AGENCY AND POLITICS IN HUNTER-GATHERER TERRITORY FORMATION

AGÊNCIA E POLÍTICA NA FORMAÇÃO TERRITORIAL DE CAÇADORES-COLETORES

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ABSTRACT

Discussions of territoriality in prehistory that link ownership, exclusion, and privilege to the development of complex social systems are seldom relevant for explaining hunter-gatherer territorial organization. It is necessary, therefore, to address hunter-gatherer territoriality from a perspective that is uniquely tailored to their land use patterns, social networks, and political agencies. By building a model of territory formation that explicitly incorporates mobility and other key aspects of hunter-gatherer lifeways, this article demonstrates that political territoriality is present at the time of first arrival of a human group into an uninhabited area, developing and expanding through time. A brief example from the initial colonization of North America illustrates main points.

KEY WORDS: territory formation, hunter-gatherers, Paleoindian, agency, mobility

RESUMO

Discussões sobre territorialidade na pré-história que ligam propriedade, exclusão e privilégio ao desenvolvimento de sistemas sociais complexos são raramente relevantes para explicar a organização territorial de caçadores-coletores. Portanto, é necessário abordar a territorialidade de caçadores-coletores de uma perspectiva que é exclusivamente voltada para seus padrões de usufruto da terra, para suas redes sociais e para a agência política dos mesmos. Através da construção de um modelo de formação territorial que incorpora, de forma explicita, a mobilidade e outros elementos chaves referentes aos modos-de-vida dos caçadores-coletores, este artigo demonstrará que políticas de territorialidade encontram-se presentes desde o momento da primeira chegada de um grupo humano a uma área desabitada, expandindo-se e desenvolvendo-se através do tempo. Um breve exemplo da colonização inicial da América do Norte ilustrará os pontos principais.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: formação territorial, caçadores-coletores, agência, paleoindio, mobilidade

INTRODUCTION

The geography of hunter-gatherer organization is one of the pillars of anthropological theory; for over a century it has been a major source of substantive debate and methodological innovation. Regardless of whether the research focus is on evolutionary ecology (Bettinger, 1991; Winterhalder and Smith, 1981), early colonization of continents (Meltzer, 2009), transition to agriculture (Price and Gerbauer, 1995), interethnic relationships (Kent, 2002), social complexity (Arnold, 1996; Chapman, 2003; Sassaman, 2004) or ancient and modern state formation (Layton, 2001; Wolf, 1981), the interest in understanding long-term evolutionary trends in human society inevitably brings scholars to take yet another look at the theoretical and empirical foundation that hunter-gatherer organization provides.

Territoriality is one such recurrent theme in hunter-gatherer research; its enduring significance in anthropology responds to the need to understand human society's deep past as well as to document the land-rights struggle that hunter-gatherers have faced since the advent of colonialism. Elsewhere, Zedeño (1997:69; 2008:211) defined territory as the aggregate of land, natural resources, and human modifications, and territoriality as the sum of actions and emotions toward a specific space, with emphasis toward influence, control, and differential access. Both operational definitions are integral to a discussion of hunter-gatherer organization: the former treats land, resources, and facilities as discrete but interwoven components to which mobile hunters may attach in peculiar ways, while the later identifies key connections between land and resource use and group identity and sovereignty. In this paper, we update Zedeño's earlier models of landscape and territory formation to contribute to historical and contemporary debates on hunter-gather territoriality from a perspective of political agency, which highlights the role of hunter-gatherers as actors and transformers of the landscape. We advocate the position that land-based decision-making processes and solutions to problems of social and cultural reproduction among past hunter-gatherers may be profitably addressed from the perspective of structured agency in order to explain persistence and change of hunter-gatherer traditions.

The article begins with a brief recapitulation of approaches to hunter-gatherer land tenure and territoriality as a means to introduce an agency- and landscape-based model of hunter-gatherer territory formation. The basic structure and process of territory formation that pertain to a hunter-gatherer landscape ethos is then outlined, with particular attention to the practice of creating permanent and defensible attachments to places while at the same time safeguarding the option to move about the land, use it, and dispose of it at will. This model is illustrated with a examples from the peopling of North America during the terminal Pleistocene and early Holocene.

