

'Leaving more than footprints': modern votive offerings at Chaco Canyon prehistoric site

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A 'heritage manager' who wishes a quiet and an orderly life may hope their heritage place is culturally dead; whatever meaning it once had, now it is an archaeological site, an ancient monument, a tourist attraction. But many sites are not dead. Chaco Canyon, the celebrated complex in the desert of the US Southwest, is of continuing value to Native Americans of its region; and the place has become a focus for New Age ceremony — itself in part inspired by Native American knowledge.

The title of this paper is inspired by the British Countryside Code's appeal to 'leave nothing but footprints' at a site of historical or environmental importance, and by a sign beside Casa Rinconada, a prehistoric structure within the Chaco Canyon National Historical Park in New Mexico, Southwestern USA, which states: 'Kivas are sacred places. Leave nothing behind.' Phil LoPiccolo, curator of the Chaco Collection at the National Park Service, has amassed a large number of recent artefacts which the site's managers have found there. For the purposes of this argument, the artefacts may be termed 'modern' in that they are anachronistic to the 'prehistoric' setting in which they are found. They range from crystals, burnt string and shells, to feather and wood constructions imitative of native American ritual objects. They continue to be curated and accessioned under LoPiccolo's initiative. A number were left by followers of New Age beliefs — in particular from the Harmonic Convergence gathering of August 1987. Are they 'junk' or archaeological objects of meaning and value? Frederick Baker's discussion of the Berlin Wall in *ANTIQUITY* (1993) shows how the meanings of that 20th-century edifice range from security system to sculpture, art canvas to historical monument: 'The Berlin Wall, in its construction, consumption and preservation, has been all of these things

. . . fragments of the Wall will be heirlooms passed down through family genealogies, an unofficial personal alternative to public museums.' (Baker 1993: 731).

In New Mexico, LoPiccolo held that these items of contemporary life found by, or handed in to, Park Rangers, were of value as signifiers of continued use of the Chaco Canyon site. And while extrapolation from 20th-century to prehistoric behaviour is problematic, there is resemblance between the 'modern' and the artefacts gathered from traditional archaeological excavation.

The site

The prehistoric archaeological sites of southwest North America — notably in the states of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and Utah — draw visitors in the hundreds of thousands each year. The American novelist Willa Cather described the distinctive landscape through the eyes of a 19th-century European in *Death comes for the Archbishop* (1927: 82):

From the flat red sea of sand rose great rock mesas . . . resembling vast cathedrals . . . the desert, the mountains and mesas, were continually re-formed and re-coloured by the cloud shadows. The whole country seemed fluid to the eye under this constant change of accent, this ever-varying distribution of light.

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Received 20 November 1995, revised 9 May 1996, accepted 10 July 1996.

ANTIQUITY 71 (1997): 169–78

In the extensive literature concerning the Anasazi — prehistoric pueblo — remains at Chaco Canyon, theories about the building boom from c. AD 900 to the pueblo's abandonment around AD 1140 move between trade and ritual (Judge *et al.* 1991) with the sacred kivas — the pit-like structures common to Anasazi sites — playing a major role. Casa Rinconada, the largest kiva at Chaco Canyon, is the focus for present-day ritual activity in a new use that most concerns the managers of the site, the US National Park Service (NPS) and the Native American Indians.

Chaco Canyon was brought to broad notice by the explorations of Lieutenant James Simpson, an American military surveyor, in 1849, and of Richard Wetherill, a trader who excavated with George Pepper on the Hyde Exploring Expedition from 1896 to 1899. It was taken into Federal care in 1907; the National Park Service officially established in 1916.

The accommodation of visitors

The Chaco Canyon Visitor Centre, begun in the 1960s, lies at the end of a 23-mile (35-km) dirt track from a main road; the reasons for the site's attraction, according to the visitors' book, lie with its expansive setting. The earliest travelers to the site, in the 1920s, came on horseback or waggon, and were moved to write: 'Beyond speech', 'Came for an hour, stayed two and a half months', 'A lifetime is too short for Chaco', the last comment made in 1924, during the major archaeological excavation carried out by Neil Judd for the National Geographical Society.

