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Heritage Trekking: Toward an Integrated Heritage Studies Methodology

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we propose a methodological intervention for the field of heritage studies: heritage trekking. Involving story-trekking, mapping, and data integration, heritage trekking draws from interdisciplinary approaches to develop a methodology with implications for heritage scholarship and management. We employ heritage trekking in two contrasting case studies: the Epiclassic urban center of El Tajín, Mexico and the Areni-1 Cave in Armenia. Together, the case studies demonstrate how heritage trekking elucidates uses and perceptions of heritage otherwise obscured, as well as the methodology's broader applicability. We conclude by arguing that heritage trekking is a novel methodological contribution to heritage studies with the potential for practical applications.

KEYWORDS

archaeological ethnography; fieldwork; heritage management; Armenia; Areni-1; Mexico; El Tajín

Introduction

In this paper, we propose heritage trekking as a methodological intervention for scholars in the field of heritage studies. Because studying cultural heritage is a multi-temporal and multi-spatial endeavor that focuses on both materiality and meaning-making, heritage studies lends itself to interdisciplinary analysis. A longstanding concern for heritage studies is the management of sites designated as cultural heritage. Archaeological heritage management takes on a multitude of objectives, including the identification, recording, safeguarding, and accessibility of sites (Cleere 1989; Byrne 1991). This complexity calls for, and has successfully been addressed through, interdisciplinary theoretical engagements by anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, geographers, and art historians (e.g. Breglia 2006; DeSilvey 2017; Lowenthal 2015; Smith 2006; Watenpaugh 2014).

While interdisciplinary perspectives have expanded the scope of heritage studies and its research aims, there has been relatively little development and consistency in regard to methodological interventions. As Sørensen and Carman note, "Heritage Studies has borrowed extensively from other disciplines, but … [this] does not ensure that methods are developed and adapted to the needs of Heritage Studies" (2009, 4). Since then, heritage scholars have continued to highlight the need for methodological transparency and specific methods to understand heritage sites (Gould 2017; Hølleland and Niklasson 2020; Zarger and Pluckhahn 2013).

One explanation for this methodological gap is due to the differences in management and context which make prescriptive methods particularly difficult to carry out. Lafrenz Samuels argues that "the translation from heritage discourse and institutional prerogatives to heritage as it is practiced in everyday life is never straightforward and involves adjustments for context and colloquial improvisations" (2018, 5). While inclusive frameworks like archaeological ethnography (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Meskell 2005) and ethnoheritage (Lafrenz Samuels 2018) have been developed to bridge this gap between discourse and practice, specific methodological interventions are rare. Heritage trekking, we argue, draws from the interdisciplinary strengths of heritage studies while bridging the disconnect between heritage theory and heritage management.

Heritage trekking has the benefit of methodological specificity. Involving story-trekking, mapping, and data integration, it provides a grounded means of addressing heritage discourses and practices with implications for heritage management. Heritage trekking seeks to re-center heritage management and sites of heritage to critically assess the utilization and valuation of sites. We demonstrate the utility of this methodology in two contrasting case studies—in Mexico and Armenia—in order to complement predominant modes of methodological inquiry in archaeology and heritage.

We begin by discussing heritage trekking in the context of archaeological ethnography, heritage management, and mapping. We then review heritage trekking in programmatic terms, as a methodology that includes story-trekking, mapping, and data integration. We apply this approach to a landscape of historical trails around the Classic Veracruz site of El Tajín, Mexico and to the late Chalcolithic–medieval Areni-1 Cave-site in Armenia. Although distinct in occupational histories, landscape settings, and socio-political contexts, these case studies demonstrate how heritage trekking enables analyses and practical outcomes that would not be possible with more traditional archaeological or ethnographic methods alone. We conclude by emphasizing the versatility and adaptability of heritage trekking to a variety of contexts, research objectives, and practical applications. Ultimately, the methodology we propose draws on the existing strengths of archaeology and ethnography to offer an approach adaptable to a variety of research projects in heritage studies.

Contextualizing Heritage Trekking: Archaeological Ethnography, Heritage Management, and Mapping

Heritage trekking marries approaches from archaeological ethnography, heritage management, and counter-mapping

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to develop a practical method for the field of heritage studies. Broader anthropological and archaeological efforts to understand the past in the present form key foundations for heritage trekking. Formulations like archaeological ethnography (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Meskell 2005), ethnographic archaeologies (Castañeda and Matthews 2008), and ethnoheritage (Lafrenz Samuels 2018) all refer to the necessity of both archaeological and ethnographic research to understand the complexity of cultural heritage in specific contexts. Heritage trekking emerges from the broader framework and "hybrid practice" (Meskell 2005, 82) of archaeological ethnography. Scholars using this approach draw on an array of methods, including ethnography, archival research, museum interpretation, and forms of textual analysis (Garrow and Yarrow 2010; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Meskell 2005).

Archaeological ethnography is a mosaic of integrative practices. The adaptive nature of archaeological ethnography allows it to accomplish its primary objective: destabilizing the past as a privileged locale. As such, archaeological ethnography "directs archaeology's attention toward the contemporary relevance of the discipline in society … to broader accounts of social, economic, and moral import" (Lafrenz Samuels 2018, 48). Despite having recourse to a wide range of methods, there exists no prescribable set of methods that must be applied to every context. In fact, archaeological ethnography is "holistic anthropology that is improvisational and context-dependent" (Meskell 2005, 83). Heritage trekking functions as a part of the broader archaeological-ethnographic toolkit, but we consider it a specific, adaptable approach that can be used to understand heritage practices on the ground.

Heritage trekking is attentive to the multivocality of heritage, producing insights that offer alternatives to dominant archaeological heritage management discourses and practices. Often, Western heritage management practices lead to a divide between experts and non-experts (Rico 2017) that crystalizes discourses of monumentality, imbricating heritage in technical, standardized, and non-flexible systems of definition and practice (Ndoro and Wijesuriya 2015; Smith 2006; Wijesuriya 2003). To break from these hegemonic means of knowledge production, recent scholarship seeks to incorporate the perspectives of diverse non-experts in the investigation and management of heritage (e.g. Atalay 2012; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Schofield 2014). These approaches emphasize the inherent need to actively consider and include the values and utilizations of a range of stakeholders. Building on these approaches, heritage trekking brings to the fore local uses and understandings of heritage to inclusively highlight meanings not only from researchers and managers but also from local communities.

To create possibilities for dialogue between expert and non-expert perspectives, heritage trekking employs techniques of archaeological counter-mapping in new ways. Originating from Peluso's study of contrasting state and NGO mappings of the Kalimantan forests, the effort "to appropriate the state's *techniques* and *manner of representation* to bolster the legitimacy of 'customary' claims to resources" (1995, 384) has been taken up in archaeology and heritage to support goals broadly similar to those of archaeological ethnography (see Álvarez Larrain and McCall 2019; Byrne 2008). Using the mapping techniques common in archaeology and heritage management, counter-mapping projects have produced a variety of outcomes focused on appropriating cartographic logic to provide platforms for Indigenous perspectives to be heard: GIS maps (Byrne and Nugent 2004), Prezi presentations (Thomas and Ross 2013), and spatial narratives (Harrison 2010), among others.

Heritage trekking draws from these mapping techniques that seek to incorporate Indigenous voices, expanding them to include the wide array of stakeholders who lay claim to various forms of heritage. The maps generated by heritage trekking function as a common denominator between archaeologists, managers, and local communities. For archaeologists and managers, placing things in time and space is a key aspect of field research and heritage administration, whether through the measurement and documentation of strata or more complex geospatial recording techniques (Conolly and Lake 2006; Fitzjohn 2007; Kosiba and Bauer 2013; Rennell 2012). The Euclidean vision of space carries certain Western epistemological preconceptions about place, landscape, and nature which may not be shared in cross-cultural contexts (Fordred Green and Green 2003; Rundstrom 1995). Nevertheless, by placing diverse spatial perspectives on the same epistemological footing, heritage trekking provides a means of creating dialogue between different communities of knowledge.

Taken together, what makes heritage trekking specific is not its reliance on archaeological ethnography, heritage management techniques, or counter-mapping, but how it combines the strengths of each approach to address a methodological gap in heritage studies. Having been cross-trained in archaeology and ethnography, we have both experienced the challenges of working in a field that targets the meanings of heritage but offers little pragmatic guidance. Considering our different regional research foci, we were also motivated to develop a methodology that could be employed at heritage sites around the globe. We propose that heritage trekking, in programmatic terms, includes the following methods: story-trekking, mapping, and data integration.