DEBATING HUNTER-GATHERER TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

In two landmark reviews of hunter-gatherer research, Kelly (2007) and Binford (2001) note that models of territorial organization have been alternatively favored, rejected, and modified in an effort to derive clear patterns from the vast range of observed variation in land and resource use. Debates have often centered on whether or not extant hunter-gatherer societies whose territorial organization may derive from the interaction with nation-states actually furnish a valid analog to

pre-contact hunter-gatherers (e.g., Wilmsen, 1989; papers in Leacock and Lee, 1982; cf. Winterhalder and Smith, 1981), and whether differences in the scale at which modern observations of human-land interaction are made can be overcome in order to explain long-term trends in hunter-gatherer lifeways (Papagiani et al., 2008). While these debates have never been fully resolved, the allure of modeling the past through the integration of archaeological and ethnographic data continues to prevail, particularly when research focuses on the material expressions of mobile hunter-gatherer territorial strategies and boundary maintenance (e.g., Binford, 1980; 2001; Gamble and Boismier, 1991; Guenther, 1981; Kelly, 2003; 2007; Jones, 1997; Parkinson, 2006; Peterson, 1979; Sampson, 1988; Stark and McAdams, 1998; Zvelebil, 1997).

Although the overwhelming theoretical thrust of studies of hunter-gatherer resource use, land tenure, and territoriality is on evolutionary and behavioral ecology (e.g., Bettinger, 1991; Casimir and Rao, 1992; Dyson-Hudson and Smith, 1978; Eerkens, 1999; Kelly, 2007; Kornfeld, 2003; Winterhalder and Smith, 1981; Surovell, 2000), a growing interest in the emergence of hunter-gatherer complexity has brought a host of other facets of land and resource use to bear on the issue of territorial organization; in particular, the dynamics of unequal access to vital resources and its social and political consequences (e.g., Ames, 1991; Arnold, 1996; Fitzhugh, 2003; Prentiss and Kuijt, 2004; Price and Brown, 1985; Sassaman, 2004). These studies expand the sociopolitical dimensions of human-land interaction of past and present foragers, offering a fresh processual take on social evolution because they demonstrate that hunter-gatherer trajectories do not preclude the development of territoriality.

Yet another approach derives from landscape theory (e.g., Anschuetz et al., 2001; Ashmore and Knapp, 1999; Tilley, 1994; Zedeño, 2000), and focuses on conceptualizing human attachment to land and resources and its implications for the emergence of territorial identities. Its central tenet is that hunters on the move engage the surrounding landscape through sequences of actions that simultaneously recapitulate and transform prior use and inscription practices (Joyce and Lopiparo, 2005:365). Through time, this structured agency gives rise to an enculturated landscape, which embodies the mapping and anchoring-in-place of individual choices, social relations of production, politics of resource access, ritual acts, and social memory (e.g., Basso, 1996; Myers, 1991; Oetelaar and Oetelaar, 2006; Pickering, 2003; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Zvelebil, 1997; Zedeño, 1997; Zedeño and Bowser, 2009). This theoretical perspective is holistic in that it treats all aspects of human-land-resource interaction—and specifically those leading to the formation of territories and territorial identities—as reflective of an evolving "ethos" that is exercised at various scales, from individual behavior to collective coordinated experience; and from mythical time to single documented events.

Conventional reconstructions of territoriality generally focus on boundary marking and maintenance, perimeter defense, exclusion, and aggression, all of which are the final product of territory formation (see review by Zedeño, 1997; 2008). Alternatively, cultural landscape models support the notion that the origin of hunter-gatherer territorial organization can be best understood not by looking at boundaries (which may be irrelevant among hunters of migratory prey), but by examining the temporal and spatial constitution of territorial "cores" to which people become attached and eventually appropriate, and at the pathways that

connect cores to one another and to perimeters. Our approach thus incorporates mobility as intrinsic to territory formation and territorial identity (also Oetelaar, 2006; Gillespie, 2007). The focus on attachment to land and resource cores is not new to the study of animal and human territories (e.g., Burt, 1943; Pitelka, 1959; Kaufman, 1971, cited in Ingold, 1987:132), but unfortunately it has not been looked at from the perspective of political relevance. As Turner (1979:206) notes, the main political problems mobile hunters must solve is how to reconcile mobility with the need to retain land rights and to plan for the future, and how to provide a sense of continuity in land and resource use practices that sustain individual and group identity. We address precisely the sequences of actions that lead to the solution of such political problems.

