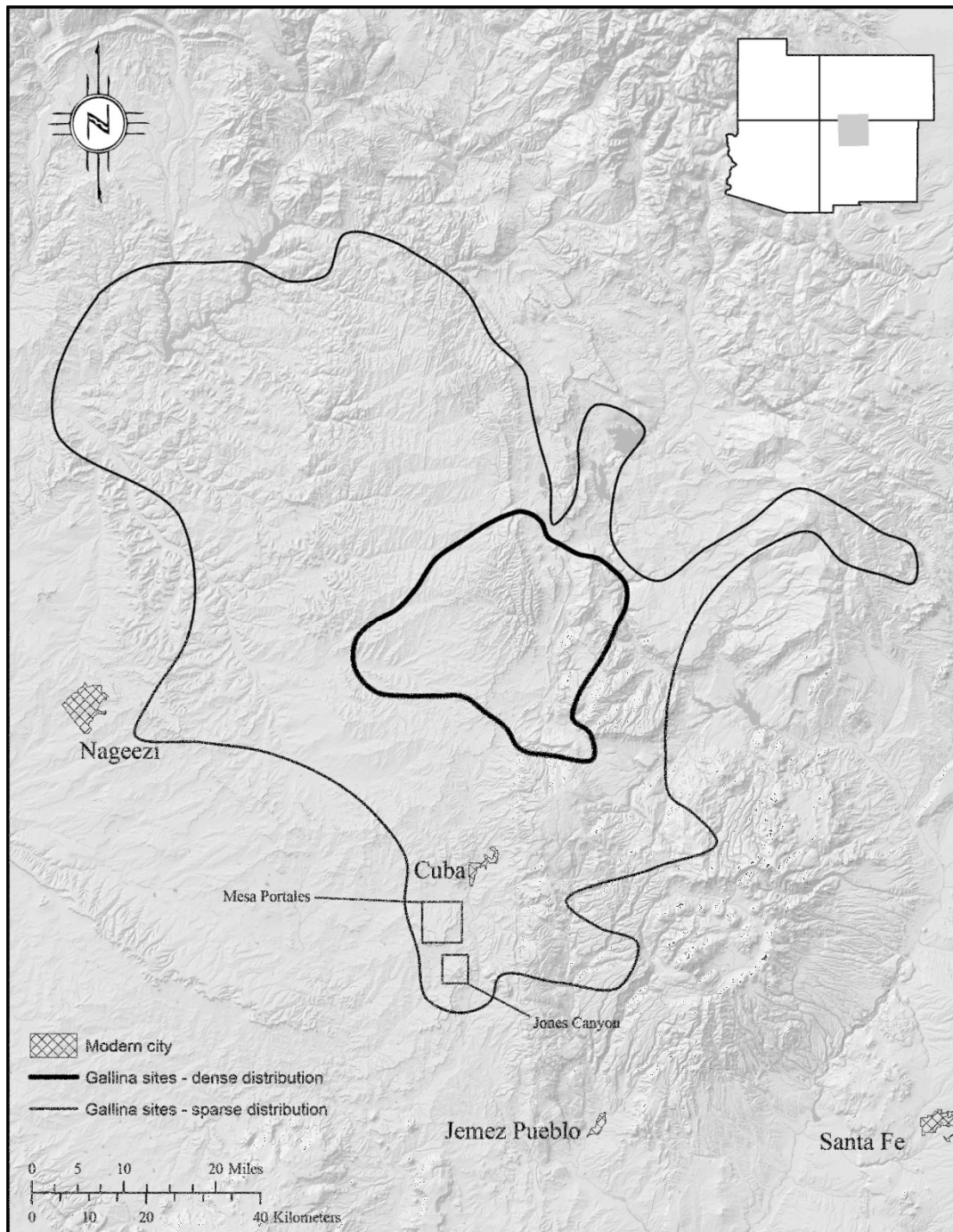


Figure 1: Location of Gallina region as demonstrated by distribution of Gallina phase sites.

In this chapter, I use a geosocial network analysis to demonstrate that the Gallina society emerged through a social movement. The network analysis will show that the Gallina were made up of people with varied histories and connections to diverse places in their past. I will argue that these places were intentionally forgotten in order to strengthen group unity. Revising history through acts of forgetting (Forty and Kuchler, ed. 1999; Mills 2008) is a strategy often employed during social movements aimed at setting one group in opposition to another, especially in areas where history is embedded in place (Shields 1991:62–63), such as in the U.S. Southwest. The nature of the Gallina social movement will then be examined using ceramic networks as evidence of forgetting, in conjunction with a form of space syntax analysis that allows for a diachronic and cross-cultural comparison of Gallina political organization. Finally, by defining and employing the concept of an atavistic social movement, I describe the Gallina not as bumbling, behind-the-times provincials, but as perceptive cultural reformers intent on creating a new society.

### **Revitalization Movements**

To understand what atavistic movements are, we first need to understand what they are not. To do this I review the concept of a revitalization movement, which is a social movement similar, but with important differences, to what occurred in the Gallina region. In an effort to understand internal cultural change versus external change through processes such as diffusion, Anthony Wallace (1956:265) developed revitalization movement theory to describe “deliberate, organized conscious effort[s] by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture.” Starting with Bradley (1996), Southwestern archaeologists have used revitalization movement theory sporadically. However, its use has seen a recent resurgence as archaeologists struggle to understand complex periods of contact and sharp moments of cultural change (Liebmann 2012; Russell et al. 2011; Wallace 2014). Liebmann’s engaging work on the archaeological signature of a revitalization movement during the Pueblo Revolt has helped to facilitate this recent interest.

Revitalization movement theory itself has been frequently reevaluated (see Harkin 2004), yet it has not sustained much significant critique. When it has, the focus is usually on Wallace’s positivistic, functionalist, biological systems approach, an approach that Wallace (2004) himself has stepped back from. Others criticize how revitalization movement theory does not engage with the concept of power; either among movement members or between movement members and the group or situation to which they are reacting (e.g., Lepowsky 2004). In addition, deprivation or loss as a constitutive element has been over-emphasized (Martin 2004).



Revitalization movements encompass a great many forms of cultural change as described in anthropological, sociological, and historical literature including nativism, reformation movements, cargo cults, religious revivals, messianic movements, utopian communities, sect formations, mass movements, revolutions, and charismatic movements (Wallace 1956:264). These various types of revitalization movements emphasize different aspects and rarely last more than a generation (Russell et al. 2011:5). For instance, revivalistic movements focus on reinvigorating customs and values thought to have been the focus of the worldview of previous generations (Mooney 1896; Wallace 1956:267); nativistic movements attempt to eliminate foreign people or ideas (Linton 1943; Wallace 1956:267); and vitalistic movements, such as cargo cults, attempt to reorganize a worldview by importing foreign values and customs. Few of these categories are mutually exclusive, or even immutable, and successful movements will be flexible and transform themselves to stay viable (Russell et al. 2011:2). All of these movements have six common characteristics. They 1) reformulate a worldview, 2) spread the message of this reformulation, 3) are internally organized top-down (from prophets to disciples to followers), 4) adapt to resistance, 5) transform culture toward a revitalization ideal, and 6) become routinized (Wallace 1956:270–275).

The various revitalization movements can account for many of the dramatic cultural changes that attempt to remedy perceived societal problems. Harkin (2004) discusses in detail recent uses of revitalization theory in history and anthropology. However, some abrupt cultural changes that at first appear to be revitalization movements, upon closer inspection do not actually conform to revitalization movement theory. These require us to consider a new type of social movement that I define as an atavistic social movement. I will examine one of these instances archaeologically, but first a quick glance at an historic example of a revitalization movement will be informative.

### **The Amish**

The Amish were one of many Anabaptist groups that grew from the Radical Reformation in sixteenth century Europe (Hostetler 1993). The Anabaptists, concerned with the slow pace of reformations, organized an offshoot movement intent on instituting reforms at a much quicker pace. Almost immediately, Anabaptist groups were persecuted and faced imprisonment, torture, and death for their beliefs. Reacting to this persecution, many Anabaptists moved to increasingly remote areas of Europe, and then finally to the Americas (Redekop 1989).