Story-trekking

Story-trekking refers to participant observation and/or interviews conducted while following interlocutors to and around particular places (Fordred Green and Green 2003). The objective is to prompt and record place-based reflections, interpretations, and interactions. Conducting interviews about a place while traversing its terrain creates opportunities for exploring conceptions of space that may not come about during a traditional seated interview (Kusenbach 2003). Walking, hiking, or even driving around places of interest with interlocutors can afford rich ethnographic data that refers to the past and present in their concrete and affective dimensions (Luke and Cobb 2013). However, Byrne and Nugent (2004) caution that visiting places of significance may actually impair recall, as in cases where transformed landscapes are unrecognizable. As a result, the researcher should consider whether the objective is to recover certain pasts and/or understand how interlocutors interpret them. Out of all the components of heritage trekking, story-trekking has the potential to produce the most variegated datasets. Researchers may want to capture audio recordings of participant observation or interviews, while also recording other details through fieldnotes.

Mapping

Heritage trekking requires a documented engagement with space, legible to experts and non-experts alike. This means creating maps and visualizations based on already existing base maps (Byrne and Nugent 2004), whether using satellite imagery, site maps produced by archaeologists, or drawings made by local stakeholders (Lillehammer 2009). When starting heritage trekking, researchers should assess the availability of site maps and select a base map that will not only be easily legible to various stakeholders but also accessible. While researchers should be aware that maps sometimes privilege particular spatial epistemologies linked to nation-building projects and militarization (Allais 2018; Bewley et al. 2016; Casana and Laugier 2017), we consider that the appropriation of base maps for the purposes of inclusion and dialogue may still be worthwhile (Peluso 1995; Stewart et al. 2017). We suggest that simple and easy-to-interpret maps will be the most productive for the purposes of generating dialogue and understanding between scholars, managers, and stakeholders.

Data integration

The thick descriptions that emerge from the combination of story-trekking and mapping allow for heritage trekking to elucidate differing conceptions of heritage. Unlike other mapping approaches whose outputs are situated GIS products, and in contrast to traditional ethnographic approaches whose results are primarily in narrative form, heritage trekking integrates both, while generating other data outputs. As scholars begin to debate the uses of large, digital, multimedia datasets in the field of heritage studies (see Ch'ng, Gaffney, and Chapman 2013; Luke, Roosevelt, and Scott 2016), data integration becomes a critical means by which to negotiate the interdependent nature of data collection and interpretation. In the case of heritage trekking, data integration may incorporate timing metrics, graphs, georeferenced photographs, fieldnotes, and transcripts. Depending on how the data is cut, the output can transform in a way that is both flexible and emergent. The integration of these distinct lines of data allows for results that are understandable to heritage scholars, managers, funders, and other stakeholders. As such, data integration has the potential to generate productive dialogue among different stakeholders.

From Landscape to Cave: Heritage Trekking in Mexico and Armenia

In what follows, we employ heritage trekking in two case studies to demonstrate this method's broad applicability. First, we discuss the contextual specificity and methodological similarity of our case studies. Holley-Kline's study focuses on a network of footpaths around the archaeological site of El Tajín, arguing for heritage trekking's utility in rethinking the site's boundaries according to locally-relevant criteria of access, rather than presuming the importance of monumental architecture or the boundaries of modern communities. He also discusses heritage trekking's potential to rethink the traditional archaeological focus on standing pre-Hispanic architecture into one more sensitive to local histories. Papazian's research incorporates heritage trekking to study the day-to-day management and utilization that arise from the transnational research and safeguarding strategies at Areni-1 Cave in Armenia. Through one-on-one story-treks with local heritage professionals and detailed mappings of guided tour groups, Papazian discusses the ways in which heritage trekking has implications for not only understanding present uses of heritage but also conceptualizing its utilization and management in the future.

Case study: the caminos reales of El Tajín

Located in the north-central region of the Mexican state of Veracruz, in the modern municipality of Papantla (see Figure 1), El Tajín is considered "the maximum known expression of Classic Veracruz architecture and art" (Wilkerson 1999, 112). Famous for its niches, flying cornices, and distinctive iconography, El Tajín has been the subject of archaeological and art-historical research since its publication in 1785 (Koontz 2009). El Tajín's chronological location relative to other major Mesoamerican centers has historically been a point of contention (see García Payón 1971; Wilkerson 1989; contrast Brueggemann 1993). However, recent research has convincingly argued that a culture recognizable as that of El Tajín emerged around A.D. 350 and declined around A.D. 1200 (Pascual Soto 2006). This research tradition speaks to an overriding focus on the polity and rulership responsible for the state's monumental architecture. There has been relatively little research done on settlements outside El Tajín or on periods outside the development of the Classic Veracruz culture (but see Pascual Soto 2006; Wilkerson 1989).

This research tradition is partially a result of the structure of Mexican archaeology. In Mexico, archaeology is officially a function of the state (Lorenzo 1981). The federal National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH, in Spanish), founded in 1939, is legally charged with researching, conserving, and managing Mexico's archaeological sites. In practice, INAH archaeology tends to focus on the reconstruction and maintenance of monumental urban centers like Teotihuacán, Chichén Itzá, Palenque, and Monte Albán in order to develop national identity and the tourism industry (Lorenzo 1981; Vásquez León 2003). To do so, the INAH works through state-based regional delegations and local directorates, in charge of management and administration at the state level and at individual sites, respectively. Though the specific institutional configuration has changed over time, the centralization of heritage management in Mexico City and the delegation of managerial responsibility to specific local authorities has been a recurrent trend since the 1890s (Bueno 2016). El Tajín has had a federally appointed guard since 1902 (Holley-Kline 2019, 20).

As a result of this emphasis on monumentality, reinforced by the broader objectives of heritage management in Mexico, the site's Epiclassic extent has become a metonym for the broader landscape's archaeological past; the Pyramid of the Niches is a particular example (see Salas Landa 2018). In 1992, El Tajín was inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List as "El Tajin, Pre-Hispanic City" under criteria (iii) and (iv), which refer explicitly to the site's Epiclassic context. It is specifically for the monumental features of this context that the site was inscribed. For similar reasons, El Tajín was made a *zona de monumentos arqueológicos* (archaeological monuments zone) by presidential decree in 2001 (Secretaría de Gobernación 2001). While the declaration mentions architectural features, ballcourts, and the importance of

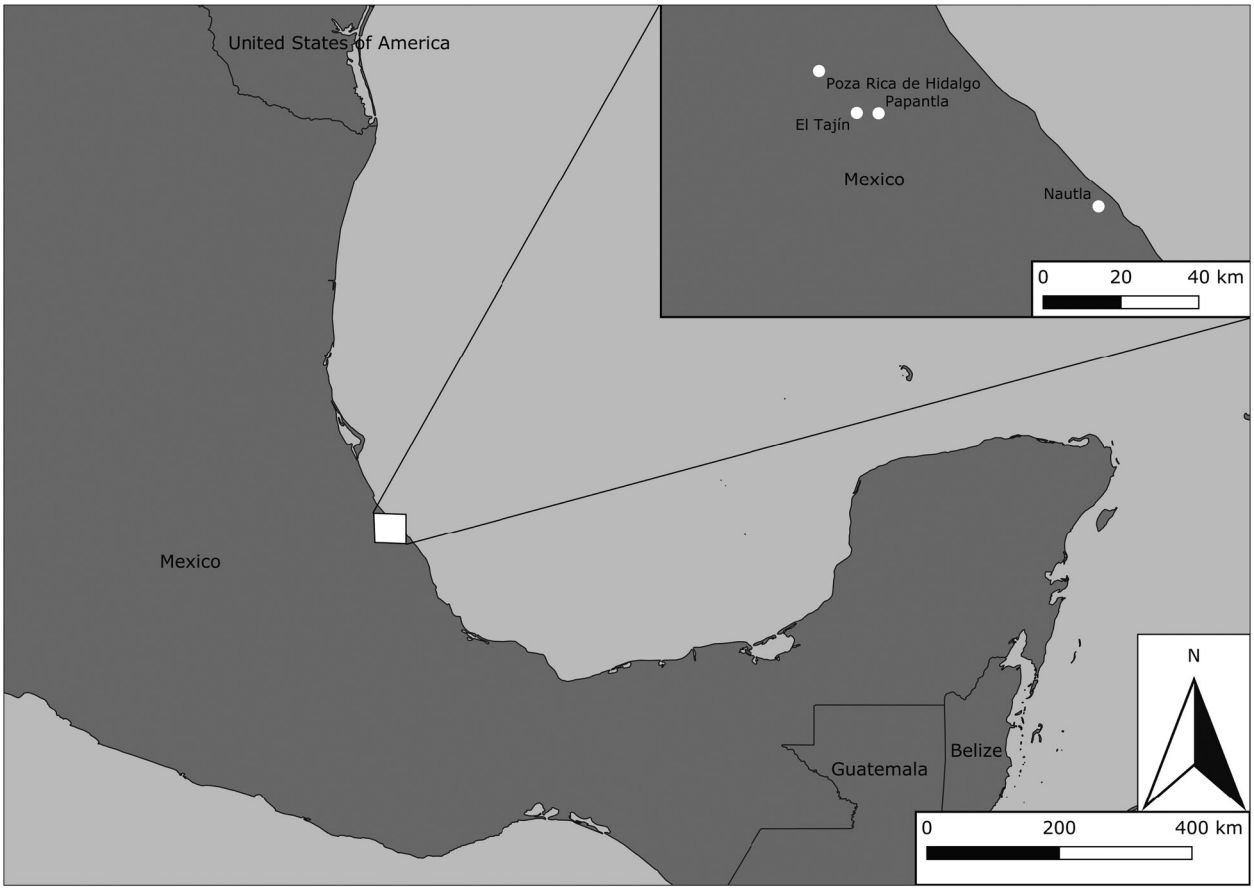

Figure 1. El Tajín in broad geographical context. Imagery: Natural Earth dataset.