In the model that follows, we update and expand the concept of core and its applications, and demonstrate that hunter territories and territorial identities materialize from the cumulative effect of actions and emotions toward land and rights of access to, as well as use and disposal of, core places and resources. To this effect, we apply the concept of investment to the identification of material expressions of territory formation. While cultural landscape models are necessarily informed by ethnographic analogy, we also argue that the time-averaged archaeological record of long-term cultural trajectories offers important clues for unpacking the dynamics of pre-contact territorial identities, which classic ethnographies and actualistic studies do not provide.
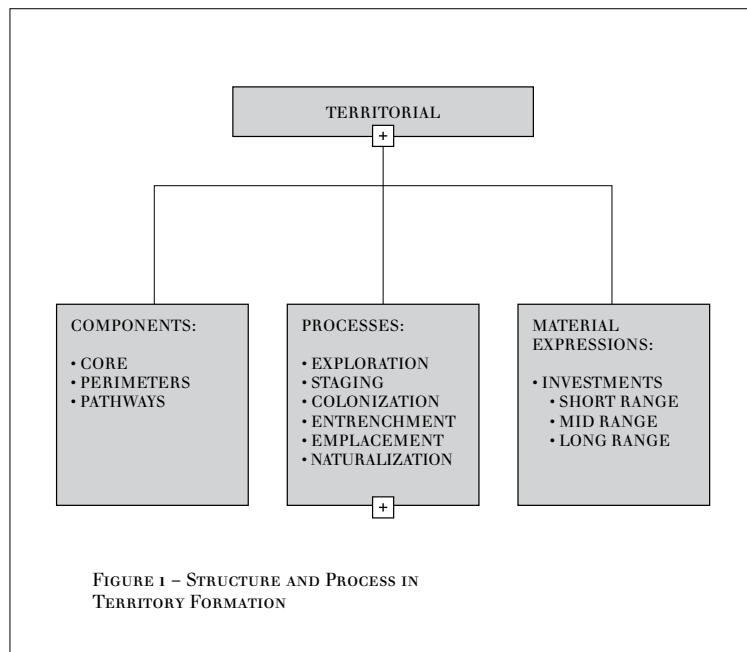
POLITICAL TERRITORIES AND THE EVOLVING LANDSCAPE ETHOS

The creation of an outline of hunter territory formation as abstract as the one presented here requires a consideration of the hunter ethos, or body of shared principles,

dispositions, and practices deployed by hunters in response to predictable and unpredictable conditions affecting prey and place (Zedeño, 2010). Deployment is not merely adaptive or reactive; on the contrary, ontologies and practices underlie land-based decision-making processes at various scales. In his discussion of the repopulation of Western Europe after the last ice age, Tolan-Smith (2003:118) observes that the ethos manifests itself during the initial colonization and expansion of human groups into uninhabited landscapes, thus generating a distinctive blueprint that may be identified materially across vast areas. To his observation we further add that the hunter ethos informs the processual history of a territory, because it is deeply embedded in the sequences of practices that hunters engage in as they become increasingly familiar with, and attached to, colonized environments. The landscape ethos tends to both sustain tradition and change, sometimes dramatically, once territorial identities emerge as god-given rights to land (Zedeño et al., 2009, Figure 1). Although examples of territorial blueprints have been discussed at length in the literature of ancient state formation and imperial expansion (e.g., Bintliff, 1999; Mantha, 2009; Parker, 2006; Schortman and Urban, 1992), they have also been found among prehistoric and historic hunters (e.g., Oetelaar and Oetelaar, 2006; Zedeño and Stoffle, 2003; Zvelebil, 1997).

STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

Directly associated with the landscape ethos and its territorial blueprint are the structural components of territories–cores, perimeters, and pathways. Territorial cores are those aspects of the enculturated landscape created through replicative and transformative practices that people recognize as "tradition" (Pauketat, 2001). These practices may include peculiarities of resource exploitation (e.g., seasonality, hunting rituals), certain

Figure 1 – Structure and Process in Territory Formation

ces (those associated with origin stories, mythical beings, and historical events) (e.g., Basso, 1996; Brody, 1997; Oetelaar and Oetelaar, 2006; Tacon, 2008; Zvelebil, 1997). In other words, cores are physical repositories of historical memory and territorial identity even after a group has permanently relocated.

Perimeters, on the other hand, coincide with the periphery of historical and experiential knowledge held by members of the mobile hunter group; they embody the creation of mental images of the landscape through traveling, story-telling, and dreaming, and the perception of supernatural forces and entities that inhabit the land. Through time, cores can become defensible properties, thus lending perimeters a geographically and politically relevant presence. Among mobile hunter-gatherers, territorial cores are usually task or resource specific, discrete, functionally differentiated, seasonally utilized, and variously distributed across large areas. Thus, delineating defensible perimeters around outer cores may be impractical if these are located in joint use areas with permeable boundaries. It is also important to consider that perimeters defined through knowledge and experience may not encompass a contiguous territory wherein cores are located, but sets of discrete or intersecting areas connected to one another through human and animal avenues of movement.