Led by Jakob Ammann, the Amish were born during these turbulent times. They often excommunicated members (Meidung) who did not strictly follow Ordnung, their church and

community guidelines (Kraybill 2001:6). The Ordnung is “an ordering of the whole way of life – a code of conduct which the church maintains by tradition rather than by systematic or explicit rules . . . [T]he Ordnung is the “understood” set of expectations for behavior. In the same way that the rules of grammar are learned by children, so the Ordnung, the grammar of order, is learned by Amish youth (Kraybill 2001:112).” It is within the constraints of the Ordnung and the possibilities of sanctions from the Meidung that members live their days.

### **Amish as a Revitalization Movement**

Based on the six criteria laid out by Wallace, Jakob Ammann’s restructuring of the Anabaptist movement (itself a restructuring of the Protestant reformation) was a revitalization movement. Ammann successfully (1) reformulated a worldview and (2) spread the message of transformation. At the beginning, during Ammann’s lifetime, this movement was organized (3) top down, with Ammann acting as a leader and prophet and guiding his people in a split with other Anabaptists in Switzerland and the Alsatian region of present-day France. The Amish also used separation from the world as an (4) adaptation to resistance and persecution. They enforced separation through unwritten rules (Ordnung). This separation as resistance, also noted in archaeological and ethnographic contexts (e.g., Fowles 2010; Sassaman 2001), resulted in the Amish using migration as a form of resistance. The modern presence of the Amish demonstrates that Ammann’s reformulations (5) transformed at least a portion of his previous society toward his revitalization ideal and (6) lastly, this new worldview became routinized.

### **Identifying a New Southwest Social Movement: The Gallina**

*“There is really no such thing as the cultural isolate, and where it appears that there is, this apparent isolation is itself a cultural project.”* – Michael Harken (2004:XXXIV)

Archaeologists reason that the Gallina originated northwest of their heartland with the antecedent Los Pinos, Sambrito, Rosa, Piedra, and Arboles Phase populations (Table 1) in northwestern New Mexico (Bremer 2013; Ellis 1988; Hall 1944; Hibben 1939; Mackey 1977; Mera 1938; Simpson 2010, 2016; Snow 1978; Stuart and Gauthier 1981). They base this argument on continuity in material culture, including both ceramics and architecture, and a settlement pattern that indicates a southeasterly movement of populations away from the Mesa Verde region, and potentially from the Chacoan outpost of Chimney Rock (Bremer 2013; Mera 1935; Simpson 2016). The final movement into the Gallina highlands around the

Llaves Valley corresponded with the sudden appearance of a new and unique suite of artifacts including pointed bottom pots, tri-notched axes, and bent elbow footed pipes.

While this brief overview paints a fairly sterile picture of Gallina archaeology, many questions remain unanswered. Why did these people move into previously unpopulated highland environments? Why did they import or emulate so few foreign ceramics in comparison to their neighbors? Why did they seem to be people “out of time”—pit house dwellers in an era of aggregated, apartment style living in above ground room blocks? As I will demonstrate, approaching these questions and the archaeology of the Gallina region from a social movement perspective will help answer some of these questions. To do this, I first examine how the Gallina connected to their past by constructing networks using the foreign decorated ceramics found in Gallina sites.

### **Finding Variability Where Before There Was None**

The Gallina owned few ceramics from other regions. In total, only 2.33 percent of recorded Gallina sites have evidence of foreign ceramics, which is dramatically different than the heavily traded decorated ceramics found in neighboring populations. Of those foreign ceramics, around 60 percent originated in production zones located to the southwest of the Gallina heartland (Borck 2012:Table 1). Researchers have used this paucity to argue that Gallina area residents became isolated because they were unable to keep up with contemporaneous changes taking place around them.

Formal social network analysis (SNA) is useful for teasing out obscure patterns in data. For this inquiry, I use two-mode network analysis. Generally, SNA evaluates nodes (often individuals or groups, but in this case archaeological sites) and the connections between those nodes. When reconstructed from ethnographic or sociological data, connections—or ties—are often products of direct, personal interactions. In archaeology, however, these ties can have a slightly different meaning (Borck et al. 2015:3–4; and see Mills et al. 2015 for an expanded discussion) and demonstrate networks of affiliation or networks of people who act in similar manners, but not necessarily interactions.

Two-mode networks differ from standard networks because there are two types of nodes: actors and events. Ties are created when an actor is involved in an event. In many instances, actors and events are not individuals and actions, but simply terms used in the literature to separate the two nodes. In this study, the actor nodes are archaeological sites (circles) and the event nodes are foreign ceramics in the Gallina region (squares). More precisely, the event nodes are the general location of production of the foreign ceramics from the Gallina region (i.e., to the northwest, southeast, etc.). Ties are constructed between an event and an

actor when at least one ceramic type from that direction of production was found on an archaeological site. While the data for this analysis (Borck 2012:Table 1) are continuous, it is binarized at the presence/absence level since it is difficult to determine if the foreign sherds of the same type represent more than one vessel at a site.

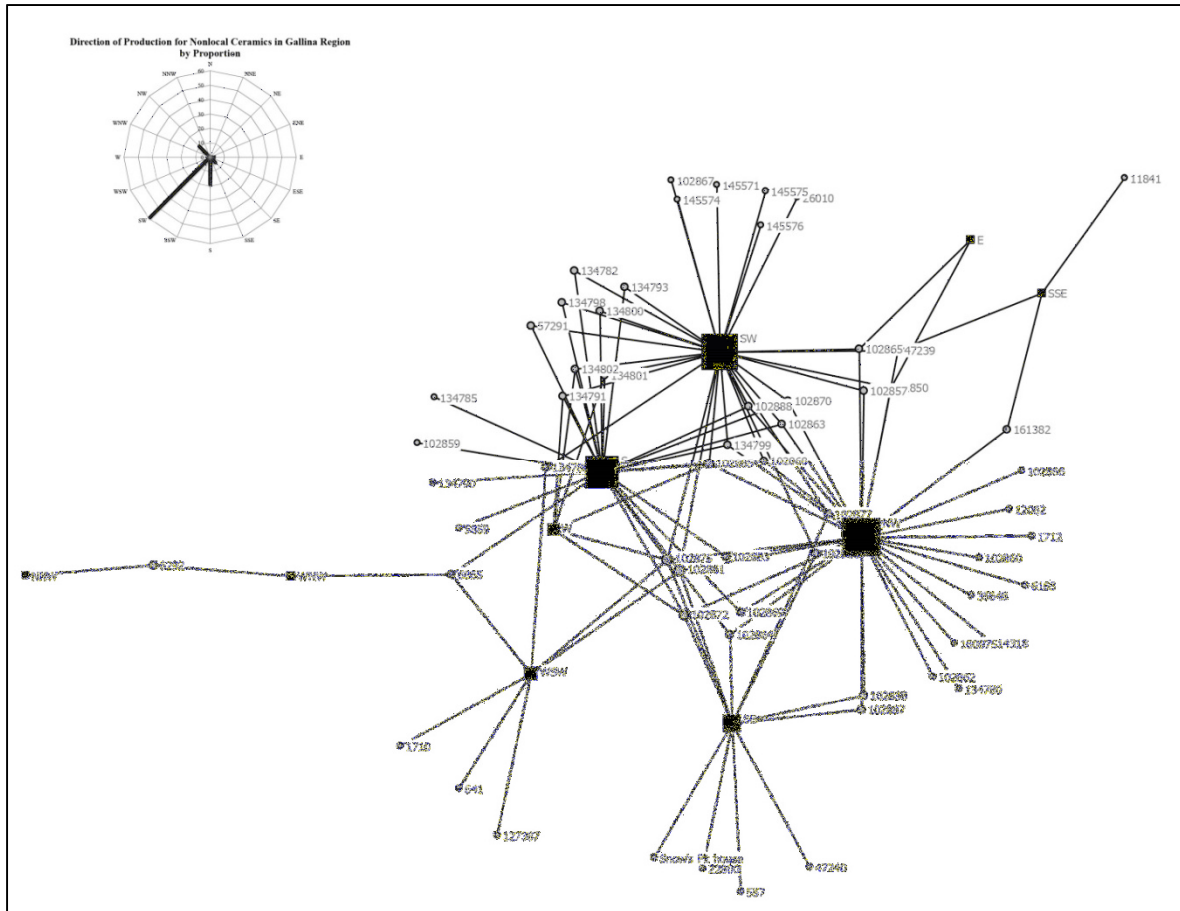


Figure 2: Two-mode social network for the entire Gallina region. Square nodes are directions of production for non-local ceramics in the Gallina region and circular nodes are individual archaeological sites. Nodes are sized by their degree centrality scores. Rose diagram indicates what percentage of all non-local ceramics present in the Gallina region originates in which direction.