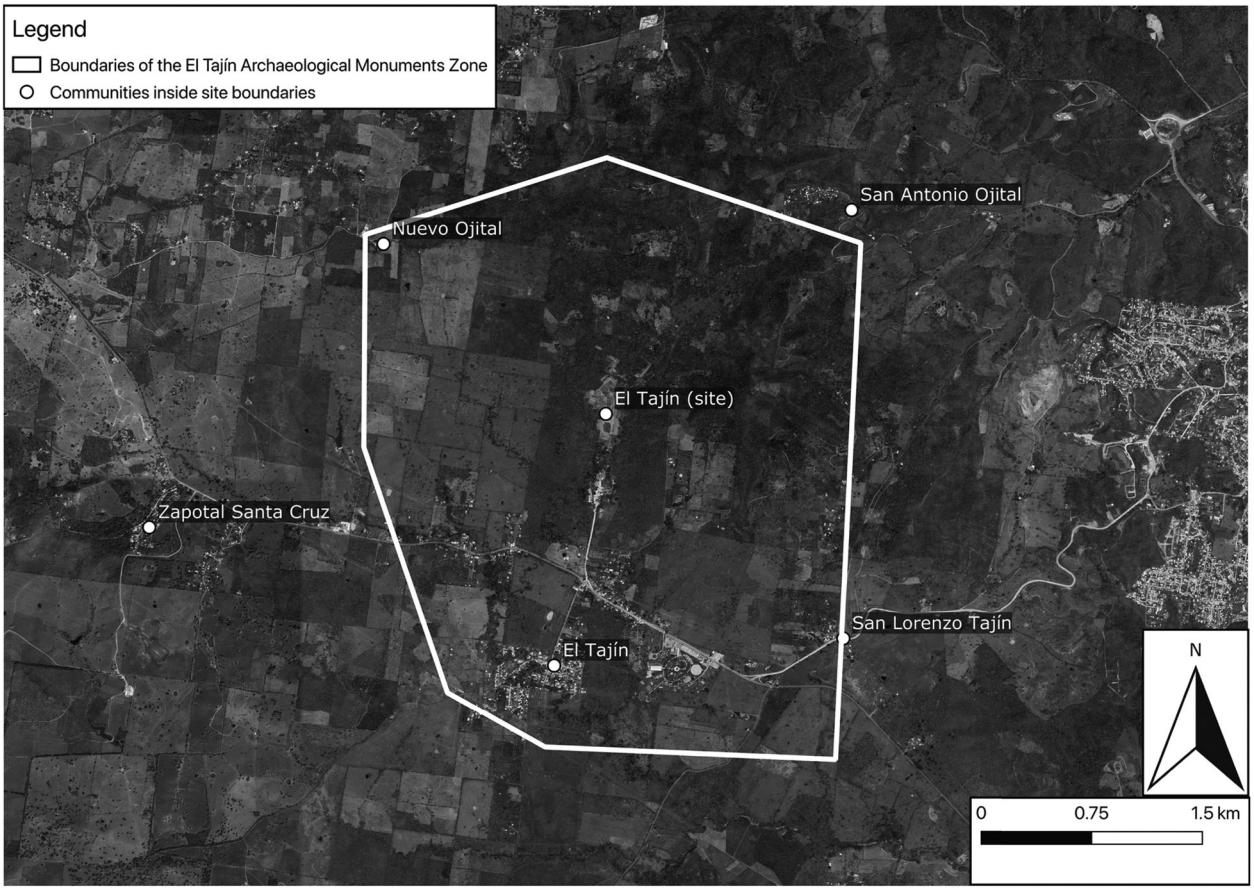

Figure 2. The El Tajín Archaeological Monuments Zone poligonal, in relation to the comunidades del poligonal. The municipal capital of Papantla is visible to the east. Imagery: Google Earth.

administratively protecting the site's architecture, the most notable effect was to expand the site's boundaries from around 240 to 1,221 ha and create new land use restrictions.

Focused on protecting the material remains of El Tajín's pre-Hispanic occupation, the declaration took no account of the modern Indigenous Totonac communities living near the site. As a result, the boundaries of the so-called *poligonal* came to encompass parts of five communities: El Tajín, San Antonio Ojital, San Lorenzo Tajín, Nuevo Ojital, and Zapotal Santa Cruz (Figure 2). Residents quickly began to protest the necessity of seeking permission for construction on lands they already owned. Given this territorial conflict, these communities became known as the *comunidades del poligonal* and the objects of INAH social-scientific intervention to alleviate the conflict (e.g. Nahmad Molinari 2005). However, given that a monumentalist bias produced the legal processes that made these communities "local" to the site, ethnographic research based in these communities alone risks reproducing this bias (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009).

The specific objective of heritage trekking in El Tajín was to understand the site's broader sociohistorical landscape, privileging Totonac perspectives over the archaeological concept of site, the borders used to define it, and the political boundaries of modern communities. To this end, Holley-Kline conducted nine months of ethnographic research in 2012–2013 and two field seasons of two months focused specifically on heritage trekking in 2014 and 2015. To date, Holley-Kline has conducted participant-observation, 42 interviews, 8 story-treks, and mapped approximately 42 km of trails as part of the heritage trekking project.

The process was an inductive one, beginning with participant-observation in the archaeological site and the nearby community of El Tajín. Holley-Kline sought to understand what histories residents considered important and why. Over time, interlocutors recommended that he investigate the *caminos reales*, broadly defined as footpaths used for pedestrian transportation before automobiles became common in the latter half of the 20th century. Asking about the caminos reales proved to be a useful way of discussing regional history, as residents associated travel via these paths with other histories related to changing cultivation patterns, the impacts of oil development, and the like. Interlocutors further suggested that some experience of the caminos themselves was necessary to understand the past and how things were different now. However, the category of camino real required some contextual definition because not every footpath was recognized as a camino real, and certain caminos reales had been built over or paved—but were still recalled as such. By implication, GIS mapping based on top-down spatial criteria alone would not be sufficient to understand caminos reales or locality as such. In this case, heritage trekking provided the methodological grounds for integrating mapping and story-trekking to understand the meanings, space, and histories of the caminos reales and their implications for understanding El Tajín.

Heritage trekking proved to be flexible, insofar as Holley-Kline was able to alternate between the use of different methods over the course of multiple field seasons. For example, multiple interlocutors in the community of El Tajín agreed that the camino real that went to Papantla actually came from the nearby community of Plan de Hidalgo. A story-trek to Plan de Hidalgo provided additional contextual information on the camino's use for routine commercial travel, as well as the boundaries of the respective communities. At the same time, a handheld GPS unit allowed for the recording of the specific landmarks, boundaries, and important sites discussed in the story-trek. With the camino real mapped, Holley-Kline was able to ask about more specific details in the following interviews in Plan de Hidalgo: how particular boundaries were marked, the locations of specific landscape features, and the like. Producing a straightforward map of the same provided a useful prompt for further interviews and presentations, enabling interlocutors to share other memories of the camino real in question: how social and commercial relations linked El Tajín and Plan de Hidalgo and how these changed when a paved road that did not pass El Tajín became the main means of transport. These other memories served as prompts for comparative interviews and story-treks in other communities, and the heritage trekking process proceeded accordingly.

For presentation purposes, Holley-Kline used Google Earth visualizations to discuss particular caminos reales with interlocutors and to produce a map that would allow for easy comparison between the camino real network and the poligonal. As a result, the analytical narrative and map produced here (Figure 3) provide a locally grounded contrast to the managers' maps (see Figure 2). Analyzing what defines a camino real, and what differentiates these paths from other kinds of transportation infrastructure, demonstrates a locally-specific definition of what constitutes "local." Using heritage trekking to elucidate these categories allows for the definition of a landscape defined neither by archaeological concepts of "site" nor by the political boundaries of modern communities (like the comunidades del poligonal). Rather, heritage trekking allows for a locally-specific concept of proximity that, represented in a visual form intelligible by interlocutors, heritage managers, and scholars alike, carries implications for local heritage management.