PATHWAYS

Pathways, or avenues of movement, are the material links that connect people to territorial cores such as sacred sites, living areas, and resource locales, as well

uses of physiographic features (e.g., use of rock ledges to bury the dead), construction of distinctive facilities such as drive lines and tool caches, selection of sites for vision quests and group ceremonies, and inscription of memories on the land.

Behavioral-ecological models emphasize the distribution and structure of staple subsistence resources as responsible for shaping hunter gatherer social and territorial organization (e.g., Bettinger, 1991; Binford, 2001:160-204; Kelly, 2007:163-181; Peterson, 1979; Winterhalder and Smith, 1981). While this is certainly the case, the structure and distribution of cores result from the totality of land and resource use behaviors, cognitive processes, and historical junctures that contribute to shape hunters' organization over time–hence their role in the emergence of blueprints and their value for unpacking territorial identities. We suggest that territorial cores encompass places and resources that are essential to the physical, social, and spiritual survival of a group, including extraction locales, campsites, public and ritual spaces, and storied pla-

as to perimeters. Understanding the relationship between pathways and territorial identity requires the isolation of three distinct but complementary aspects of landscape movement: behavior, memory, and control (Zedeño et al., 2009:109). Behavior refers to the act of moving and to all the interactions a traveler may engage in with people, nature, and the supernatural. Memory denotes the internalization of landscape knowledge acquired during movement, the inscription of old and new knowledge through symbols and stories, and the anchoring of places along frequently used trails (Golledge, 2003; Levinson, 1996; Lowenthal, 1975). And control is the deliberate manipulation of movement across a territory by designating routes, constructing key facilities along certain trails, and setting rights and regulations of trail use (Joyce et al., 2009; papers in Snead et al., 2009).

Pathways order human-land interactions in two ways: first they link cores sequentially and hierarchically, and, second, they determine the confines where people can engage repeatedly in particular experiences and activities (Zedeño and Stoffle, 2003:61). Pathways thus play a unique role in the construction of territorial identities because they foster connectivity and reinforce the right to move about the homeland, while at the same time providing a means to organize, delimit, and monitor movement (Ur, 2009). Equally important, pathways help to situate people, events, and stories in particular geographic contexts and temporal frames that ultimately contribute to the naturalization of territorial identity.

MATERIAL EXPRESSIONS: INVESTMENT

Even though scholars have identified and described numerous expressions of territoriality among historic and modern hunter-gatherer groups, in particular with respect to resource exploitation (see Barnard, 1988; Cashdan, 1983; Kelly, 2007; Turner, 1979), there is comparatively sparse analysis of the evolution of territorial identities and birth-rights. Part of the problem resides in a lack of consensus as to what a hunter's territory is and how it should be approached archaeologically. Ingold (1987:133) and Kelly (2007:163), for example, define territory rather narrowly as a political, defensible unit, and distinguish it from tenure as a broad expression of attachment to land. Ingold justifies this distinction by observing that territoriality is a form of communication about the location of people and dispersed resources in space whereas tenure is a form of appropriation over those resources. We argue that this distinction is arbitrary and not necessarily useful when viewed from a historical perspective, because both communication through the flow of people and information across the landscape and appropriation of cores are rationalized and intertwined in the landscape ethos that simultaneously informs territory formation and is transformed by it. Both communication and appropriation are materially expressed in the territorial blueprint in investments connected by pathways. By tracking changes in these material expressions, territorial blueprints and identities can be derived and inferences about past processes that underlie them can be made.

INVESTMENT

According to Zedeño and Ballenger (2009), social investment is the intergenerational commitment of individuals and groups to specific subsistence strategies, social networks, political actions, and religious practices that enculturate and modify the landscape. Among terrestrial hunters, investment results in the creation of conditions for permanence in particular areas even when occupation is seasonal or sporadic. The archaeological record of investment

is actually a record of persistent or recurrent occupation of territorial cores, delineation, maintenance, and transformation of perimeters, and movement between cores and from cores to perimeters over long-periods of time. Hunter territories incorporate short-range, mid-range, and long-range investments, all of which are, in turn, engaged in each occupation episode.

Short-range investments are the agencies and practices of hunters in the conduct of their daily lives, such as those represented archaeologically in single features, artifacts, and stratigraphic units. Short-range investments, for example, pervade in the archaeological record of populations who are exploring new areas. These investments accumulate through time to form time-averaged or palimpsest landscapes (Dooley, 2004; Oetelaar, 2006, Oetelaar and Oetelaar, 2006; Scheiber, 2008; Schlanger, 1992; Wandsnider, 1992). In conventional studies of hunter-gatherers, snapshots of an "instant present" provided by short-range investments are organized sequentially to recreate long-range, even millenary trends (Feit, 1994). Alternatively, a focus on landscape enculturation as a result of structured agency can help reconcile disparate scales by focusing on hunters' deliberate acts involving adjustments of present conditions and planning for an intermediate future.