Figure 2 is the two-mode network of the foreign ceramics from the entire Gallina region with an associated rose graph that proportionally displays the directions from the Gallina region in which the non-local ceramics were produced. In this and subsequent network diagrams the actors and event nodes are scaled by degree centrality. A clear difference is apparent between the rose diagram and the network. The rose diagram shows that the majority of non-local ceramics in the Gallina region were produced to the southwest. However, in the two-mode network in Figure 2, derived from the same data, the northwest node is equivalent in degree centrality to the southwest node. This indicates the northwest node is

centrally important to the network. As demonstrated by Figure 2, a network approach can reveal otherwise obscured variability in the archaeological record. How these various directions of production relate to the Gallina region becomes even clearer as the Gallina region is broken down into sub-regions.

Figure 3 illustrates a two-mode network of the archaeological sites and their associated foreign ceramics in the Gallina region. It excludes the Mesa Portales and Jones Canyon localities in the south. Nodes are again weighted by degree centrality. The southwest node's centrality has dropped significantly in this modified network while foreign ceramics produced in the northwest still have the highest network centrality. In fact, only one site in the heartland of the Gallina district (LA 11850) includes wares originating to the southwest. The south, which was a central node in Figure 2, is also minimally important.

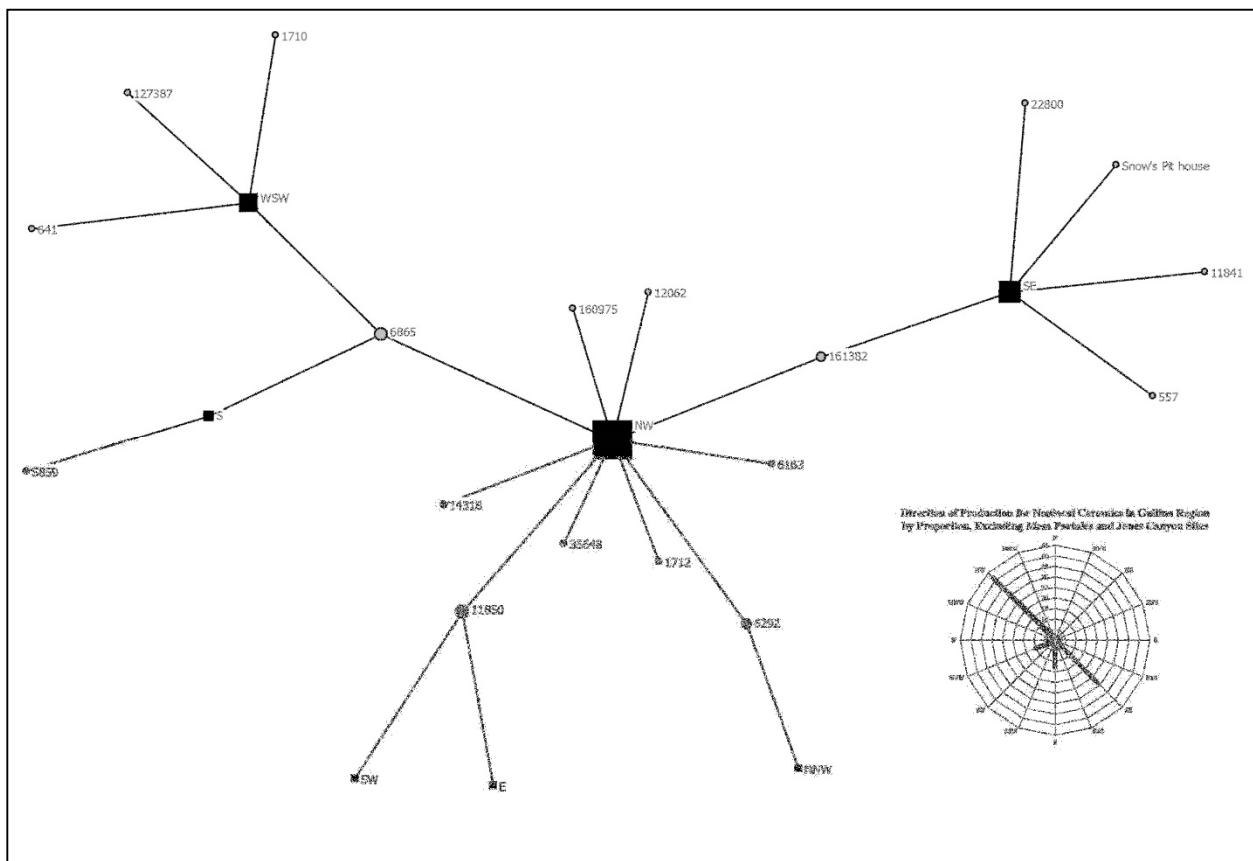
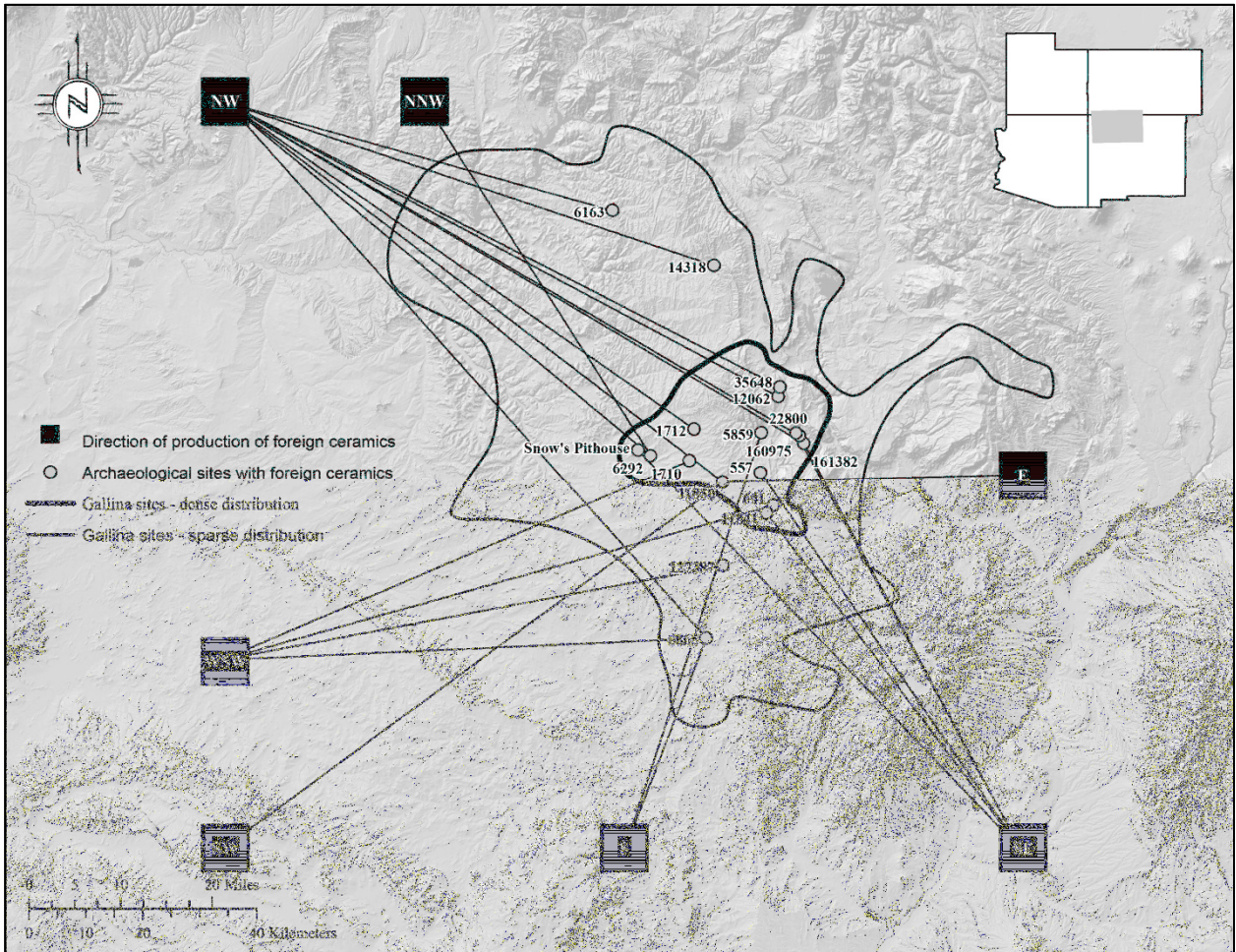


Figure 3: Two-mode social network for the Gallina heartland, which is the entire region excluding the Mesa Portales and Jones Canyon regions. Square nodes are directions of production for non-local ceramics in the Gallina region and circular nodes are individual archaeological sites. Nodes are sized by their degree centrality scores. Rose diagram indicates what percentage of all non-local ceramics present in the Gallina heartland originates in which direction.