A 1991 Citibank visitor survey suggested visitors to American parks, such as Chaco Canyon, primarily went to see nature, then for vacation. A year later, the Vail Agenda, which considered the role of the park in American society, saw a larger picture (US National Park Service 1992):

The reasons people visit the national parks may be more cultural, sentimental, emotional than numbers suggest . . . the resources are not just scenic; they are not just old and interesting; they are not merely memorable. Nor is the [National Park] Service appropriately just a guardian or pleasant tour guide. There is meaning in these sites, these ecosystems, these historic events, these people and their culture.

The NPS has carried out its own user-surveys. Of increasing importance is how the modern needs of the visitor can be accommodated within

the existing practices of other 'official' users of Chaco Canyon, such as the American Pueblo Indians, who trace their ancestral history to the Chaco builders of 1000 years ago, and the Navajo, who erect hogans, raise livestock and continue to gather medicinal herbs in the area. A number of Navajo work for the NPS at Chaco Canyon, and I have been grateful for their help with my research.

This 'special nature' of Chaco, as stated earlier, is not one which can be easily tested as an empirical concept. With that in mind, this discussion of the Harmonic Convergence is based on the accounts of celebrants, those actively taking part in the ritual whopse writings were gathered by one of the organizers, Charles Bensinger. He suggests his intuitive methods complement traditional means of gathering information (Bensinger 1988):

While advocating a primary intuitive approach for purpose of this experiment, I do not mean to discount the value of traditional archaeological methods . . . indeed any good archaeologist must employ a strongly intuitive sense if he or she is to be successful in finding anything.

Beyond addressing visitor movement around a site of such continuing sensitivity as Chaco, the NPS now has to decide what to do with the artefacts left behind — not the common tourist detritus, but the objects apparently placed in sincere votive practices. In the main, these are the activities of New Age followers, and it is in this context that I have examined the material in the 'alternative' Chaco Collection. I concentrated on artefacts relating to one event, the Harmonic Convergence, which is documented in *Chaco journey*, compiled by Charles Bensinger (1988; see above).

The Harmonic Convergence as an event

(FIGURE 1)

The Harmonic Convergence, as a consequence of the lining-up of planets in the solar system, was popularized by a leading writer on New Age subjects, Jose Arguelles. The author of popular works such as *The Mayan factor: path beyond technology* (1987), he encouraged gatherings world-wide, at sites popularly regarded as spiritually important. The NPS acquiesced to a request for a celebration at Casa Rinconada. The Great Kiva of Chaco Canyon was deemed to continue its long reputation as a 'power base'

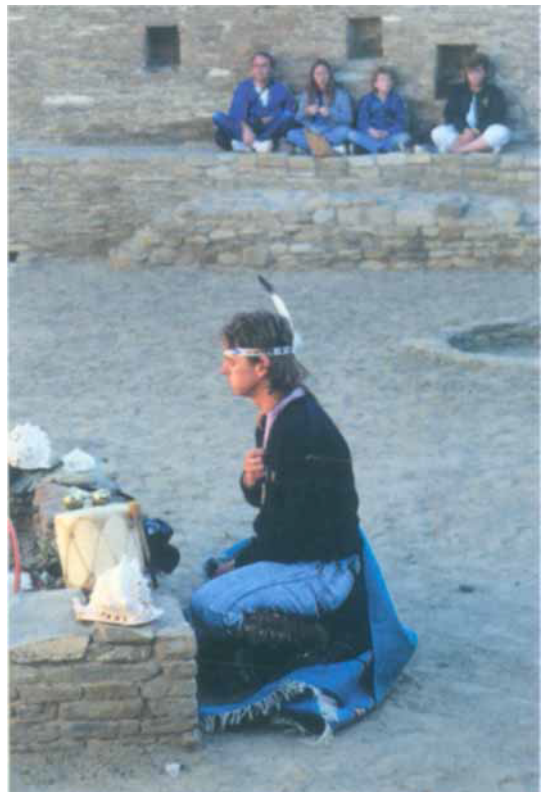


FIGURE 1. *Chaco Canyon: scenes at the Harmonic Convergence (1987).* (Photographs by Steve Northup.)

