Arheologije krajev in krajine
archaeologists often use the word ‘landscape’ to categorise subsistence usage, as in ‘a Neolithic landscape of woodland and temporary clearance’, thereby describing something done to the land” (Bender 1992,735)
"Arheologija krajine"
When we consider landscape, we are almost always concerned with a visual construct. (Porteous 1990:4)

Landscape came to mean a prospect seen from a specific standpoint. (Tuan 1974:133)

A working country is hardly ever a landscape. The very idea of landscape implies separation and observation. (Williams 1973:120)
When collective labour and the struggle with nature had ceased to be the only arena for man’s encounter with nature and the world – then nature itself ceased to be a living participant in the events of life. Then nature became, by and large, a “setting for action”, its backdrop; it was turned into landscape, it was fragmented into metaphors and comparisons serving to sublimate the individual and private affairs and adventures not connected in any real or intrinsic way to nature itself. (Bakhtin 1986:217)
The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result. Under the influence of a given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through phases, and probably reaching ultimately the end of its cycle of development. With the introduction of a different—that is, alien—culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on the remnants of an older one.

Sauer (1925, p. 46)
“Landscape is tension.”

Bližina :: Razdalja
Opazovanje :: Bivanje
Zemljino površje :: Oko
Kultura :: Narava
"usefully ambiguous concept" (Gosden in Head 1994)

'we should beware of attempts to define landscape, to resolve its contradictions; rather we should abide in its duplicity' (Daniels 1989: 218).

“is defined more by what it does than what it is” (Whittlesey, 1997, 20)

“the pattern which connects” (Bateson, 1978)
Landscapes are not synonymous with natural environments.

Landscapes are worlds of cultural product

Landscapes are the arena for all of a community’s activities.

Landscape is a cultural process

Anschuetz et al 2001
landscape is a uniquely valuable concept for a humane geography. Unlike place it reminds us of our position in the scheme of nature. Unlike environment or space it reminds us that only through human consciousness and reason is that scheme known to us, and only through technique can we participate as humans in it. At the same time landscape reminds us that geography is everywhere, that it is a constant source of beauty and ugliness, of right and wrong and joy and suffering, as much as it is of profit and loss' (Cosgrove 1989:122).
The major differences between a 'scientific' or abstract and a 'humanized' or meaning-laden space can be summarized as follows:

- **abstract space**
  - container
  - decentred
  - geometry
  - surfaces
  - universal
  - objective
  - substantial
  - totalized
  - external
  - system
  - neutral
  - coherence
  - atemporal

- **human space**
  - medium
  - centred
  - context
  - densities
  - specific
  - subjective
  - relational
  - detotalized
  - internal
  - strategy
  - empowered
  - contradiction
  - temporal

**ABSTRACT SPACE**

**HUMAN SPACE**

- materialist, rational
- idealist, irrational
In short, anthropologists have paid scant attention to one of the most basic dimensions of human experience – that close companion of heart and mind, often subdued yet potentially overwhelming, that is known as sense of place. (Basso 1996:106)

If space allows movement, place is pause (Taun 1977: 6).
Human activities become inscribed within a landscape such that every cliff, large tree, stream, swampy area becomes a familiar place. Daily passages through the landscape become biographic encounters for individuals, recalling traces of past activities and previous events and the reading of signs - a split log here, a marker stone there (Tilley 1994,27).
All locales and landscapes are therefore embedded in the social and individual times of memory. Their pasts as much as their spaces are crucially constitutive of their presents. Neither space nor time can be understood apart from social practices which serve to bind them together. The human experience of encountering a new place or knowing how to act or go on in a familiar place is intimately bound up with previous experiences. Places are always 'read' or understood in relation to others (Tilley 1994,27).
While places and movement between them are intimately related to the formation of personal biographies, places themselves may be said to acquire a history, sedimented layers of meaning by virtue of the actions and events that take place in them. Personal biographies, social identities and a biography of place are intimately connected (Tilley 1994,27).
A landscape is a series of named locales, a set of relational places linked by paths, movements and narratives. It is a 'natural' topography perspectivally linked to the existential Being of the body in societal space. It is a cultural code for living, an anonymous 'text' to be read and interpreted, a writing pad for inscription, a scape of and for human praxis, a mode of dwelling and a mode of experiencing. It is invested with powers, capable of being organized and choreographed in relation to sectional interests, and is always sedimented with human significances. It is story and telling, temporality and remembrance. Landscape is a signifying system through which the social is reproduced and transformed, explored and structured - process organized. Landscape, above all, represents a means of conceptual ordering that stresses relations. The concept emphasizes a conventional means of doing so, the stress is on similarity to control the undermining nature of difference, of multivocal code, found in the concepts of place or locale. A concept of place privileges difference and singularity; a concept of landscape is more holistic, acting so as to encompass rather than exclude (Tilley 1994,36).
"Sveti kraji" in skalna umetnost

Powerful places tend to attract other powerful elements. So, for example, during studies of rock art sites, Indian people tend to look first at the rock on which the paintings and peckings occur, and then look around for medicine plants. The basic assumption of interpretation is that the place had to be powerful before the rock paintings or peckings were made there. (Stoffle and Zedeño 2001a: 70)