In El Tajín, heritage trekking provided the methodological means of defining, mapping, and representing this network of caminos reales. To understand the meaning of the camino real category, Holley-Kline's ethnographic engagement began with the comunidades del poligonal and worked outwards, complementing the story-treks. He began with Spanish-language interviews with Indigenous, Totonac-speaking middle-aged subsistence farmers living in communities of between 200 and around 2,500 people. Interviewees were residents of the communities of El Tajín (n = 7), San Antonio Ojital (n = 8), Nuevo Ojital (n = 11), San Lorenzo Tajín (n = 2), Zapotal Santa Cruz (n = 7), La Lagunilla (n = 3), Plan de Palmar (n = 2), Plan de Hidalgo (n = 3), and Gildardo Muñoz (n = 5). The majority of interlocutors were men (n = 33) of middle age (average age of 56, with a range of 35–90 years) who considered themselves subsistence farmers (n = 26). Topics of discussion included the most-used footpaths in each community, how they were used, and where they went.

The first common theme to emerge in discussions of caminos reales was their deep historical origins; this came about in their consistent attribution to the *abuelos* (grandparents or ancestors). As one interlocutor explained it: "the caminos reales were made, were made by the abuelos, since before … [when] it was all forest, just [land] parcels and, well, [the parcels] had already been divided into little pieces and they made a camino where all could exit, each one, for this reason they're called caminos reales, because they carried horses, they

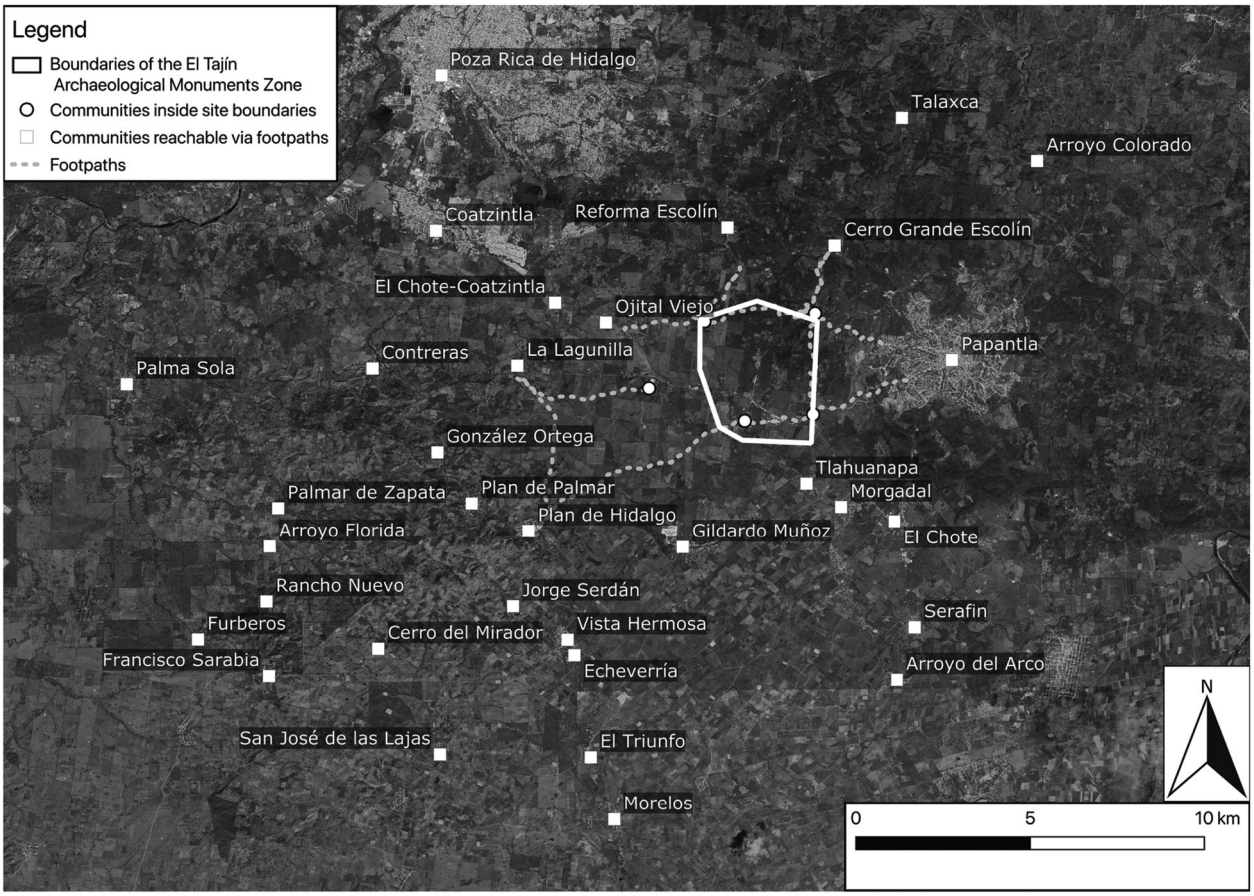

Figure 3. The poligonal and comunidades del poligonal compared with the communities reachable from the comunidades del poligonal in a day's walk via camino real. Note difference in map scale. For presentation purposes, the comunidades del poligonal are not labeled. Imagery: Google Earth.

couldn't enter any [cultivated] field with a horse, for that reason they made the caminos reales." Actions of the abuelos were a common denominator among many accounts. In nearly every case where an origin for a camino real is discussed, it is attributed to the abuelos—in contrast to private *caminitos* (little paths) that connect houses, the oil company roads of which Totonac agriculturalists later took advantage, or the state roads whose construction they solicited or not.

This attribution, and the implications of inheritance, point to a notion of communal ownership most clearly articulated in relation to the maintenance of caminos reales. Generally, the trails were kept clear by *faena*, a system of communal labor in which all heads of family above the age of majority were obligated to participate. Participation in faenas generally determined the community to which one belonged. For example, although one might live or have his property geographically closer to San Antonio Ojital than to El Tajín, if he gave faena in El Tajín, then he was from El Tajín (Kelly and Palerm 1952, 55). Among the most important tasks was clearing the caminos reales of vegetation with machetes, necessary because of how often these paths were used: in normative terms, many communities would go to Papantla on a weekly basis for routine buying and selling. In programmatic terms, one community would maintain the camino real to a certain point, beyond which the nearest other community would take up the task.

A camino real, then, might be defined as a footpath made by the abuelos and maintained through inter-communal faenas. Certainly, such paths extend far beyond Papantla. Respondents recognized more distant destinations for caminos reales, for example, to Espinal (today seat of the municipality of the same name), the neighboring Sierra de Papantla, or even Mexico City; as one older man, recalling the communities to which one could arrive by camino real, explained it to Holley-Kline, "[the caminos reales] have no end, because you can go to Cuetzalan, to Puebla, well, if you begin from Papantla, or from here you take the camino, it takes you, if you take this part, it takes you to Plan de Palmar, to Poza Rica." However, none that Holley-Kline interviewed had actually traveled so far; all almost always focused on local caminos reales. When interlocutors discussed travel on caminos reales, they described an area of communities that could be reached in a day or so. For the inhabitants of the region, this factor was key in defining which communities they associated with.

In short, an analysis focused on caminos reales revealed them to be paths made by recent ancestors and maintained through communal labor. They were most often used to reach communities and towns within a day's walk, though more distant destinations are recognized. If the communities reachable in a day's walk via camino real is used to understand what is "local" to El Tajín for the purposes of heritage research and management, a range of historical processes and local concerns emerge. These would not otherwise come about when archaeological or political criteria are used to define stakeholdership.

Following these definitions through the heritage trekking process enabled Holley-Kline to produce a map based on, but distinct from, the administrative maps used to chart the relationships between El Tajín and the comunidades del

poligonal (see Figure 3). Comparing the space of the archaeological site and the top-down boundaries imposed by the 2001 declaration with the camino real network yields three implications both for the case of El Tajín and for heritage trekking more generally.

First, if the ability to reach a place within a day via a camino real constitutes grounds for proximity, then what is considered "local" to the archaeological site is much larger than the boundaries of the poligonal indicate. Figure 3, for instance, includes every community mentioned as an origin, destination, or a stop on a camino real, for a total of 40 individual communities, rather than five. By extension, an investigation of the archaeological site's recent history with reference to the comunidades del poligonal alone involves a retrojection of site boundaries into a period when they were not relevant. Importantly, this does not disqualify the applied analyses of the social conflicts emerging from the 2001 declaration (e.g. Nahmad Molinari 2005). Rather, the argument is that what is "local" should be defined according to how interlocutors understand proximity, rather than relying on top-down boundaries. More broadly, the heritage trekking we discuss here provides a grounded means of bounding an archaeological-ethnographic investigation according to local criteria.