by attracting thousands of visitors to the site for the Convergence. A similar, smaller celebration was held at another prehistoric site in NPS care, Mesa Verde, in Colorado. Charles Bensinger recalls the Chaco Canyon event in the introduction to *Chaco journey* (1988: 88):

Beginning at dawn on the 15th when more than 200 people gathered there to welcome the sun's first rays, a non-stop series of rituals continued for three days. White-turbaned Sikhs conducted meditations accompanied by crystal wands and giant gongs. Ethiopian drummers played exotic rhythms that bounced across the canyon walls. Guitars and flutes, bells and bowls contributed to the joyful chorus.

The Harmonic Convergence, which was celebrated worldwide, received considerable press interest. The *Albuquerque Journal* of 16 August 1987, reporting 'rituals that mixed Native American culture, witchcraft, New Age spir-



ituality, crystal power and a general good feeling about the world', presents further data for contextualizing the material left in Casa Rinconada. The celebrants are 'young, old, recycled flower children, yuppies, punkers, tourists, hikers — people in wheelchairs, on crutches, astride bikes and wearing every type of clothing were there' (FIGURE 1). And mention is made of opponents 'handing out pamphlets urging celebrants to strive for fundamentalist-style salvation and trying to discourage some from attending kiva ceremonies'.

Leaving more than footprints: an antidote to modernity?

The accounts give insights into the range of expectations, from joy at a coming together of people from different backgrounds in a *comunitas* of the kind suggested for pilgrims by anthropologists (Turner 1969). What is also clear is the idea of continuation of a particular mood. Letters speak of renewed clarity of purpose, creativity and focus — 'four days that changed my very essence . . . my life has moved into that place which understands instead of denies'. Participants at the Harmonic Convergence, by these accounts, achieved a certain personal purpose, again in the manner of a pilgrimage to a site already endowed with ritual symbolism. Nearly all the extracts include reference to a changed state of mind — whether induced by mood or substance. Some writers were disenchanted of people seen as on 'their Indian heritage trip, complete with feathers and burning sagebrush . . . at some gatherings I attended I listened to ranting diatribes against the white man'. Another noted: 'I got an idea of why native peoples are opposed to cameras at their serious ceremonies . . . the machines physically encroached on me. Especially when I felt able to break through into an alternate reality, the cameras intruded, violated my state of mind'. Those contributing to *Chaco journey* are likely to have made a purposeful journey to Chaco with an experience in mind. The placing of artefacts then signifies, 'I was there, taking part'; and the burial of certain objects within the kiva may be interpreted as a further desire to get beneath the skin — the soil — of a sacred site. The archaeological evidence for crystals buried at Chaco Canyon, and the contemporary finds of crystals at Casa Rinconada in particular, suggest the mythology has been developed

to explain the prehistoric archaeology. The continued act of crystal-burying, one of the most attested votive acts in the kiva, may be seen as myth-made material culture.

The artefacts (FIGURE 2)

Any attempt at an empirical interpretation of the attraction of Chaco Canyon relies in the main on the wealth of archaeological sources — including the accounts of early archaeologists, such as Pepper and Judd — together with historical visitor records and NPS documentation. Background information for this research was gathered through interviews with visitors to the site at a significant period — the Spring Equinox — and with members of the Zia Pueblo and Navajo communities and NPS team at Chaco Canyon. *Chaco journey*, providing alternative accounts of activity at the site, linked into the modern material culture.