Figure 1.8 Plethora of elk and reindeer activity at the main Bardal panel, Nord-Trøndelag, central Norway
After Hallström (1938)
Ayers rock was not only a total mythological fact for the surrounding populations, a perceptual field encoding knowledge of the world, but a focus for linking present populations to the past ancestral forces, involving rock engraving, painting and initiation rites (Tilley 1994,47).
Places …

“where time and space have fused and where, through agency of historical tales, their intersection is ‘made visible for human contemplation’” (Basso 1996,62)
<table>
<thead>
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<td>desanctified</td>
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<td>each other in 'disciplinary' space</td>
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<td>landscape as backdrop to action</td>
<td>landscape as sedimented ritual form</td>
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<td>time linear and divorced from space</td>
<td>time constitutive of rhythms of social action in space-time</td>
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<td>CAPITALIST/WESTERN SPACE</td>
<td>PRE-CAPITALIST/ NON-WESTERN SPACE</td>
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“Contested landscapes”

Bender B. 2000. Stonehenge: Making Space (Materializing Culture)
from a phenomenological standpoint . . . the world emerges with its properties alongside the emergence of the perceiver as person, lagainst the background of involved activity. Since the person is a being-in-the-world, the coming-into-being of the person is part and parcel of the process of coming-into-being of the world as a whole. (Ingold, 2000, p.168)
Human being consists in dwelling and, indeed, dwelling in the sense of the stay of mortals on the earth.

Heidegger (1954)
Dwelling is about the rich intimate ongoing togetherness of beings and things which make up landscapes and places, and which bind together nature and culture over time. It thus offers conceptual characteristics which blur the nature/culture divide, [and] emphasise the temporal nature of landscape (Cloke and Jones 2001).
a being immersed from the start, like other creatures, in an active, practical and perceptual engagement with constituents of the dwelt-in world. This ontology of dwelling, I contend, provides us with a better way of coming to grips with the nature of human existence than does the alternative, Western ontology whose point of departure is that of a mind detached from the world.

(Ingold, 2000, p.42)
Let us think for a while of a farmhouse in the Black Forest, which was built some two hundred years ago by the dwelling of peasants. Here the self-sufficiency of the power to let earth and heaven, divinities and mortals enter in simple oneness into things, ordered the house. It placed the farm on the wind-sheltered mountain slope looking south, among the meadows close to the spring. It gave it the wide overhanging shingle roof whose proper slope bears up under the burden of snow, and which, reaching deep down, shields the chambers against the storms of the long winter nights. It did not forget the altar corner behind the community table; it made room in its chamber for the hollowed places of childbirth and the 'tree of the dead' - for that is what they call a coffin there: the Totenbaum - and in this way it is designed for the different generations under one roof the character of their journey through time. A craft which, itself sprung from dwelling, still uses its tools and frames as things, built the farmhouse (Heidegger 1972: 338).
‘My body is a thing amongst things, it is caught in the fabric of the world’ (Merleau-Ponty, 1969, p.256).
Landscapes are known intimately through day-to-day bodily encounter. They form an essential focus for group identity in relation to locality, and a collective expression of normative and interpersonal beliefs and values. To truly understand the significance of landscape, either in the past or in the present, requires an insider’s knowledge of the significance of place in relation to the wider landscape which is precisely that — to be inside it, to identify oneself with it, to belong to it, to attribute value and significance to it, to understand relations and interconnections. Place, landscape, social and personal identity and experience are all intertwined. Feeling, emotion and significance are thus both embedded and embodied in relation to places and the manner in which they are experienced (Tilley 1994, 24).
The landscape, in short, is not a totality that you or anyone else can look at, it is rather the world in which we stand in taking up a point of view on our surroundings. And it is within the context of this attentive involvement in the landscape that the human imagination gets to work in fashioning ideas about it. For the landscape, to borrow a phrase from Merleau-Ponty, is not so much the object as ‘the homeland of our thoughts’.
(Ingold, 2000, emphasis in original)
To understand and interpret at least some of this the archaeologist has to move from the ‘outside’ of place and landscape to be somewhere on the ‘inside’ and this seems to be best achieved through a phenomenological study — through familiarizing ourselves with the landscapes and places which we seek to understand through personal bodily experience and encounter, exploring the world through our bodies (Tilley 1994; 1999; 2004).
Barrows are situated in almost the full range of possible topographic locations in the landscape:

a) on flat summit areas of the ridge top (N = 4); …

It was the relationships between the barrows and in turn their relationships with their landscape settings that empowered people to identify with the landscape as a whole rather than just to specific places (individual barrow locations) within it. The construction of dykes represented an alternative way of thinking-through, understanding and relating to landscape.

Tilley 2004
There is and can be no clearcut methodology arising from [complex notions of space] to provide a concise guide to empirical research. The approach requires, rather, a continuous dialectic between ideas and empirical data” (1994: 11). [Part of this continuous dialectic] “involves the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject” (1994:12)