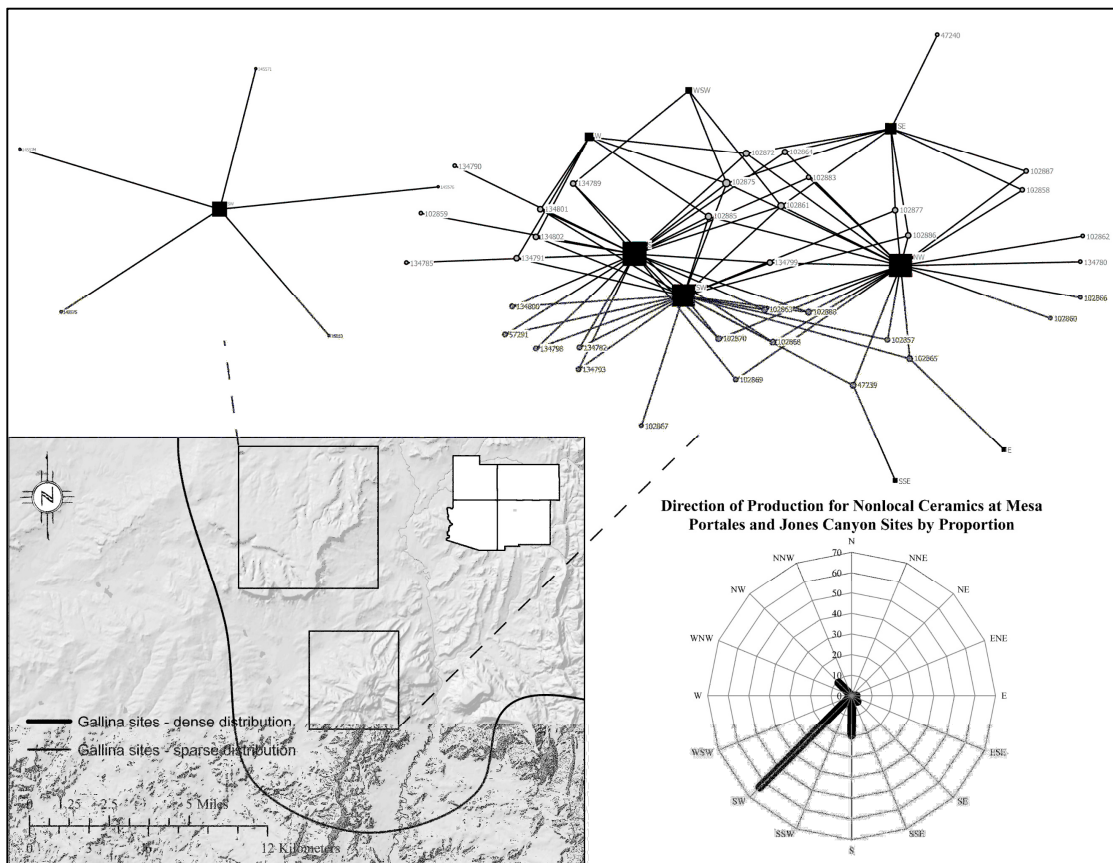


Moreover, Figure 3 establishes that while foreign ceramics in the Gallina region are rare there are variable spatial patterns in where they occur. More specifically, Figure 3 comprises three cliques, or subgroups, within the entire network. These cliques (left of 6865, center, and right of 161382) are defined by their connections to external areas. These connections are created through associations with ceramics that are often not contemporaneous with the Gallina (Borck 2012: Table 1) and reveals units of affiliation within the Gallina area to outside regions.



*Figure 4: Two-mode social network for the Gallina region heartland, which is the entire region excluding the Mesa Portales and Jones Canyon regions. Square nodes are directions of production for non-local ceramics in the Gallina region and circular nodes are individual archaeological sites. Nodes are sized by their degree centrality scores. Archaeological sites are georeferenced and direction of production nodes are located at the corresponding point to their direction from the Gallina region. This map forms a memory map for Gallina area residents. The inverse of this is arguably a forgetting map that demonstrates that the Gallina were intent on severing connections to their recent past while building stronger connections to their imagined past.*

Figure 4 georeferences the Gallina heartland network from Figure 3 to create a map. Spatializing these networks palpably blurs the cliques from the non-georeferenced network map in Figure 3. I have previously argued that these non-local ceramics might be a product of curated items that were transmitted down-the-line (Borck 2012:36-37). While it is possible that a distribution pattern similar to Figure 4 could be a product of down-the-line trade (i.e., Renfrew 1975:41–44), it is improbable based on the temporal discontinuities between the Gallina phase and the (often earlier) foreign ceramics. This is especially true for many of the ceramics from the Gallina heartland originating to the northwest, west-southwest, and south.



*Figure 5: Two-mode social network for archaeological sites in the Mesa Portales and Jones Canon localities. Square nodes are directions of production for non-local ceramics in the Gallina region and circular nodes are individual archaeological sites. Nodes are sized by their degree centrality scores. Rose diagram indicates the direction of production of the combined percentage of all non-local ceramics present in both the Mesa Portales and Jones Canyon sites.*

The different network shapes and the varying importance of different areas of production between the Mesa Portales locale, the Jones Canyon locale (Figure 5), and the Gallina heartland (Figures 3 and 4) reinforces that these networks are unlikely to be products of a

down-the-line exchange system. At minimum, this type of exchange cannot account for the shape of all three networks. A down-the-line model should create similarly structured two-mode networks for each of these localities with varying levels of centrality for each of the directions of ceramic production across the networks. The expectation would be that if the ceramics are moving by similar processes through the Gallina highlands, then neighboring localities should be engaged in similar practices (i.e., Mesa Portales, Jones Canyon, and the southern portion of the Gallina heartland should primarily be linked to the south, southwest, and west-southwest ceramic production directions). This does not appear to be the case between the Gallina heartland, Mesa Portales, and Jones Canyon, though. Some other social behavior is patterning the archaeological record, which, as I will discuss shortly, is likely related to a previously unrecognized social movement.

These network analyses expose dramatically different patterns between the Gallina heartland and the Mesa Portales and Jones Canyon localities that allow us to analytically isolate the former. In fact, they demonstrate that very dissimilar ceramic procurement or curation behaviors are actually occurring at all three localities. Significantly, with the “ceramic noise” emanating from Mesa Portales and with Jones Canyon separated from the Gallina heartland, new patterns of differentiation are apparent in the latter (i.e., Figure 2 compared to Figure 3). In most instances in the Gallina heartland, these patterns can be attributed to curated foreign ceramics found in Gallina households.

*Table 1: Periods and phases in and near the Gallina area. Dates compiled from Borck 2012, Bremer 2013, Simpson 2008, and Charles et al. 2006.*

Pecos Period	Date Range	Phase Dates
Basketmaker II (BMII)	300 B.C. – A.D. 450	Los Pinos (A.D. 200 – 550)
Basketmaker III (BMIII)	A.D. 400 – 700	Sambrito (A.D. 550 – 700)
Pueblo I (PI)	A.D. 700 – 950	Rosa (A.D. 700 – 850) Piedra (A.D. 850 – 950)
Pueblo II (PII)	A.D. 950 – 1150	Arboles (A.D. 950 – 1100) Chimney Rock (A.D. 1050 - 1125)
Pueblo III (PIII)	A.D. 1150 – 1350	Gallina (A.D. 1100 – 1300)

### **Spatialized Two-Mode Networks as Memory Maps**

To make sense of these networks and how they relate to a social movement, it is first vital to understand that the ceramics comprising the networks were coiled in distant lands and painted with designs referencing previous social norms. Literally, embedded within the very matrix of these ceramics is the composition of a foreign place. In this view, the sherds from the Gallina heartland become not simply 2 percent of the ceramic assemblage; they become pieces of places (Bradley 2000, cited in Constan 2011:153). They demonstrate an attachment to a previous place, to diverse histories. By creating connections to other places and spatially locating the network this produces, the sherds in the Gallina heartland produce what amounts to a memory map that links the people who lived in the Gallina region to their past. They also, as I will discuss shortly, reveal an ancient act of social forgetting that helped lay the foundation for a social movement.