The NPS, as an agency of the US government, follows a policy of respecting all religions; or no religions, until recently it only made distinctions between archaeological and non-archaeological material in its formal collection policy. Crystals associated with New Age practices were commonly regarded as 'junk'; human-bone ash could only be legislated for as 'litter'. An increasing volume of artefacts, particularly since the late 1980s, has led to a re-appraisal. Phil LoPiccolo — curator of the Chaco Collection, the original corpus of archaeological material — successfully argued for the collection of all artefacts; these are now regularly accessioned and catalogued into the Chaco Collection at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. The contemporary objects range from crystals and pot-sherds to elaborate copies of Indian prayer-sticks and pouches of corn or tobacco. LoPiccolo suggests that he has a responsibility to collect these items for the future archaeological and ethnographical record. All the artefacts have been labelled and given acquisition numbers, with site details, and entered into a data-base. They may be classified as:

- 1 Artefacts *found by Park Rangers* and kept for accessioning; these take their context from the place where they were found, which will often be where the artefact was originally deposited.
- 2 Artefacts *found by visitors* and handed in to the Parks Service (either to a ranger or at the Visitors' Centre); these will have lost



FIGURE 2. *Chaco Canyon: artefacts accessioned into the collection.*

Above, the right wing of a Blue Jay found on the surface floor area of Casa Rinconada.

Below, exotic bird feathers tied with leather-cord, similar to Native American ritual paraphernalia. Found out of Harmonic Convergence context but likely votive offering by Native American or New Age visitor.

- 3 Artefacts found in *clearance*, or other work at the site: included in this category are items found during the digging-out of Casa Rinconada after contamination by human-bone ash. These may be contextualized; a number of artefacts were found buried in the soil of the kiva.
- 4 Artefacts *left-over from archaeological excavation*: e.g. one turquoise bead from Pueblo Bonito, assumed to have been missed by the Judd team when it excavated there in the 1920s.
- 5 Artefacts *brought to the surface naturally*: by soil movement, animal burrowing, heavy rain, etc.
- 6 Artefacts *returned to the National Park Service*: by visitors with a conscience, often with a note of apology, generally anonymous, and with concern voiced about the bad luck that had befallen them.

According to the NPS, the increase in modern remains coincided with the Harmonic Convergence of August 1987, and this is borne out by analysis of the data-base relating to this special context. They may be classified in the same manner as orthodox archaeological material:



FIGURE 3. *Chaco Canyon: crystal finds from Casa Rinconada; modern context likely to be from Harmonic Convergence.*

the right wing of a Blue Jay, found on the ground at Casa Rinconada, for example, may be considered in terms of colour, type of offering, the species, the predominance of right wing over left, the bird's sex and the deposition site.

The range of artefacts allows for imaginative interpretation. Four modern cast metal 'Dungeons and Dragons' role-playing figurines associated with legends of Arthurian Britain show how Merlin and King Arthur have now become universal symbols of a western-constructed past. Some objects — bundles of twigs or string — were found burned or charred, possibly indicating a role in contemporary ritual practice. In the early hours of the spring Equinox 1994, I observed a young German couple incorporate a native American Indian ritual practice of burning sagebrush into a ceremony in Casa Rinconada (FIGURE 2).

The Harmonic Convergence group includes shells, polished stones, and prayer-sticks and other items styled on Native American Indian art; these are also regularly found at the site. Native American traditional knowledge is a major strand in modern New Age knowledge, and its objects are duly taken up. It is useful to

draw on early archaeological records. Judd tells of a visit by John G. Bourke to the Hopi Indians of the Southwest in 1881. Bourke observed a number of them wearing abalone pendants (1884: 242): 'This, they told me, they obtained from the seashore, to which they had been in the habit, at least until recently, of making pilgrimages every four or five years'. Abalone, or mother-of-pearl, features three times in Harmonic Convergence material. Several pieces of turquoise also feature. Judd notes its enduring quality as a prized stone in Native American society, and the archaeological excavations at Chaco Canyon have unearthed several thousand finds of beads, worked and unworked stone and artefacts (Pepper 1909: 222–5). The Cerrillos mines south of Santa Fe are thought the likely source of the Chacoan turquoise in archaeological context, and turquoise continues today to be a major source of tourist revenue for the native American Indians. Latter-day archaeologists, such as Judge (1983), have suggested Chaco Canyon became a high-status site through the production and control of a turquoise trade. Historic and recent excavations have associated turquoise with shrine locations (H. Wolcott Toll 1987: 83; Pepper 1909).