Second, for the purposes of heritage management, including the communities outside the boundaries of the archaeological site may allow for more informed analysis of local understandings of the site. For example, promoting the monumental pre-Hispanic heritage embodied in El Tajín may have less relevance for communities outside the poligonal. However, discussing locally relevant histories like those linked to caminos reales may provide a way of inviting more distant communities to involve themselves in the use of the archaeological site. This becomes especially clear when examining the specific histories associated with the caminos reales.

Third, and by extension, heritage trekking enables the exploration of histories linked to, but not defined by, particular archaeological landscapes (compare Byrne 2008). For example, while story-trekking along the Plan de Hidalgo-El Tajín-Papantla camino real mentioned above, interlocutors recalled a hill called Trakgátlokg as an obligatory point of passage before arrival to Papantla. In collaboration with a local historian, Holley-Kline story-trekked and mapped the section of camino real that passed Trakgátlokg. The same Google Earth-based GIS that enabled the mapping of the broader camino real network facilitated the analysis of more specific caminos reales (Figure 4). Thus, while ethnographic interviews gave the general route of the path and histories associated with its use, heritage trekking allowed for the integration of spatial data that provides additional detail on path length, hill height, elevation grade, and the like. The same GIS data could allow for further analyses (intervisibility, least-cost paths, etc.) designed to explore locally-important histories linked to other pasts embedded in the archaeological landscape (e.g. Fitzjohn 2007; see review in Verhagen 2018).

In the case of a site often defined by its monumental Epiclassic occupation, heritage trekking allowed for the analysis of a contextual definition of locality: an area reachable within a day's walk on footpaths made by the abuelos and maintained through faenas. For our purposes, heritage trekking elicited a counter-monumental history that, though spatially linked with the archaeological site, better reflects local history. The camino real associated with Trakgátlokg hill is an example of the same. El Tajín is far from the only site for which a single period is metonymic for an area's entire past. Neither is it unique in that proximity and administrative designation have created, and risked retrojecting, a "local" category to which certain communities belong. As such, the heritage trekking discussed here for El Tajín has the potential for use in other such sites.

Case study: Areni-1 Cave

Areni-1 Cave, located in the village of Areni (Figure 5), approximately 68 miles south of Armenia's capital, Yerevan, transformed into Armenia's most internationally renowned archaeological site when archaeologists discovered the world's oldest leather shoe (3627–3377 CAL B.C.) (Pinhasi et al. 2010) and the world's oldest wine production center (around 4000 B.C.) (Figure 6) (Barnard et al. 2011). Archaeologists began systematic excavations in the cave in the mid-2000s, and because of its remarkable finds, the cave has transformed into a premier site of transnational developmental interests. As well as being the site of research collaborations among several global universities, Areni-1 received financing for tourism development and conservation through a 2013–2017 Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation (AFCP) grant. This grant, awarded by the U.S. Embassy in Yerevan, totaled to over USD 50,000 and has contributed towards the safeguarding and conservation of the site. The high-profile archaeological discoveries and AFCP grant have bolstered Areni-1 onto the global map. Subsequently, these developments have attracted an increasing number of Armenian guides bringing international and national tourists to see the cave and the artifacts within, including the late Chalcolithic wine production center, prehistoric plastered floors, large *karas* (ceramic containers), and remnants of medieval kilns and pottery (Areshian et al. 2012; Wilkinson et al. 2013).

Areni-1 Cave provides a rich archaeological ethnographic case study in which to analyze the nexus of many socio-political agendas, interactions, and outcomes that elucidate how transnational heritage professionals and their respective goals coexist, coincide, and sometimes collide with more local forms of management. Specifically, heritage trekking at Areni-1 afforded an analysis of the site's day-to-day management and utilization by local heritage professionals while also conceptualizing ways in which future management strategies could contribute to the sustainable preservation and research of the cave.

In Armenia, archaeological and cultural heritage management fall under the purview of the state but rely heavily on transnational funding. As a result, a multitude of stakeholders, both private and public, national and international, are involved with heritage management. In late 1920, when the short-lived First Republic of Armenia transformed into the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (1920–1991), Soviet leaders immediately created a government office that was responsible for listing, monitoring, managing, and preserving heritage (Papazian 2019). A century later, that office sits within the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture, and Sport (formally the Ministry of Culture during Papazian's fieldwork). While this office is responsible for managing heritage sites, it is the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography (IAE) of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia that

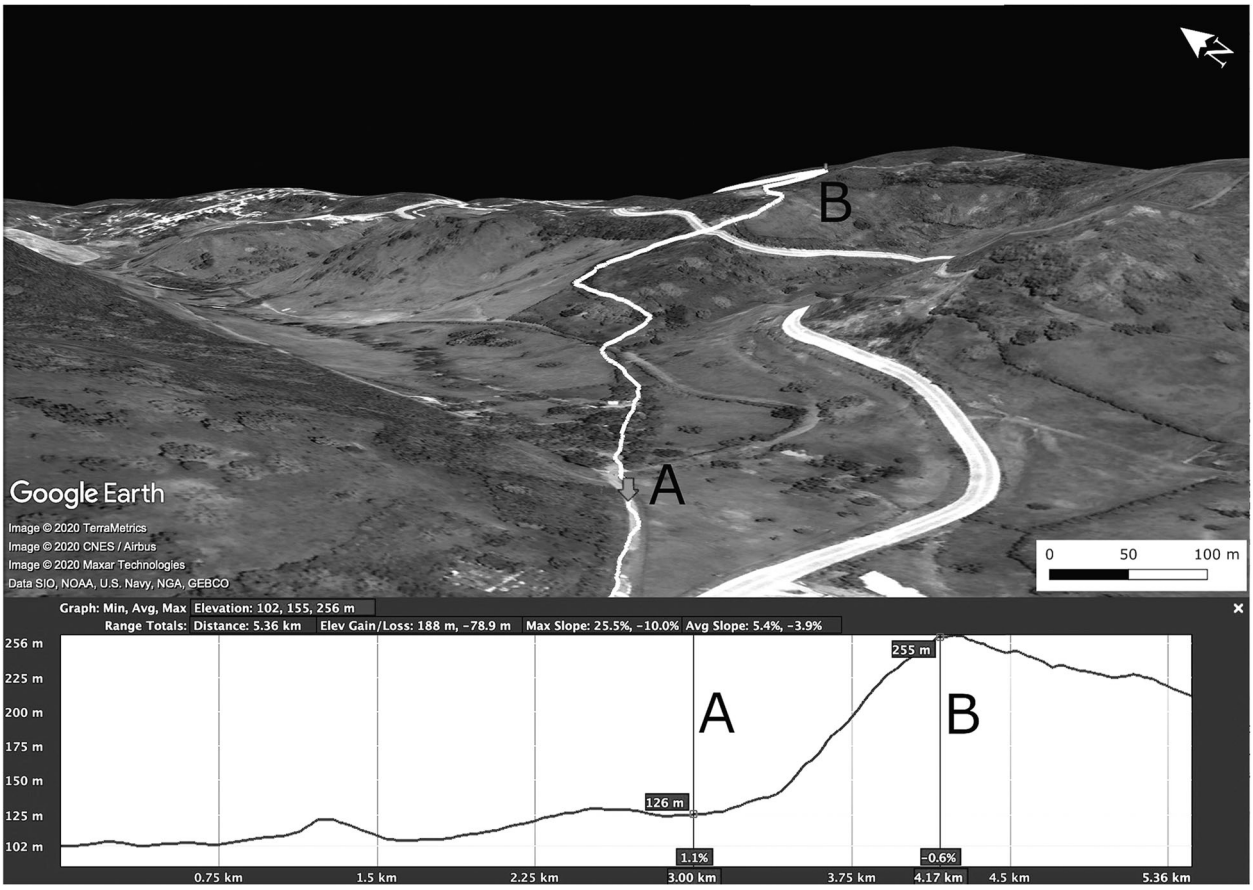

Figure 4. The camino real to Papantla, in white, passing over Trakgátlokg hill as seen from modern San Lorenzo Tajín. Points A and B link map locations to the elevation profile. Source: Holley-Kline after Google Earth.