As researchers working in the Gallina region have noted, it is unlikely that the foreign ceramics in the area reveal direct trade with foreigners (Borck 2012:37,42; Constan 2011:171). The network analyses in this study, excepting the Jones Canyon locality, support that argument. Likewise, there is compelling evidence for a taboo against exchange (at least of ceramics) with contemporaneous groups based on the conspicuous and acute shortage of contemporary foreign ceramics in the Gallina archaeological record. Yet some people felt compelled to curate these possibly taboo objects. Why then do these foreign ceramics exist in an otherwise local assemblage? Why would people curate these ceramics, particularly since most taboos have some type of censure attached to them (e.g., Sahlins 2013; Valeri 2000)?

Memory as a history-making practice can help answer these questions. Building on Halbwachs' (1992) foundational work on the social context of memory, research on the topic is now truly interdisciplinary and takes place in literature, history, sociology, psychology, and anthropology (Mills and Walker 2008:5). Archaeologists, especially those who work without documentary data, have found memory to be a useful way to understand history-making practices (Hendon 2014:6749), the construction of social life (Giddens 1984), and the production and reproduction of social order (Connerton 1989).

Connerton's (1989) work has been particularly useful for archaeologists, because he ties two different memory-making practices to material culture. The first, inscribed memory or inscription practices, he essentially argues is text. Others have since expanded the definition of inscription practices to include modifications to the landscape and the built environment (e.g., Igoe 2004). Connerton's second memory practice, incorporation, embodies memory in physical activity — such as in ritual ceremonies — and has been an important concept for

archaeologists (Hendon 2014:6748) attempting to understand history- and memory-making practices of groups without text. While Connerton's concepts of incorporating and inscribing practices are useful, they can actually be limiting to archaeologists. They often create a false dichotomy in which groups practicing inscription have history (the act persists after the activity in the form of writing) and those using incorporating practices do not since the act persists only as long as the incorporating practice is performed (*sensu* Hendon 2014:6748).

This false binarization of memory-making practices is contested by Bloch who uses multiple case studies to demonstrate that there is no single way to inscribe memory on the world (Bloch 1998:80–81). While Bloch is focused on demonstrating that different cultures use objects as markers of the past, the implicit point that there are more ways than literature to inscribe memory is hard to miss. For Bloch, and many others, material culture and the landscape act as objects that can have memory inscribed upon them (Bloch 1998; Connerton 1989; Igoe 2004; Kwint 1999; Lowenthal 1985). The philosopher Robert Wilson (2005) emphasizes that memory not only can be inscribed on objects, but that these objects may actually be a necessary part of memory practices. In many ways, this parallels Webb Keane's (2003) argument that material objects are made meaningful when their physical form is bundled with other attributes. While, as Mills and Walker noted (2008:20), Keane did not explicitly historicize the bundling of attributes and object, bundling can act as a way to infuse material objects with historical meanings.

And so we see that objects can become infused with memory. In fact, treating objects as pieces of memory is common within many indigenous traditions in the U.S. Southwest. For example, in the Hopi region, a native advisor for Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2006:153) refers to archaeological artifacts as memory pieces. This seems to be especially true when they are picked up and reintroduced into the behavioral chain by later people. Objects of any size can be containers of social memory (Hendon 2000:46), but ceramic sherds are portable and, importantly for the Gallina case study, easily hidden. As pieces of inscribed memory, these orphaned sherds become not simply a heated mix of water, clay, and aplastic inclusions. They become pieces of history (*sensu* Bradley 2000).

In the Gallina heartland (Figure 3), where the basic pattern is for an individual site to be associated with sherds originating from only one direction, these sherds may represent fragments of other places and other times, fragments of a household's history, a family's social memory inscribed onto a portable artifact, like the license plate from your home state hanging on the wall in your garage. As inscribed memory, these ceramic pieces reveal the previous lives and places of the ancestors of the households in which they were found, and suggest that this history was important enough to people within that household to break a possible taboo.



Since many of these ceramics were made earlier than the time that they were deposited, the structure of the two-mode network for the Gallina heartland (Figure 3) might best be accounted for if we view these ceramic sherds as memory markers, which, combined with their spatial relationship in Figure 4, creates what amounts to a memory map. Viewed in this context, these two-mode networks become much more important than simply demonstrating heterogeneity in the Gallina ceramic assemblage. Instead, when these spatialized networks are viewed as memory maps, these two-mode networks become networks of historical affiliations, maps of directions from which at least some of the people living in the Gallina region originated.

When evaluated as memory maps, the network of the Gallina region that excludes Mesa Portales and Jones Canyon (Figure 3) supports the argument that the Gallina originated in the Four Corners (Bremer 2013; Simpson 2008, 2010), although it increases the distance which at least a few of these households may have traveled. However, the Gallina affiliation network in Figure 3 slightly muddies our concepts of Gallina origins because it includes three groupings. Instead of one or two migration events from the northwest and north during the Rosa-Piedra periods, these groupings instead suggest that at least a few of the founding households in the Gallina region came from other areas. This becomes more evident when the similarity between Gallina tri-notched and Virgin Anasazi basal-notched axes is taken into account (Borck and Medeiros in prep.).

Finally, the southern sites in the Jones Canyon area are a fusion of Cibolan and Gallina attributes. This mixture and the presence of foreign ceramics in the south that appear to be taboo based on their conspicuous near-absence (Fowles 2008) in the Gallina heartland, provide hints of what might be described as the Gallina Ordnung. While it would be difficult to empirically demonstrate an instance of Gallina expulsion, or *Meidung*, the dramatic difference between both the density and content of the Jones Canyon network and the network for the rest of the Gallina region hints at the presence of an Ordnung within the Gallina heartland that is not present within the Jones Canyon locality. Simply put, this type of interaction network, so close to the Gallina heartland, highlights that something more than just geographic isolation was keeping these ceramics from moving into the center of the Gallina territory. Since the archaeological sites within Jones Canyon are a heterogeneous mix of Cibolan and Gallina material culture, it would stand to reason that the Gallina living in this area were no longer following the Ordnung of their peers to the north.

The difference in types and amounts of foreign ceramics between the Gallina heartland and the Jones Canyon and Mesa Portales regions is striking. So striking, in fact, that it underscores the lack of foreign ceramics in the former. This absence is anything but odd though when the ceramics are treated as pieces referencing places of the past, as objects of inscribed memory.

Since social memory usually reinforces social order (Connerton 1989), erasing that social memory can serve to undermine hegemonic social institutions and structures. Thus a social movement in deep history would appear as a dramatic change in how a group interacted with and represented their past, through “more or less subtle resignification of existing views and memory-laden objects, to the complete erasure of the past and its practical referents, followed by the invention of a new tradition” (Mills and Walker 2008:219).

The memory map displayed in Figure 4 may demonstrate an attempt by the Gallina to erase their past and its material referents. The sherds that create this memory map do not exhibit this erasure though; rather it is the contrast between sites with these sherds and those heartland sites in which these sherds are conspicuously absent (*sensu* Fowles 2008) that demonstrate an attempt at erasing history in deep history. We know that forgetting is as much a process of memory work as remembrance (Bloch 1998; Forty and Kuchler, ed. 1999; Mills 2008). It is unsurprising that it happens. It is, however, often significant.