The problem of crystals (FIGURE 3)

Then show I forth my longe crystal stones,
Ycrammed full of cloutes and of nones;
Relics they be, as weenen each one.

CHAUCER *The Pardoner's Tale*

The high incidence of crystal finds at Chaco Canyon is significant. Crystal occurs in European Neolithic sites (Castleton 1992; Bradley pers. comm. 1995), and finds from medieval Ireland indicate its use in reliquaries (*PRIA* 1839: 326). Excavations at Chaco revealed evidence of crystals in an Anasazi context. Judd's account of the material culture of Pueblo Bonito notes (1954: 289):

While clearing blown sand from second storey room 6 we found on the floor close to the northwest corner an artifact of porphyry or andesite, planoconvex in cross section, and a quartz crystal with worn corners. From Pepper's enumeration of the objects he recovered in this and neighbouring dwellings it is obvious that here one of the Old Bonitian religious societies maintained its ancestral home, the recognised storage place for its altar paraphernalia.

Of the new material, the grandest crystal collected from Casa Rinconada is rose-pink quartz, associated with healing. Measuring 10 inches across, its size suggests a deliberate and central votive offering. The distribution of crystals at Casa Rinconada follows a pattern of placement for votive offerings; finds were most often gathered from a 'central-place', the Central Firebox of the kiva. In all, the Harmonic Convergence material includes 12 items of crystal. One, quartz crystal and herbs in a tied bundle of printed red cloth, was found in a wall niche. Some of the crystals, grouped together, are assumed to have been one deposit, for example the 14 cut quartz crystals buried below the surface of the Central Firebox. Another collection of 10 cut quartz crystals was found together on the floor of the Central Firebox, in the same quadrant. Nearly all of the examples are of cut or processed quartz stones; one rose quartz pebble, polished, was found on the floor surface. One unidentified crystal, possibly smithsonite, was found in the same place. Another is a slightly oval, clear quartz crystal with bevelled edges. Other attractive stones were offered, such as mica fragments and quartzite pebbles.

The quartz is non-local; whether archaeological or modern votive offerings, it will have

been brought to the site. In the earliest period, it is likely to have been traded in, and given exotic status. In the contemporary world, quartz and other crystals can be bought at many New Age shops in Santa Fe, New Mexico. One cannot assume that the crystals were originally bought as 'mystic' items: many dealers sell crystals to amateur lapidarists.

'Crystals bridge the gap between science and magic', notes Neil Irwin (1991: 11) in a self-help guide to understanding crystal healing. Forging this link further, Irwin states: 'Quartz crystal is the base component of the silicon chip . . . responsible for the miracle of modern communication and technology . . . it is this ability of crystal to receive, store and transmit the solar life force that makes it such a versatile tool in healing.' Natasha Peterson's *Sacred sites* (1988), which appears geared to those visiting places such as Chaco Canyon, suggests a sacred site's energy should be harnessed to 'clear away energy blocks that may be holding you back. You can use it to do some creative visualisation, crystal meditations, healing or prayer.' An entry in *Chaco journey* reads:

A throng lay or sat about the fire circle in silence. Some shivered in the cold before dawn. A woman drummed. Donna was building an altar of bone and crystal . . . Donna began to speak of ancient crystal and basalt, and archaic times . . . then Lin bestrode the altar of bone and crystal, and within it lay a great crystal the colour of red ochre. She clashed together two great thighbones. On the second blow one thighbone shattered . . .

Park Rangers at Chaco Canyon know that crystal-related activity at the site is widespread. One Park Ranger noted the occasional theft of crystals, particularly from New Age visitors who had left them to gather vibrations.

In the many years preceding LoPiccolo's decision to put contemporary artefacts into the collection items will have been lost to the record through further appropriation or the overgrowing of native areas; they may have rotted or blown away, if perishable; or they may merely have been overlooked as significant artefacts. A visitor commented (Casa Rinconada, March 1994):

It's fascinating to collect the stuff and document the site . . . and find out why people leave it . . . it's interesting to find why a particular spot attracts.