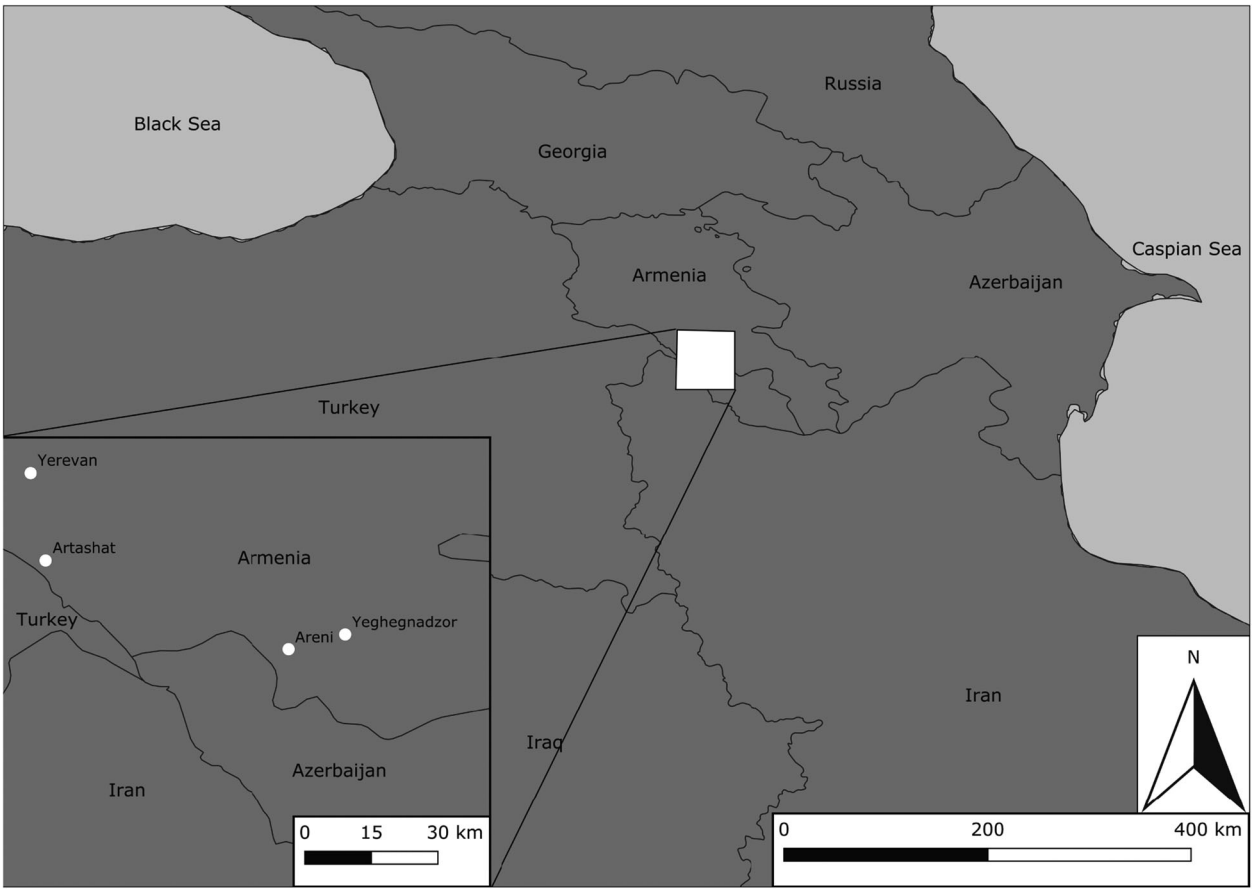

Figure 5. Areni in broad geographical context. Imagery: Natural Earth dataset.

Figure 6. A trench in Areni-1 Cave revealing a late Chalcolithic wine production center. Photo: Hrair Hawk Khatcherian.

conducts the majority of archaeological research within the Republic, including research at Areni-1.

However, with limited state financing for maintaining and managing cultural heritage—the Armenian government allocates only around USD 600,000–700,000 per year to the heritage management office (Casnati 2014, 59)—and dwindling financing for archaeological research (the IAE spends approximately USD 124,000–145,000 of state money on excavations per year [Papazian 2019, 271]), both the government and IAE turn to transnational funders for financial assistance. This reliance on outside sources of funding, and at times expertise, coupled with lingering Soviet bureaucratic structures, has created a complicated network of stakeholders that monitor, manage, and research heritage in Armenia. At Areni-1, Armenian heritage professionals, including officials in the Ministry of Culture, the site's primary archaeologist from the IAE, and the site's local custodian, and international officials (i.e. diplomats from the U.S. Embassy) were working together to make the site more accessible to a growing group of tourists and researchers.

Heritage trekking at Areni-1 Cave revealed how heritage professionals and other stakeholders (i.e. tourists and tour guides) are using and interacting with the site on a day-to-day basis while also appraising what parts of the cave were the most visited. The layout of the site and its physical constraints, including low ceilings, narrow passageways, and limited lighting, were critical topics of concern for heritage professionals and funders as they envisioned new ways to safeguard the cave. Increased foot traffic from higher than normal visitation was affecting the integrity of unexcavated materials under shallow dirt flooring, impairing the site's future research potential. While tourism to Areni-1 Cave during the time of Papazian's research in 2016–2017 was increasing, a local site custodian restricted and monitored visitation. This custodian worked under the guidance of the site's principal archaeologist, who was based out of the IAE in Yerevan but would frequently visit Areni. A substantial amount of local and international tourists traveled to the site, usually in groups with a guide. However, only a select few were granted entry into the cave due to growing concerns for the site's sustainability. Employing heritage trekking at Areni-1 allowed for a nuanced understanding of the site's current and potential utilizations.

While traditional archaeological ethnographic methods, like interviews and participant observation, afforded a high-level understanding of how the present and future state of the site was being conceptualized among different stakeholders, heritage trekking offered an analysis of how the site was actually being used. Heritage trekking produced substantial, replicable data that bridged the gap between attitude and behavior, providing comparable points of analyses and visualization. By spending extensive time at the site and utilizing heritage trekking, where Papazian collected data in a controlled and prescriptible way, a better understanding of the recent changes, uses, and conceptualizations of the site emerged. Papazian wanted to assess how the AFCP-funded wooden walkways, lighting, and signage, all recently incorporated to safeguard the site's trenches and artifacts, affected interpretation, perception, and management of the site. By methodologically tracing pathways and interactions within the site and documenting how people spoke about the tangible heritage, a narrative surfaced that revealed how the archaeological artifacts and the space of the cave played an active role in creating, forging, and cementing social and economic relationships that affected the utilization of the site and provided data on visitation patterns.

Two types of integrated mapping and story-trekking emerged from Areni-1. One constituted a semi-structured approach that included one-on-one story-treks with local heritage professionals (n = 3). These heritage professionals included the site's primary archaeologist, the site's custodian, and one of the nearby shopkeepers who also controlled access to the site when the custodian or archaeologist were unable. The second type consisted of following tour groups and recording the movement, dialog, and interaction of tour guides with tourists (n = 9). The conservative number of mapping and story-treks is reflective of the protected nature of the site. Despite spending several months at Areni-1, only a small number of tours were permitted to enter the premises. Furthermore, national and foreign heritage professionals, like officials in the Ministry of Culture and U.S. diplomats who administered AFCP funds, were located in Yerevan, 68 miles from Areni, making their visits to the cave infrequent. While conducting heritage trekking with these sets of stakeholders would have been beneficial, these officials never visited the site during Papazian's fieldwork, which took place over several month-long visits in 2016 and 2017.

Papazian's decision to divide story-trekking and mapping activities between local heritage professionals and tour groups was deliberate. Local heritage professionals spend a substantial amount of time at the site in the day-to-day, as they interact with the cave as researchers and safeguards. A local heritage professional always accompanied tours within the cave, often contributing to the narration of tour guides. Tour guides, who are usually employed by tourism agencies in Yerevan, visit the site once or twice every few weeks.

Heritage trekking revealed that these guides on average spend only 16 minutes per visit at the cave. While both groups relied on the site for income, the local heritage professionals had a more direct and committed managerial affiliation with the site and were more concerned with its sustainability and preservation, not only for tourism but for future research potential.

Both forms of integrated mapping and story-trekking allowed Papazian to target how the tangible and visual realities of the material past affect the site's present management strategies. Through mapping foot-traffic and listening to the opinions of heritage professionals and tour guides, a picture of the most visited parts of the site emerged. Heritage trekking also highlighted several narratives that were provoked from moving through the site and contemplating the exposed trenches. Narratives ranged from recollections about moments of archaeological discovery to more generalized conceptualizations about Armenian history and culture.

All story-treks included a detailed analysis of movement through time and space. A stopwatch helped record the amount of time guides and professionals spent speaking about each feature of the site. This timing component provided a means to measure if certain aspects of the site drew particular forms of prolonged attention over others. Papazian noted in a field notebook the times of arrival to and departure from each location. Times were later recorded in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet which matched location to length of stay and also briefly noted the topics of discussion centered around each location. Tour guides and heritage professionals stopped on average at seven locations around the three interior trenches within the cave (Trenches 1, 2, and 3). Difficulties in timing arose when tour groups were given time to explore between stops. To account for this, the beginning and end of the guide's or professional's conversation at a particular location was considered a concrete stop. This generalized timing system allowed for a comparison metric that measured the length of time people spent at specific areas within the cave.