Physical manifestations of memory are permanent, mnemonic devices that are valuable in identity politics. This corporeality is why they are often targeted for destruction when one group is attacking another groups’ sense of self (Arnold 2013:2443). These destructive acts of forgetting have been used to “break off the people’s link with the past” (Sauer 2003:162). This is not always done as an attack on another group, however. For instance, during the French Revolution, revolutionaries used the destruction of imagery and iconography to break off their connection with their recent feudal and hierarchical past (Sauer 2003). Thus destructive acts of forgetting need not be simply about erasure. They can also be used to harness creative forces (Arnold 2013:2446). As Maurice Halbwachs (1992) argues, memory provides groups with a sense of belonging, of history, and of identity. He also describes a strong connection between memory and place in the second half of *On Collective Memory*. Since memory is a social practice (Halbwachs 1992), the physical process of forgetting the past can serve to reveal instances when an entire group of people attempted to renegotiate their past, to cut ties to their historical places, by removing pieces of the past from their lives. This erasure is especially important for groups attempting to forge a new sense of identity. These memory maps (Figure 3 and 4) of the Gallina heartland reveal a pattern consistent with a group of people systematically forgetting their past—a pattern of forgetting that is common during revolutionary social movements. Put simply, if the inhabitants of the Gallina heartland were not engaged in an act of forgetting, then there should be far more foreign ceramics in their archaeological record.

## **The Shape of a Social Movement**

Successful social movements can dramatically change the organization of political power. Political organization in particular can be examined by analyzing the built environment. For instance, determining if building activities were coordinated at a supra household level can help establish whether communities were under a centralized leadership of some form. In the U.S. Southwest, this is often exhibited with the presence of traits such as shared wall azimuths and the alignment of room blocks (e.g., Liebmann 2006:238,260). These traits appear when an organized labor pool was coordinated under some form of centralized leadership at, minimally, the community level (Liebmann 2006:381).

Anthropology has a long history of investigating how the built environment reflects, or embeds, cultural rules and conventions (Doxtater 1984; Giddens 1984; Hillier and Hansen 1984; Lawrence and Low 1990; Rapoport 1976). How public and architectural space structures the social relationships of the people building, living, and sleeping within the architecture emerged from this research (Bourdieu 2007; Hayden 1997; Lefebvre 1991; Rapoport 1982). The relationship between architecture and society is recursive and informs social interactions (Durkheim 2014; Dear and Wolch 2014; Mauss 2013). Researchers have used this recursive relationship with the built environment to study group cosmology, identity, and social structure, all of which are coded into the built environment when a group interacts with space and constructs architecture. Thus, the built environment can “be understood in terms of power or authority – as efforts to assume, extend, resist, or accommodate it” (Wells 1986:9–10). Likewise, Gwendolyn Wright (1991), while studying French colonial architecture, maintained that environmental regulation can demonstrate hierarchical power relations; something Lefebvre described over two decades ago as well (Lefebvre 1991).

Additionally, since control of ritual is a principal route to power and a significant means to sanction unequal power relationships in groups with otherwise egalitarian leanings (Aldenderfer 2010; Bloch 1991; Burns and Laughlin 1979; Curet 1996; Kropotkin 1972; Schachner 2001; Turner 1992), the level of ritual hierarchy, or the centralization of control of ritual knowledge, within a community should be observable through architecture as well. Since ritual organization affects social organization (e.g., Adams 1991; Potter and Perry 2000; Schachner 2001), and social organization affects spatial organization (Giddens 1984; Hillier and Hansen 1984; Rapoport 1982), observing ritual organization can be accomplished by examining community organization.

To observe ritual, and thus political, organization through community organization, I use Clark's (1997) Room Contiguity Index (RCI). The RCI distinguishes spatial practices through an

analysis of shared walls. It ranges from 2 to 4. The lower numbers reflect more contiguous spatial organization and, for the purpose of this analysis, higher degrees of centralization of power and reduced household autonomy. The index rarely falls below 2.4, since contiguous rooms will always have some outside walls.

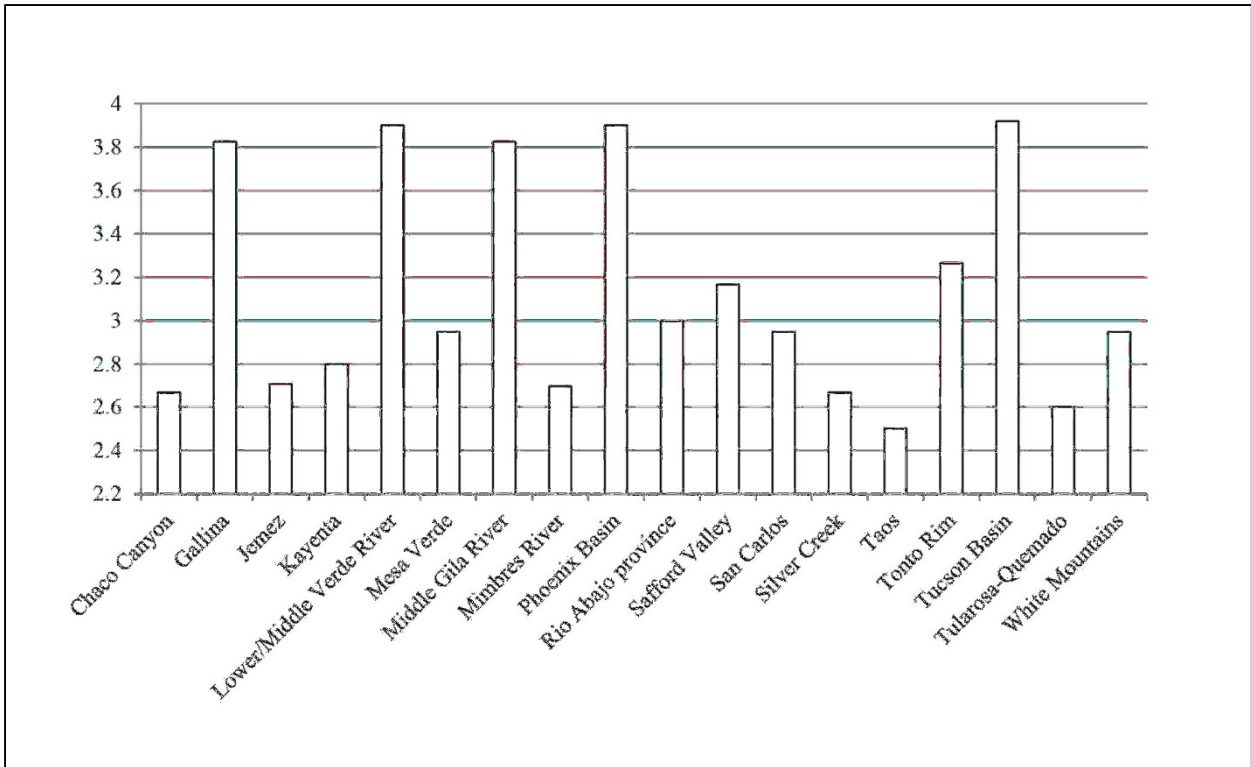


Figure 6: Histogram of average Room Contiguity Indexes (RCI) in the U.S. Southwest across multiple regions.

Figure 6 is an examination of the average RCI for sites in regions across the Southwest during the late A.D. 1100s through the A.D. 1300s. The average Gallina RCI is above 3.8, comparable with contemporaneous groups in the Lower/Middle Verde River, Middle Gila River, Phoenix Basin, and the Tucson Basin. The fact that all of the contemporaneous groups with similar RCIs dwell in residential compound type architecture is indicative of the underlying spatial organizational properties Clark was capturing when he created the RCI to demonstrate how different groups conceive of and use social space (1997:259). More specifically, this concept is capturing whether a group's habitus is expressed through dispersed or cohesive spatial organization. This is also why the RCI for northern Pueblo migrant construction in the southern Southwest is so different from the southern Hohokam compound architecture. This difference is apparent when you examine the many groups in the southern Southwest with RCIs over 3.8. A few, such as Safford Valley, drop into lower RCI values because northern

migrants were constructing Pueblo-like room blocks in the region (Figure 6). In the north, though, the values seldom exceed 3, the value associated with linear arrangements of contiguous rooms.

The Gallina, because of their acephalous community spatial organization, are a notable exception in the northern Southwest. The Gallina departure from Pueblo construction standards is more apparent when the RCI is compared through time in the northern Southwest (Figure 7). Viewed in this way, the RCI traces a path through time toward centralization and aggregation that begins with a dispersed pattern of spatial organization in the Basketmaker II period. When put into this historical perspective, the Gallina settlement form is much more representative of the Basketmaker II and III periods than of any northern spatial organization thereafter. In fact, the remarkable social reorganization during the pithouse-to-pueblo transition is startling when comparing RCIs across the Basketmaker III–Pueblo I divide. Even the massive aggregation at the beginning of the Pueblo IV period fails to produce such a scale of difference. Viewed from an RCI perspective, the pithouse-to-pueblo transition was a dramatic societal rupture in how people thought that social space, and thus community, should be organized. More importantly, the pithouse-to-pueblo transition appears to be a social chasm the Gallina were not willing to bridge.