Mid-range investments encompass social and political institutions that required periodic adjustments to accommodate internal and external factors affecting a hunter group (Walde, 2006). Mid-range investments are critical to the understanding of hunter organization because they mediate and regulate socio-economic relationships (e.g., sharing, reciprocity, gifting, redistribution, division of labor, unequal access) (Arnold, 1996). Mid-range investments are materially expressed in campsite layout; household size, shape, and internal space division; possession, exchange, and display of inalienable objects and other valua-bles; erection of in-life and after-death memorial monuments; and boundary marking.

Long-range investments are the technological, ecological, and ritual bodies of knowledge that represent the accumulated experience and historical memory of multiple (millennial) generations of hunters. These bodies of knowledge inform all stages of territory formation; however, corresponding investments are most consistently expressed and readily visible in the material record of well developed territorial cores where there is ecological manipulation (e.g., through fire), redundant and strategic resource mapping, artifact manufacture, and construction of a range of features and facilities, from caches to hunting features to shrines (Barsh and Marlor, 2003; Brink et al., 2003; Gillespie, 2007; Yellowhorn, 2002:152). In principle, it is possible to reconstruct the trajectory of territory formation through the temporal and spatial analysis of social investment as represented in cores, perimeters, and pathways.

PROCESSES OF TERRITORY FORMATION

We synthesize in broad strokes the essential processes of territory formation over time that pertain to a hunter landscape ethos, specifically, the process of creating permanent and defendable attachments to core places and resources while at the same time safeguarding the option to move about the land, use it, and dispose of it (Figure 2). The colonization of the North American continent during the terminal Pleistocene and early Holocene provides excellent examples of the processes discussed here.

The first securely identified and widely accepted inhabitants to arrive in North America during the terminal Pleistocene (about 11,500 RCYBP) belong to what is commonly called the Clovis culture (but see Adovasio, 1993; Bradley and Stanford, 2004; Dillehay, 1997; Goodyear, 2006). The initial movement of Paleoindian groups to and throughout the Ame-

ricas has been debated for over a century; common themes include the timing of initial arrival and settlement, routes, parent populations or cultural groups, mobility, and resource use, among others (e.g., Anderson and Gillam, 2000; Hoffecker et al., 1993; Kelly and Todd, 1988; 2009; Sellet, 1998; Torroni et al., 1991; Walthall, 1998). Archaeologists generally characterize Clovis as highly mobile, big-game hunters who spread throughout the Americas in relatively short period of time (Kelly and Todd, 1988) or whose technologies were widely adopted by sparse and scattered in situ pre-clovis populations (Waters and Stafford, 2007). Clovis hunters came to the continent with a coherent ontology that allowed them to readily establish relationships with places and resources in an unknown landscape with very few, if any, neighbors in sight. These relationships left a sparse but unmistakable imprint, evident in the highly selective use of raw materials (Goodyear, 1989), common tool types and toolkits (Meltzer, 1993), the pervasive use of red ocher in a variety of contexts (Roper, 1996), the construction of few but redundant facilities including tool caches (Frison, 1991b; Gillespie, 2007; Kilby, 2008; Meltzer, 2002 Stanford 1997);

wells (Haynes et al., 1999), and the ritualized burial of their dead (Morrow and Fiedel, 2006), among other land use trends.

The Clovis imprint insinuates the onset of a widespread process of landscape learning in the form of patterned place marking, wayfinding, and resource typing that characterized human-land interaction in the Paleoindian period (Meltzer 2009). Granted, this pattern varied in form and strategy from west to east and within a strikingly short period of time, but nonetheless it points to a very early mapping of particular places and resource zones scattered in a vast area, and thus provide an ideal starting point for outlining territorial processes.