For each story-trek, Papazian superimposed each stop her interlocutors made within the cave onto a base map of the site, labeling stops numerically in chronological order. Story-treks were traced on a topographic map of the site created by a team of archaeologists and used in scholarly publication (Smith et al. 2014, 250) (Figure 7). This map became the base map for the heritage trekking employed at the site. The base map included numbered trenches, delineated by red blocks, and constituted the way in which Areni-1's primary archaeologist conceptually relayed his findings to both the site's custodians and, often, tour guides, who modeled much of their interpretations off conversations with the archaeologist. The archaeologist also shared the base map with the U.S. Embassy to delineate areas of the cave that may have needed wooden walkways and interpretive panels. Thus, this base map was already in circulation amongst a range of stakeholders. For the purposes of heritage trekking, rather than functioning as a precise measurement of movement, the base map acted as a visual aid that could be used to compare and contrast movement of different groups.

Note-taking at Areni-1 extended beyond calculating the time spent at each feature within the cave and marking stops on a map. Since heritage trekking facilitates archaeological ethnography, recording what people said and how they interacted on story-treks was paramount to realizing the past's potency in the present. Papazian recorded conversations of each group and correlated each discussion to particular timepoints and locales on the map. Running the voice recorder and the stopwatch concurrently allowed for this linkage to occur. To further provide nuance to recorded speech, Papazian took detailed fieldnotes during each walk, paying careful attention to surroundings and any interactions that would have been difficult to capture in a recording or on a map. Thus, each heritage story-trek within Areni-1 produced several outputs: fieldnotes, an Excel spreadsheet with stops and times, a map marked with stops, a recording, and a transcription of the recording. All datasets were correlated in order to analyze the connection between heritage, space, and perceptions. While datasets could also be appraised individually, for the most part, data was more robust when assessed as a collective whole.

Once all heritage trekking at Areni-1 was completed and the data outputs were considered holistically, a narrative of heritage utilization and management surfaced. At the cave, most tour groups were accompanied by the local site custodian, who often provided extensive and vibrant interpretations that correlated with or even superseded a tour guide's explanations. A resident of an adjacent town, the site custodian has been affiliated with the cave for over a decade. He helped monitor the cave during excavations in the mid-2000s and assisted in bringing electricity to the cave by running a cable from a nearby restaurant to the site, a system that was modified and refurbished through the 2013–2017 AFCP grant. Today, the custodian's informal role is to monitor the site and to accompany groups that enter the locale. To gain access to the site, guides had to know the site custodian, as entry was limited. The protection of the site was of paramount importance to the custodian, as countless story-treks revealed he diligently opened and re-locked the two gates that lead up to the entrance of the cave and turned the lights on and off after each group. He also constantly reminded visitors to be mindful of the trench-lines and to be careful while walking into narrow passageways. As he told one group, "Everywhere we step is a monument and I really cherish the protection of this site." His care and attention to the site links him ideologically and economically to the cave. As the site's custodian, his labor connects him to the site's archaeological heritage more strongly than traditional notions of national or ethnic descent from the prehistoric or medieval dwellers of the cave. Lisa Breglia's study of site custodians at Chichén Itza shows how attention to labor in the heritage sector is important "given the rapid pace at which the global circulation of capital is constantly restructuring both the social and economic arrangements that lend heritage its multiplicity of values, market and otherwise" (2005, 396). In the case of Areni-1, heritage trekking revealed that heritage labor structured, organized, and modified the flow of tourism which impact the day-to-day realities of the site.

Additionally, what became apparent from the data was that the heritage and its interpretation were not primarily tools used to facilitate international tourists learning about Armenian history and identity. Rather, heritage and interpretation acted as a means for guides, the site custodian, and other locals and researchers who visited the site to negotiate their own relationships with each other and also to mediate the management of the site.

A combined analysis of heritage trekking's outputs of maps, timed stop points, fieldnotes, and audio recordings

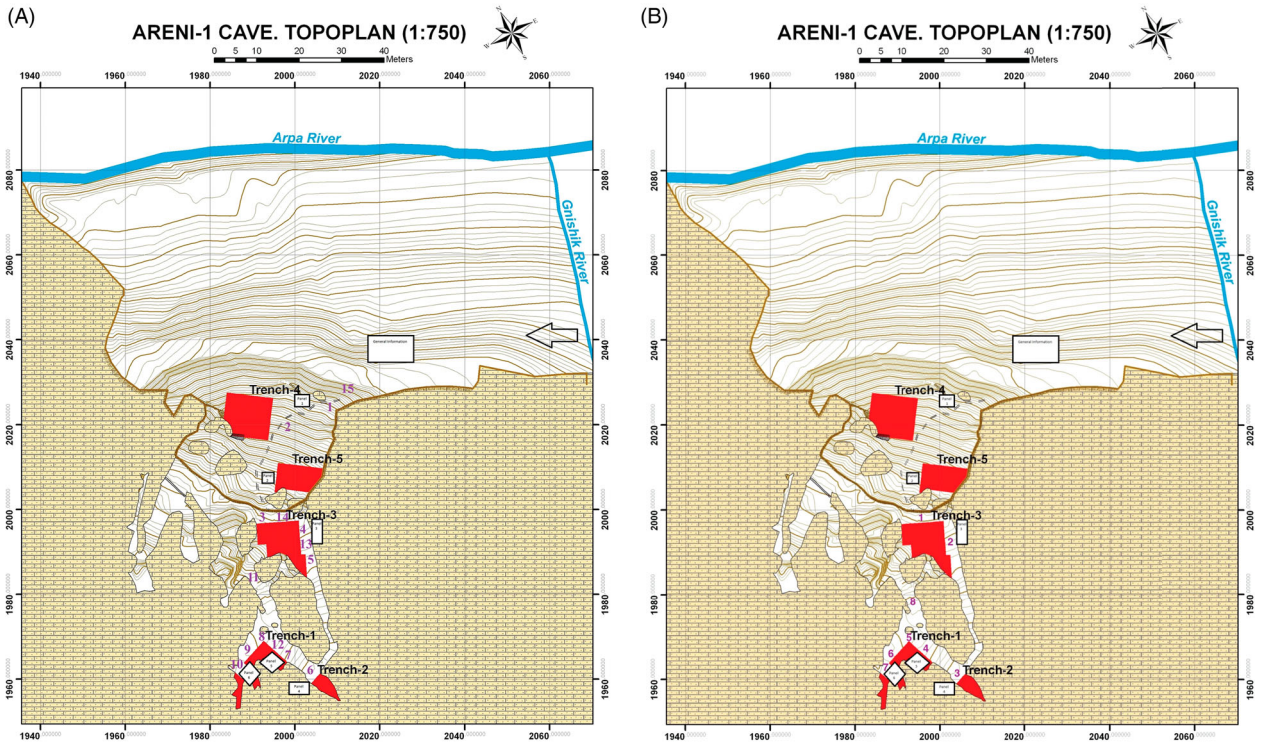

Figure 7. Papazian used a base map of Areni-1, which already included trenches (red boxes) and potential interpretive panels (white boxes), to record story-treks. Papazian used purple numbering to indicate stops from a story-trek with the site custodian (A) vs. a story-trek with a guide leading a group of international tourists and local Armenians (B). Base map adapted from Smith et al. (2014, 250).

revealed that Trench 3 was the locale that received the most prolonged visitation and was on average a group's first stop. Trench 3, the area in which archaeologists discovered the world's oldest leather shoe, was the first place to highlight the significance of the archaeological findings and to reify the privileged access to the site. Standing in front of Trench 3, guides and the custodian were adamant about naming the site's primary archaeologist and the archaeologists who discovered the shoe and other artifacts at the site. These names constituted auxiliary facts for tourists who, Papazian noticed on story-treks, were primarily interested in taking pictures, examining the exposed trenches, and reading the interpretive panel that exhibited a picture of the shoe. However, acknowledging the archaeologists and their discoveries not only signified the custodian and the guides' respect for and connection to the archaeologists, and therefore their right to be in the cave, but also bolstered the diminishing status of the social sciences in Armenia.

Archaeology in Armenia, and the Soviet Union more broadly, saw a boom in disciplinary growth in the 1950s through the 1970s, when large development programs and external socio-political realities increased the need, and therefore funding, for archaeological expeditions (Klejn 2012; Lindsay and Smith 2006). In the Soviet era, archaeologists and architects were paid a substantial living wage and granted exceptional employment benefits, including cars, drivers, and assistants. Today, they make an average USD 100–150 a month, a sum that one archaeologist told Papazian, "Makes no one proud" (Papazian 2019, 273). However, archaeology continues to be considered one of the most fruitful and well-funded social science disciplines, and archaeologists still enjoy the status and prestige associated with their titles, despite the lack of national research funding. Guides and the custodian help bolster this respect by pointing to the trenches and interpretive panels while narrating the archaeologists' remarkable material finds in the cave in order to garner the site more attention and, ultimately, funding.