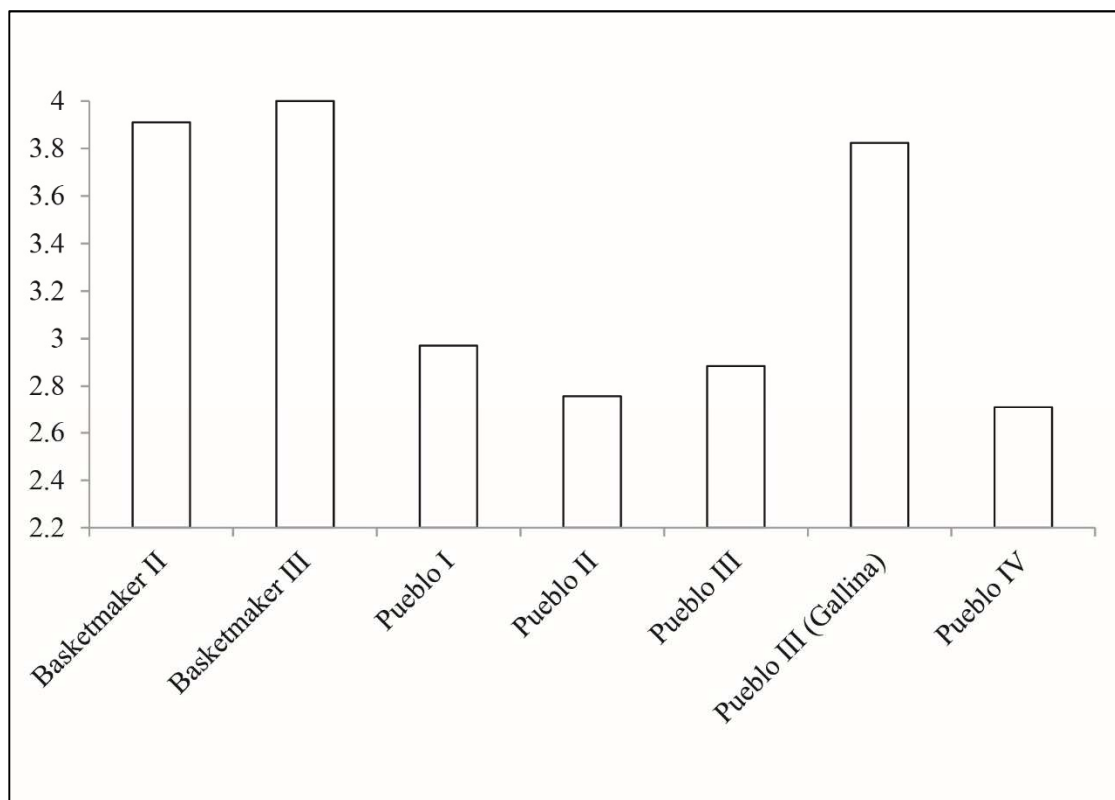


Figure 7: Histogram of average RCI across temporal periods in the northern U.S. Southwest from approximately 1500 B.C. to A.D. 1500.



While an argument could be made that the Gallina were simply living in a style most logical for dispersed populations to live in, it would miss a number of important factors. These include that Gallina the archaeological record, while dispersed, still has well over 2,000 structural sites. It would also not explain the clear difference in the use of sacred and secular space between the Gallina population and their neighbors. While the environment certainly plays a factor in how societies emerge and change, it is hard to imagine a society that evolves a new religious movement simply because it moves into a less populated region. And yet this is exactly what happened after people moved into the Gallina region.

The Gallina formed and maintained a non-specialized and decentralized ritual system in which each domestic structure was likely used for ritual purposes (Dick 1980:61; Green 1956:193; Pattison 1968:126–127). This opposes the contemporary trend in the northern Southwest that saw an increase in specialized structures as domestic and ritual space was sundered (or in the case of Mesa Verde where some structures are specialized for habitation and others were both ritual and domestic). Figure 7 establishes that Gallina community, ritual, and political structure stretches across that great Basketmaker III to Pueblo I divide. In a very real way, the Gallina used architecture and community layout to restructure their society – much like the communitarian utopian social movements of the late 1800s and the 1960s that sought to rectify what they saw as broken social and political systems in the United States by using architecture to mold the social and political order within their communities (Hayden 1976). For the Gallina, the community restructuring seems to have been a direct reference to the distant past and a critique of the social and ritual practices of their neighbors.

### **Gallina as a Revitalization Movement?**

Considering the above lines of evidence, we can infer the presence of a social movement that built an ideology within which the Gallina thrived for a few centuries. The evidence indicates a clear difference from the increasing hierarchy and aggregation occurring contemporaneously in much of the rest of the northern Southwest (Figure 7). The lack of specialized sacred structures in the Gallina region points to the religious autonomy of their households and their attempt to stitch secular and religious space back together. More importantly, the idea that sacred and secular space should not be separated was adopted by many people.

A Gallina social movement that rejected the schism between the sacred and secular in the northern Southwest is similar to Wallace's vision of a revitalization movement because (1) a

worldview was reformulated and then (2) the message spread. Unlike Wallace's revitalization movements, however, there is no indication that the Gallina movement was organized top down. Quite the opposite is indicated by the archaeological record. Based on the acephalous nature of Gallina society and the lack of centralized leadership as revealed through the highly dispersed, unplanned nature of the community spatial organization, this movement appears to have been decentralized. While we often have difficulty in modern times conceiving of any sort of mass movement or political organization without direct leadership, history is rich with examples (e.g. Angelbeck and Grier 2012; Flexner 2014; Fowles 2010; Froese et al. 2014; Graeber 2004, 2011; Sauer 2003; Scott 2012). The modern world too holds examples from Occupy Wall Street to the Arab Spring to the Zapatistas to the Aymara in Bolivia to the Democratic Confederalists in Rojava.

There are other similarities to Wallace's theory, though. The Gallina used migration and physical separation as an act of resistance to social processes in their earlier homeland (Wallace's point 4) or at the bare minimum to reject their former societal trajectory (and eventually their history). Based on the ceramic evidence, this physical separation may have even been upheld by similar cultural institutions as the Amish Ordnung, which is unsurprising since "social transformation is necessarily... a spatial project" (Springer et al. 2012:1593) — as well as a process of forgetting that facilitated the creation of a new group identity. All of these led to the transformation of the previous society (Wallace's point 5) whose worldview then became routinized (Wallace's point 6). We can infer this routinization through the length of time that the Gallina archaeological pattern existed (A.D. 1100 – 1300), the highly conservative nature of their ceramic production (Koehring 1948), their standardized architectural construction (Simpson 2010), and the likely presence of proscriptions demonstrated by the conspicuous lack of foreign ceramics in the Gallina heartland.

### **Gallina as an Atavistic Movement**

While there are similarities between the Gallina social movement and Wallace's types, there is at least one major difference. Revitalization movements are centralized and hierarchical, but the Gallina were in the midst of a social movement to reject hierarchy. Thus, the Gallina social movement was ordered in diametrically opposed forms of social and political organization to how revitalization movements are organized. Since Gallina society cannot be said to have emerged through a revitalization movement, then how did it come about? The process appears to be a social movement not yet defined in the archaeological literature (see Fowles 2010 for a similar discussion, though), but parallel to a revitalization movement.

For the purpose of this chapter, I am defining the Gallina social movement as an atavistic movement. Atavism is used to indicate the similarity in decentralized political tendencies between the current group and previous groups, tendencies which modern social scientists are starting to realize may actually be more complex than the many modern centralized and hierarchical political organizations (Boehm 2001; Fowles 2010; Clastres 1987). In view of that, I chose atavism to describe this type of movement to avoid a term associated with concepts like primitive, simple, or less complex and to facilitate the idea that culture moves more in a positive dialectic (Ruddick 2008) than in a progressive arc.