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TIME	PROCESSES	INVESTMENTS
0	EXPLORATION (COMING INTO THE COUNTRY)	WAYFINDING: STAKES AND INSCRIPTION
1	STAGING (ASSESSING THE COUNTRY)	EVALUATING: EXTENDED OCCUPATION / USE OF ONE AREA OR KEY RESOURCE
2	COLONIZATION (RETURNING TO THE COUNTRY)	CORE FINDING: ESTABLISHMENT OF PERSISTENT PLACES
3	ENTRENCHMENT (PATTERNED RETURNS)	PLACE MAKING: DEVELOPMENT OF LAND-BASED RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS AROUND CORES
4	EMPLACEMENT (DEFINED AND CONTROLLED MOVEMENT)	PLACE BUILDING: DELIBERATE MODIFICATION OF THE LANDSCAPE AND FORMALIZATION OF PATHWAYS
5	NATURALIZATION (MORAL JUSTIFICATION FOR LAND AND OWNERSHIP)	PLACE KEEPING: CORE, PATHWAY AND PERIMETER DEFENSE

FIGURE 2: CHRONOLOGICAL DIAGRAM SHOWING STAGES OF TERRITORY FORMATION

TIME 0: EXPLORATION

Elsewhere we have noted that random or unscripted movement, particularly in the absence of territorial circumscription, formal trails, and an established system of seasonal rounds brings about the opportunity to explore unfamiliar lands and become acquainted with their resource potential; the simple act of following game trails likely characterized many a exploratory journey (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:62). For hunters, exploration and landscape learning are defining processes in individual and group identity that began with the initial occupation of a new continent, as is the case of the peopling of North America or the resettlement of Europe after the last glaciation (e.g., Hoffecker 2002; Tolan-Smith 2003), and continuing on into the present. Among the consequences of successful exploration is the ability to plan for the future through the identification and staking of fallback areas or areas slotted for eventual use in an unfamiliar landscape.

Inscribed places, on the other hand, represent the first intentional investment in our model and involve created commitment to a place with intentions of returning at some point. They are significant in some sense, whether due to social meaning, such as a story relating to an event that took place in a specific area (e.g., Basso, 1996; Myers, 1991) or resource based, such as watering holes, lithic outcrops, or groves of fruit or nut trees. While activities associated with staking are ephemeral in nature, we can begin to track the process of inscription through archaeological evidence. Tool caches and highly ritualized burials, notably at the Clovis Anzick site in Montana (Wilke et al., 1991), stand out as the earliest known inscriptions on the land. Meltzer (2002) cites the relative frequency of Clovis caches compared to later Paleoindian cultural complexes as an example of a risk buffering me-

chanism by highly mobile people who were faced with an uncertain future, while Gillespie (2007) sees them as a form of attachment or claim to the landscape. Although some caches clearly have a ritual significance (Lyman et al., 1998; Morrow and Fiedel, 2006; Schiffer, 1987), the functional and practical value of caching behavior–that it inscribes a human presence on the landscape (e.g., Collins, 1999; Frison and Todd, 1986; Stanford and Jodry, 1988)–cannot be denied. Clovis groups in the process of exploring the landscape created artificial material sources at recognizable locations to compensate for their lack of ready access to high-quality stone (Kilby, 2008), thus investing through inscription. Exploration may continue for very long periods of time, depending on patterns of mobility, population density, communications within and between groups of people, and social memory.

TIME 1: STAGING

Among hunters, staging entails the process of gathering forces to plan strategically for immediate or intermediate action (Zedeño, 2010). The arrival of Clovis-eastern fluted point carriers to the east of the Mississippi River may well provide the best known example of this process in territory formation. According to Anderson (1990; 1995; Anderson and Gillam, 2000; cf. Meltzer 2009:254) the earliest accepted date for Clovis remains on the east is 11,050,RCYBP (Waters and Stafford 2007, table 1), thus suggesting a fast west-east exploratory movement. One possible avenue for this movement is the Missouri River Basin, which would have taken Clovis groups from the ice-free corridor dividing the Cordilleran from the Continental ice sheets across the northern Plains and into the Mississippi River and beyond. The Arkansas and Platte River basins, which cross the central and southern Plains would have provided a se-

cond such pathway, while connecting people to important sources of lithic sources.

The sheer density of surface occurrences of diagnostic projectile points and other materials in the Ohio, Tennessee and Cumberland River basins just to the east of the Mississippi River has been interpreted by Anderson (1990:187) as indicating a process intermediate between exploration ad colonization that he identifies as staging; this interpretation of complex and surface data is compelling, but should be accepted with caution (e.g., Meltzer 2009). Nevertheless, given the sharp environmental distinction between denuded plains of the Terminal Pleistocene and the forested valleys and uplands of the east, staging would have allowed Clovis hunters time to pause and reassess their exploratory efforts and the newly discovered resources as well as to establish social networks (Anderson, 1995). From the staging areas, hunters (with their numbers increased rather rapidly) then split and moved further east along natural pathways toward the interior lakes and the Atlantic shorelines. It is important to keep in mind that staging may occur repeatedly before and during colonization, as the need for regrouping and reassessing knowledge of the landscape and wayfinding arises.