FIGURE 4. *National Park Service notices, on the approach path to Casa Rinconada, advise: 'Kivas are sacred places. Do not leave anything behind'; and 'Keep off ruin walls'.*

The continued use of Chaco as a reverential site, and one of pilgrimage, can only be deduced from the archaeological record; the collection of modern 'votive' offerings would appear to offer a sociological way of interpreting the continuing use of the site. Chaco's archaeologist, Dabney Ford, is open-minded towards the collection of artefacts. While noting that modern items can confuse the archaeology of the site, they do present a new context. In 1991, Ford and her team found crystals and cloth fragments (possibly from a votive bundle) in some of the Chaco Canyon rooms excavated in the 1960s. These were kept to suggest a range of data. 'We can see this as a cultural continuation . . . if a native American had left things we would probably keep that as an ethnographical collection . . . so why should we think those [native] objects more "valuable"?'

Neil Judd's account of the 1920s excavation at Chaco Canyon shows an early regard for the relative values of ritual objects, suggesting that materials with no obvious use had other functions of a more esoteric nature. Specially shaped stone, concretions and pieces of wood took on a value when regarded as votive objects. This has a bearing on the interpretation of the modern artefacts in the Chaco Collection: in whose

eyes are the New Age materials 'junk' and how are they so defined? Pioneering American work on material culture, such as William Rathje's garbage project (1974), discussed the relative 'value' of a discarded artefact. While Michael Schiffer (1976: 12) warned that the archaeological record was 'a distorted record of a past behavioral system', he saw a predictability for discard and loss related to a social system. Post-processualists continue to highlight the myriad decision-making processes at work in engaging our objects with our environment. But given the interpretative range of 'modern' artefacts at Chaco Canyon, can a system be applied to associate artefacts with behaviour in the manner of medieval shrines (Geary 1987) or Christian pilgrimage (Stopford 1994)? That is, can the artefacts necessarily be directly related to behaviour?

The National Park Service and legislation

Before the issue of New Age material at sites such as Chaco Canyon, legislation prompted consideration of the various ways in which an historic landscape, is used, namely the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA). In 1988 the Resource Management Plan for Chaco Culture National Historical Park addressed the issue of Native American use of park resources, and proposed a special regulation concerning the continued medico-religious practices by Navajo and Pueblo Indians. The land, fenced for nearly 50 years and protected from grazing, is regarded as a reservoir for medically useful plants that are scarce in the surrounding areas. Contemporary native American practice, rock art and finds of prehistoric and historic prayer sticks attest to the importance of the site for healing ceremonies. The NPS, concerned about the possible impact on rare, threatened or endangered species, suggested the setting-up of a study group in consultation with Navajo, Acoma and other Pueblo and Hopi religious leaders.

With regard to the discussion of materials left at the site, the NPS insists it is actively seeking a harmonious relationship with the traditional — the native American Indian users — in the light of an increase in New Age activity, particularly at Casa Rinconada. In 1991 the question of special permit use — particularly for ritual activity — was raised in a report to the

US Department of the Interior. It notes that the activity under debate must not grant, or give the appearance of granting, *exclusive* use of a portion of the park for the activities of the few and, as LoPiccolo often reminded me, the NPS must recognize all religions or none at all, because of the US Federal separation of church and state. A state agency is therefore unable to prefer one religious claim over another.

Another report — 'Laws protecting cultural resources and governing religious practices in Chaco Canyon National Historical Park' (21 May 1993) — questions whether it is permissible to close particular areas of the Park, such as Casa Rinconada, in order to accommodate the religious concerns of the Pueblo Indians (who would like the kiva to be closed to all but their own people) or of a non-Indian group that views the canyon as a sacred site. The same report was concerned about 'resource disturbance' through burying of crystals and other paraphernalia: 'This has to be stipulated against . . . Also the sheer quantity of such requests by practitioners of "New Age" beliefs may become burdensome.' Native American Indians are unhappy about other religious practices, in particular the leaving of artefacts and disposal of human-bone ash, especially offensive to the Navajo. A spokesman for the Zia Pueblo was, in conversation, firm in his conviction that the site should be shut off to non-Zia, seeing no reason why he should have to justify his people's belief system, essentially a private issue. The question arises as to whether Chaco Canyon is a national possession, in the hands of a national agency of the United States, and should be freely available to any US citizens who treat it well; is it, more broadly, part of the cultural heritage of all people, at a geographic place which sets it within a nation-state; or should it be regarded as the particular possession of the descendants, biological and/or cultural, of its makers, who may choose to share it with others but have the right to keep it for themselves? And if the descent is complex or unknown, who are the proper descendants?