Atavistic movements, or atavistic resistance, have similar indicators as revivalistic revitalization movements (Harkin 2004; Wallace 1956, 2004). The one major exception is that revitalization movements are characterized by centralized leadership (Table 2). This is the hallmark distinction between these two forms of resistance — revitalization movements are top-down while atavistic movements are bottom-up. In the Southwest, the Pueblo Revolt revitalization movement and the Gallina atavistic movement exemplify this difference.

*Table 2: Attributes of revitalization movements versus atavistic movements.*

Attribute	Revitalization	Atavistic
Reformulate worldview	X	X
Spread message	X	X
Centralized organization	X	
Decentralized organization		X
Adapt to resistance	X	X
Cultural transformation	X	X
Routinization	X	X

Atavistic societies are products of cultural resistance, are politically decentralized, and appear during periods of stress. This stress can be produced by culture contact, periods of deprivation, as well as periods of overproduction and affluence. As with revitalization movements, stress occurs during intervals of deprivation as well as times when “horizons of possibility expand” (Martin 2004:67). Groups in the midst of atavistic movements may use purposeful isolation, traditional technologies and rituals, and invented traditions to produce connections with the past, both historical and constructed. Thus, unlike revitalization movements which can use connections with foreign goods or ideas and/or concepts of future salvation, another defining trait of atavistic movements is their reliance on a real or imagined past and their attempt to construct that past in the present. More importantly, and on a broader scale, atavistic social movements can be generators of historical change within

regions, such as indigenous North America, that see tension between hierarchical and egalitarian religious and political organizations.

## Conclusion

For this study, I reexamined the people who built lives for themselves in the Gallina region outside of the taxonomic “culture area” perspective, that paradigm of both the culture history and spatial approaches. While this perspective has sustained many critiques, most specifically for unintentionally obscuring details about the past (e.g., Plog and Hantman 1990), it can still be useful. It allows researchers to create manageable analyses from messy data and develop clear insights into the past. And yet it often obscures important variability that can answer intriguing social and cultural questions. To avoid this obfuscation and to discover new patterns and processes, I considered the past from a different perspective, specifically one that gives primacy to Gallina history instead of the history of their archaeologically prominent neighbors.

This centering of Gallina within their own history supports the call made by Herr and Harry in the opening chapter of this volume (the original publication) that regions that neighbor so-called core areas need to be viewed as more than just diluted copies of the “cores”. While the Gallina regions fits the definition for frontier laid out in the first chapter, I refrained from using that terminology and have instead focused on implementing Herr and Harry’s call to disarticulate the different versions of periphery and core terminology. These many terms almost always imply skewed dynamics between two areas with the end result that one region is treated as more historically important.

For this chapter then, to reverse the standard archaeological gaze and view the Gallina as active producers of history and not just recipients, I used geosocial networks and architectural patterning to explore potential patterns in the archaeological record through the lens of social movements. The case study was conducted at the community level. The community data was synthesized in a bottom up, diachronic, and cross-regional enquiry into the use of space, and use of markers of place, within and between Gallina communities. This minimized any oversights that could arise from “assumptions about the default scale at which identity operated in the past” (Bernardini 2005:35). By focusing on the community and regional level, previously unexplored heterogeneity within the Gallina region was highlighted within a network approach while homogeneity between Gallina community layout and Basketmaker period communities was emphasized (see also Simpson 2016).

With these analyses, I prioritized different aspects of the Gallina material culture and situated them within the larger regional milieu to establish that the Gallina were

knowledgeable actors rather than a people unaware of the changes happening around them. Thus, the Gallina are viewed as part of a historical continuum instead of merely within a spatially restricted culture area. From this perspective, they become much more than a culturally impoverished group who were pushed into poor resource areas at the margins of more demographically dense, culturally rich groups. Instead, when the non-local ceramics found in some Gallina households are interpreted as remnants of largely forgotten inscribed memory, they become a people with varied histories who chose to reject the northern Southwest's changing social landscape by systematically removing their place-based connections to that history and then reworking their political and ideological world.

In a recent interview with the Chicago Tribune (Trice 2014), while discussing how modern Native Americans have become culturally invisible in the United States, indigenous rapper Frank Waln stated that "we're a people with a past, not of the past." This is a process that he calls "symbolic annihilation." In many ways, the Gallina invert Waln's sentence. They were a people of the past, but without a past. By purposely removing objects that referenced their place-based past, they removed their recent history to focus more fully on the period of the distant past (the Basketmaker II period) that was their atavistic ideal. They simultaneously removed themselves from history while wrapping themselves in their own version of the past.

Most archaeological data suggests that the Gallina people likely descended from the earlier Rosa, Piedra, and Arboles phase groups (Bremer 2013; Simpson 2010; 2016; Table 1 this chapter), but this case study also suggests historical connections to more spatially and temporally diverse areas and people. In essence, the Gallina atavistic movement may have, to at least a small extent, started as a multi-ethnic social movement. However, this cultural heterogeneity is buried under the Gallina archaeological record's overwhelming architectural and material cultural standardization. That standardization supports the idea that strong social regulations structured how the Gallina made their ceramics (*sensu* Koehring 1948) and interacted with their environment, their neighbors, and each other. By taking a diachronic and network perspective, the Gallina become a people who chose their way in their world. Specifically, they decided to step out of a cultural and ideological trajectory diametrically opposed to their ideas on how life should be organized. These choices to reject contemporaneous ideologies may not be particularly rare either. Peebles and Mills, using different data, note possible examples of intentional isolation between major population clusters in the Zuni, Hopi, and Chacoan regions.

Once socially and historically situated, the Gallina highlands look more like a place of refuge for people who were rebelling against political, and religious changes in the northern Southwest than an area populated by simple folk unable to keep pace with their rapidly

changing neighbors. The Gallina region suddenly becomes a much more complicated place. A diverse collection of people dedicated to creating a new community at the edges of their previous world, one with clear material connections to antecedent regional groups (e.g., Rosa and Piedra; see Simpson 2016) but with new architectural and artifactual forms (i.e., tri-notched axes and pointed bottom vessels). However, they are not a hybrid group like the colonial resisters Bhabha (1994) was describing when he redefined hybridity. Instead, as a product of their atavistic movement, they become hybrids through time. By appropriating the past for their own intentions, they become rebels in their present, temporal colonists.

What becomes important for understanding the Gallina then is not simply how they interacted with their neighbors, but how they interacted with their past. At a minimum, by emphasizing the most temporally and spatially stable parts of the Gallina archaeological record (e.g., community layout and decentralized control of ritual space) and how those parts connect to groups in the past, we are able to appreciate what may have been most important to the Gallina. This of course diverges from the typical approach of examining cultural areas and the past by looking at what is most different, but it enables us to observe the Gallina on their own terms as reflected through their material culture.

## Notes

I. UCINET was used to create these networks as well as to calculate the nodal degree centrality.

II. Only foreign ceramics were used for this study. Sites without provenience were removed. Griffin's site was removed from this analysis. Its ceramics were determined to be duplicates of III. Hibben's "foreign" ceramics, which have been shown to be local. LA 557 from Mera (1935) is georeferenced using site 657, the probable site Mera was writing about. The actual site LA 557 is in the Jornada region.

IV. This means that, for directions of production (events), the larger the node, the greater the number of archaeological sites that have relationships with it, or the greater the size of the event. You can think of this as which party has more people.

V. These maps of historical affiliation should not be confused with the cultural affiliation language prominent within NAGPRA legislation.

VI. This process is also visible in Pueblo societies (Adams 1991; Brandt 1994; Levy 1992; Ortiz 1969; Potter 1997; Potter and Perry 2000; Saitta 1997; Schachner 2001).



VII. The Gallina region does include at least one type of specialized structure, which is the tower (Hibben 1948). They do not seem to be specialized ritual structures however and more often than not have empty floors or have been repurposed as storage structures.

VIII. There are approximately 2200 structural sites assigned to the Gallina phase in the New Mexico Cultural Resource Information System.

IX. Compare this against the planned spatial organization of pueblos, which exhibited evidence of strong centralized leadership, immediately following the Pueblo Revolt revitalization movement (Liebmann et al. 2005).

X. Interestingly, Wallace actually argues that the top down organization is supposed to become politically institutionalized. Since this did not occur with the Amish, and instead an egalitarian and decentralized political organization became the norm, the Amish might be more correctly argued to be an atavistic movement instead of a revitalization movement (at least if you exclude the disparity in power between genders and ages). At minimum, it demonstrates that to be successful, social movements should be fluid.

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