TIME 2: COLONIZATION

Colonization is, first, and foremost, a process of experimentation with previously explored places and resources; it may involve only a sector of the group, usually a scouting group or a few families who return to staked or inscripted localities to evaluate their life-supporting capabilities (Rockman, 2003). During the colonization of marked or inscribed localities, decisions are made as to whether the locality could become a territorial core (Zedeño, 1997:88). Colonization is also significant for large or well-established forager groups because it provides the option of fissioning during times of stress.

Importantly, long-term colonization pro-

cesses result in particular blueprints that can be identified in the archaeological record. Although in some cases colonization may be indistinguishable from exploration, there are certain characteristics that appear in successfully colonized localities; for example, development redundant pathways linking key resources to persistent campsites, progressively longer tenures in a single place (e.g., Bamforth et al., 2005; Hill, 2005; Surovell et al., 2005; Wilmsen and Roberts, 1984); or reoccupation of key places by successive, perhaps unrelated groups that returned and briefly occupied the same area over long periods of time (e.g., Boldurian and Cotter, 1999; Irwin-Williams et al., 1973; Larson et al., 2009; Johnson, 1987; Sellet, 2001). Generally, colonized localities may become territorial cores, as suggested by the presence of large sites in the Northeast (e.g., Dincauze, 1993), Great Lakes (Roosa, 1977; Shott, 1993), and Plains (Kornfeld et al., 2009), or at least remain within the periphery of landscape knowledge to be transferred to future generations.

TIME 3: ENTRENCHMENT

Through time, successful core establishment and knowledge acquisition allow people to set roots or develop physical, emotional, and spiritual attachments to the landscape (Basso, 1996). Entrenchment generally begins once people have identified places by their singular properties and resource value through colonization. Through repeated use, they ascribe meaning to these locales, and through movement, they create links among meaningful places and valued resources (Oetelaar, 2006; Zedeño and Stoffle, 2003:61; Zedeño and Bowser, 2009). Entrenchment informs decision-making about land tenure and thus it is critical to the survival of the group. It entails the formalization of land-based rights and obligations, particularly the sharing of valuable knowledge and resources. Although entrenchment is funda-

mentally an individual process attached to specific locales, through group experiences it fosters a shared sense of homeland and territorial identity that can be transferred intergenerationally and that may affect relationships with non-related neighbors. The notion of a homeland may live on even after an area has already been vacated permanently.

As shown by Zvelebil (1997), entrenchment results in the layering of landscape modifications that promote predictability and permanence. These investments accrue through time, giving shape to time-averaged archaeological landscapes. Territorial cores, each representing one or more activities, become connected by a network of pathways that, too, represent various types of activity at multiple scales. Paleoindian groups invested in the exploitation of stone and ocher quarries (Mallouf, 1989; Root, 2000; Stafford et al., 2003), water wells (Haynes et al., 1999), structures for various uses, (Stiger, 2006; O'Shea and Meadows, 2009), and burials or cemeteries (e.g., Breternitz et al., 1971; Morse, 1997, Wilke et al., 1991).

In the western Great Lakes, Parkhill-phase Paleoindian hunters organized their space according to the communal hunting of caribou and its migratory patterns, probably investing on the construction of drive lines (O'Shea and Meadows, 2009) and other facilities at key intercept places. Large sites may have been a product of aggregation during big hunts although other activities, such as stone procurement and processing, left distinctive material traces in relatively large sites and site clusters. Variation in site type and within-site spatial organization is also high in the area. According to Deller and Ellis (1992:27,48) the Parkhill-phase land use strategy is indicative of incipient territorial organization brought about by long-term, habitual and patterned use of the landscape. To the west, at the Folsom Cooper site in Oklahoma, a pattern of repeated use of the same arroyo trap, coupled with bison symbolism and hunting rituals that include red-painted designs on a bison skull (Bement, 1999), is suggestive of strategic adjustments among these middle Paleoindian hunters. Similar instances of concerted investment found among Plains hunters include the construction of communal ritual facilities, particularly those associated with the bison hunt (Frison, 1971; 1991a).

Ritual activities also played a critical role in anchoring worldviews in the landscape. These activities varied widely in form and scale; they are visible in peculiar treatment of valuables, such as was found at the late Paleoindian site of Caradoc, Ontario (Deller and Ellis, 2001), in ritualized painting and caching of stone tools, and in the suspected manufacture of a personal bundle containing red pigment, bird bones, bison dew claws, and other items at O.V. Clary, also a late Paleoindian site in Ash Hollow, Nebraska (Hill 2005). Paleoindian worldviews may have also been expressed through depictions of megafauna in rock art (Kalderberg, 2005).