Since the completion of this research at Chaco Canyon, the National Park Service has closed off Casa Rinconada to the public. Officially, the step was taken last July to protect the site archaeologically, but those making the decision were also taking heed of the feelings of Native American Indians.

A spokesman for the Zia pueblo, when interviewed by the author in 1994, said that closure was not an ideal solution, but one which the NPS would be forced to adopt if visitors were disrespectful. 'We don't have a problem with what people believe', he said. 'If they want to go to Casa Rinconada, if they want to go to any of the kivas over there with an open mind and open heart, then they can. They can sit there [. . .] You know the religious significance. You can feel it. To me that's the ultimate feeling, ultimate prayer, but not to go leaving things behind. Anything that's foreign to the structure of the building is just going to do harm to the gods.'

Conclusion

The frequency of names and testimonials in the visitors' book at Chaco Canyon suggests a correlation between increased visitor activity at the site and the period of, and after, the Vietnam War. The work of the NPS is significant here. Some 30,000 'mementos' have been left at the National Vietnam War Memorial in Washington (DC) since it was completed in 1982. In a recent book, *Offerings at the wall: artefacts from the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Collection* (noticed in *Antiquity* 70 (1996): 192), Thomas B. Allen notes the Park Rangers charged with picking up the roses, teddy bears and dog tags did not know what to do with them: 'But an awareness grew that there was something sacred about these objects . . . Everyone who touched [them] at the Wall knew they had to be kept . . . forever' (1995: 5). Bob Sonderman, Senior Staff Archaeologist for the NPS, discussing the accessioning of the items on to a data-base, notes: 'The way objects are being catalogued, with their etched poems and accompanying letters or testimonials, future archaeologists will be able to investigate the emotional side of war.'

The Vietnam War Memorial is a modern place of our own — that is, 20th-century — culture; has Casa Rinconada instead been 'appropriated'? This essay raises the issue of 'authentic' use of an ancient site, and asks whether it is possible to discriminate one use as more worthy than another. Those within the Native American communities argue their right through inheritance or continued use. How might the more recent 20th-century visitors, such as New Age followers, claim *their* right? Is their use, for ritual

purposes, an expression of care and understanding? Or does it mark a lack of consideration for earlier claims on the site? Is it the site that is really the issue — or the significance of the landscape in which it sits?

The issues raised here are complementary to work by archaeologists in the management of prehistoric landscapes, such as Bender (1993) and Chippindale *et al.* (1990) in respect of Stonehenge, a site for which English Heritage has no collection policy regarding New Age material. Increasingly, archaeologists are involved not only in the interpretation of sites prehistorically, but how they are used in a modern, or post-modern, age. I have shown the artefacts associated with such uses are problematic. What should be classified as

'junk' and how we deal with it at a time of broader acceptance of 'other' practices are issues that archaeologists and those involved in heritage management should, I suggest, be considering.

Acknowledgements. This essay is based on research carried out 1994–95, for my Archaeology and Anthropology undergraduate dissertation at the University of Oxford.

I am most grateful for the help and hospitality of the National Park Service at Chaco Canyon and the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. In particular, I would like to thank Phil and Bertie LoPiccolo, Christian Lejeune, Dabney Ford and the Park Rangers at Chaco Canyon National Historical Park and, not least, the Chaco Canyon visitors and the American Indian Pueblo and Navajo peoples who shared their time and thoughts with me. I also appreciate the comments of Dr Howard Morphy and Dr Chris Gosden at the University of Oxford.

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