TIME 4: EMPLACEMENT

Emplacement is the body of structured and coordinated place-making actions across the landscape that develop from shared cosmologies and geographies among interacting hunters, but that at the same time are interpreted uniquely according to local topography and resources (Joyce et al., 2009). It is distinct from entrenchment in that it entails planning and deliberate modification of the landscape at a larger scale. One of the most important characteristics of emplacement is that it defines and manipulates movement across territories and in doing so it creates networks that link both older cores and new, strategic places. Emplacement makes use of worldviews, rules, and moral lessons that people inscribe on the landscape during the conduct of their daily lives to

formalize organizational principles that may be shared at the supra-group level (Basso, 1996). Because of its transformative, "blueprint" effect, physically, socially, and culturally, emplacement is a powerful mechanism for expressing territorial identity.

Perhaps the clearest example of emplacement among hunters is the design and construction of multiple permanent hunting facilities connected spatially and functionally across a region, such as bison and caribou drive lines and associated structures. These were meant to manipulate animals and to create conditions for successive, massive hunts, and thus they also required mid-range social adjustments and leadership. Evidence of drive lines, corrals, pens, and traps are found, for instance, in the Great Lakes since the Paleoindian period (e.g., Deller and Ellis, 1992; O'Shea and Meadows, 2009). By placing these facilities strategically, hunters of migratory prey enhanced or shifted natural avenues of human and herd movement. Other investments associated with hunting, particularly the manipulation of grasslands through fire, introduced subtle but irreversible changes in the environment.

The territorial consequences of emplacement by designing and constructing hunting infrastructure that could be modified, repaired, and utilized for hundreds of years are inescapable. These investments not only fostered progressively longer tenures in particular areas but also required intergroup cooperation and concomitant adjustments in political and religious authority to manage the people and the hunt (Walde, 2006). Investments associated with social adjustments have been identified among terminal Paleoindian groups known as Dalton. In the Ozark Mountains, for example, these included a patterned movement that connected upland and lowland cores and perimeters and, within cores, a clear separation of domestic and ritual space (Morse,

1997). Trajectories in the placement and treatment of the dead, beginning with the isolated but lavish Clovis child burial at Anzick and culminating in the systematically spaced Dalton burial plots at Sloan, are strong indicators of formalizing and deepening connections between people and land.

TIME 5: NATURALIZATION

Naturalization is the emergence of birthrights over the landscape–a justification of boundary maintenance, perimeter defense, and aggression toward others' territorial identities through myth-making (Zedeño et al., 2009). This conflation of time, place and event in a single argument, a seamless story, is essential to the naturalization of territorial identity. These narratives resemble those of origin and migration, where a story describes the ways in which the ancestors, whether alone or alongside primordial creatures, transformed the unknown into the familiar during the colonization process (e.g., Myers, 1991). Likewise, tales of territorial defense, of war expeditions, and victories over the enemy are also crucial in generating and perpetuating territorial identities. By recalling the wisdom and status acquired from successfully or unsuccessfully confronting others, people modify their ethos so that competition for, and affirmation of, territorial rights becomes the natural order–a process that repeats and reinforces itself over time.

While it is unknown whether Paleoindian hunters naturalized their presence in North America, the material imprints of this process are evident in the succeeding periods, entailing the inscription of prominent landmarks that point to the confines of a group's territory as well as the construction of public monuments within the territory. In the northern Plains, both natural landmarks and monuments were used to affirm and naturalize territorial identity. As noted by Vickers (2008; Vickers and Peck, 2009) and Oetelaar

(2006), bison hunters marked the confines of their territory with effigies in the likeness of culture heroes and mythical figures.

CONCLUSION

In short, we have swept through the earliest years of human presence in North America to briefly illustrate long-term processes of territory formation and the emergence of political territoriality among terrestrial hunters. Through time, hunters adapted millenary ecological knowledge, rituals, and traditions to new conditions and demands, both reproduced and restructured the status quo, and ultimately created a dynamic relationship with land and territory.

It should be kept in mind that this outline does not explain the transition to agriculture or inevitably leads to it. Rather, it may explain the rise of complex sociopolitical structure among hunters. Although we focus on the northern continent, the model and its general themes will be applicable to a variety of regions and time periods. What must be done in specific case studies is to systematically propose and develop material correlates of each process in territory formation so that the uniqueness and diversity of hunters' territorial histories may come to light.

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