In addition to maintaining previous relationships, guides, local tourists, and the custodian also created new relations during story-treks, which assured future access to the site. As guides paused to allow tourists to view the trenches or ask questions, they would often speak with Papazian or the custodian in Armenian in hushed tones. They would chat with Papazian and the custodian, noting the disposition of their groups and commenting on how tourists were experiencing the site. Tours became spaces for visitors to not only witness the archaeology firsthand, but for the site custodian, guides, and visitors to broaden their social networks, where they used and were inspired by the physicality of the space to incite new conversations.

After story-trekking with a mixed group of international and local Armenian visitors, Papazian watched as the group of Armenians lingered behind the larger international group. As the international group and the guide started to walk into the back rooms of the cave, the Armenian group stalled on the wooden walkway at a popular stop on the eastern edge of Trench 3, which jutted over a medieval kiln. The custodian explained that the late Chalcolithic and medieval layers were only separated by a few centimeters of soil and that the archaeologists were surprised to find thousands of years of occupation compressed into a small stratigraphic profile. This narrative was meant to not only highlight the occupational history of the site but also attune visitors to the fragile nature of stratigraphy in the cave, imploring visitors to consider how their movement through Areni-1 may affect unexcavated materials. Heritage trekking revealed that local heritage professionals repeated this story to all groups who managed to stop at this location. As the Armenians peaked over the metal railing of the walkway and into the

trench, one of the women in the group intently stared at the kiln and after a few moments, turned to the custodian. She exclaimed that she was a former student of one of the cave's archaeologists and immediately the custodian lit up, his demeanor towards the group turning warmer. As Hodder notes, humans and things are intimately entangled, and these human-thing entanglements are often "compounded by conceptual abstractions and bodily resonance, a reverberation between mind, body and the world of things" (2012, 204). The medieval kiln captured the attention of the young woman and triggered her to mention that she once studied the material past, which then precipitated a reaction from the custodian. As the international tourists and Armenian locals made their way deeper into the cave, the Armenian woman asked the custodian who was allowed in the space. He stated only guides he and the primary archaeologist knew well were allowed, as the site was fragile and unable to accommodate a large flow of tourists. The girl mentioned that she worked for a tour company and would like to occasionally bring guests to the cave. The custodian took some time to ponder this proposition and, after leading the group outside the cave, stated that depending on the day and the condition of the cave, he would be happy to see her in the future and would allow her tour groups to visit the site.

Heritage trekking not only accumulates data on the real-time utilization of sites, but also has implications for influencing future heritage management and safeguarding strategies. During Papazian's fieldwork at Areni-1, U.S. Embassy officials and the archaeologist were strategizing how to spend the final allocation of the AFCP funds. While the archaeologist, U.S. diplomats, and the Armenian Ministry of Culture jointly decided to place a limited set of wooden walkways in the most vulnerable parts of the cave, heritage trekking can provide additional information, like the average time spent at certain features within the site, that can direct heritage professionals to make additional implementation plans. Initially, wooden walkways were added to the eastern side of Trench 3. Near the end of Papazian's fieldwork, a wooden walkway was constructed on the eastern side of Trench 1. Timing story-treks within Areni-1 afforded a generalized understanding of which sections of the cave experienced the most prolonged foot traffic (Figure 8). While more tours would need to be followed to provide statistically significant figures, time calculations revealed that the northern side of Trench 3 and the northwestern side of Trench 1 experienced the most attention by visitors and guides. Deploying heritage trekking to trace movement and usage patterns can help heritage managers and financers make informed decisions about future safeguarding initiatives. With the help of additional international funding, the archaeologist envisions wooden walkways throughout the whole cave (an initiative that was completed upon Papazian's return to the site in December 2019) to not only preserve the site, but also to allow researchers to continue the excavation of the site without disturbing visitation patterns. Some of the wooden walkways are elevated, which would allow archaeologists to expand extant trenches while also facilitating visitors walking above. The results garnered from heritage trekking at Areni-1 could potentially help heritage managers decide where to put the next walkways and also where to position interpretive panels. Heritage trekking, as a method of archaeological ethnography, can be employed to not only analyze the present uses of the past but also enrich future management strategies.

In the case of Areni-1, heritage trekking provided substantial, comparable datasets that illuminated not only the day-to-

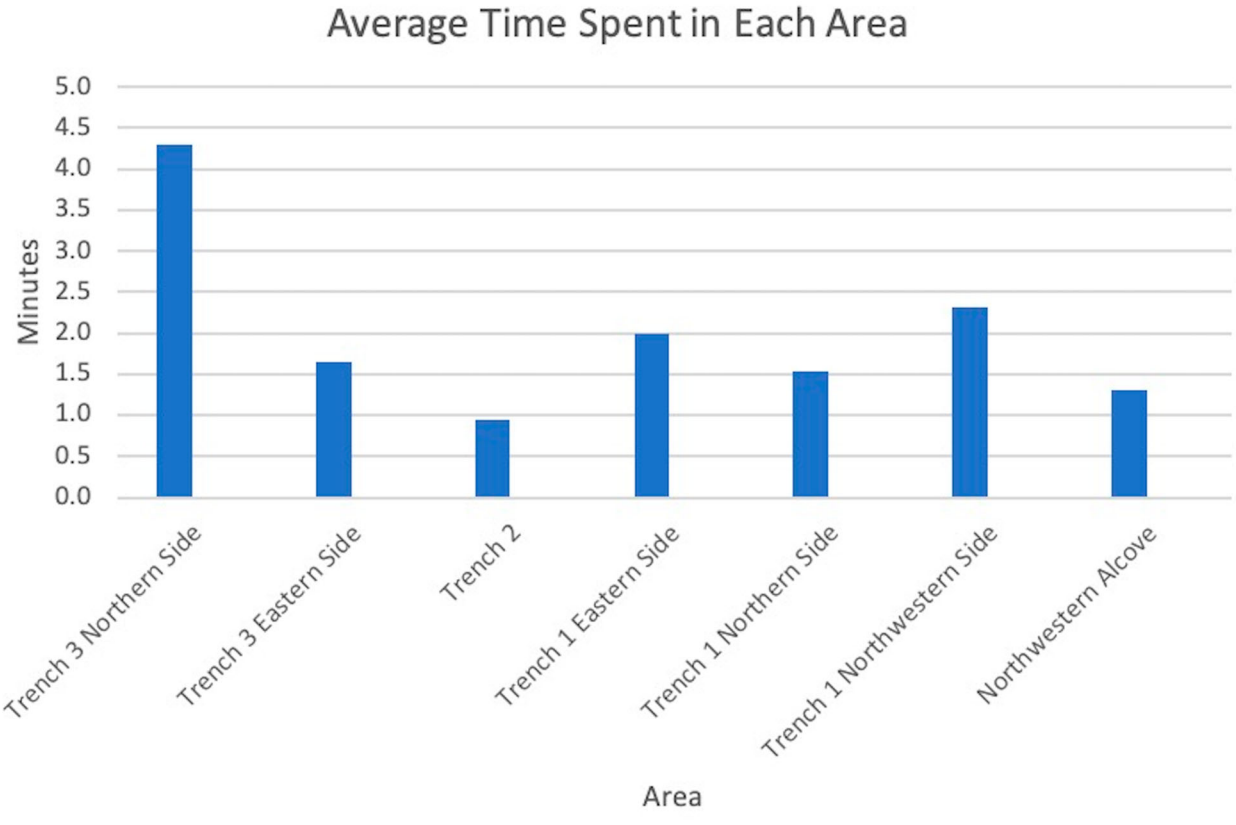

Figure 8. Averaging the length of time spent during each story-trek at each stop produced this graph, which provided a visualization of the areas of the site that experienced the most prolonged visitation. Source: Papazian.

day utilization and management of the site but also facilitated nuanced analysis that could impact future management strategies. Traditional archaeological ethnographic methods, like interviews and participant observation, would have provided a generalized understanding of the utilization and conceptualization of the site. However, heritage trekking produced a targeted dataset that focused on movement and interaction throughout the cave. From integrating story-treks and mapping, Papazian was able to assess day-to-day management and utilization patterns while also coalescing data to give a robust understanding of the site's usage. Ultimately, heritage trekking can be employed to understand both the present and future use of sites.

Discussion

Comparing and contrasting the authors' case studies demonstrates the versatility of heritage trekking across a variety of social, spatial, and temporal contexts. Considering these case studies together demonstrates the adaptability of this approach. First, it can be used in a variety of spatial and social contexts (e.g. urban settings and rural communities, individual heritage sites and broader landscapes, Eurasia and Latin America). Second, heritage trekking allows for the collection and analysis of data beyond the bounds of traditional interviewing, participant-observation, and mapping techniques commonly employed in studies of archaeology and heritage. Third, heritage trekking has practical implications for heritage management strategies.

Due to the diversity of interlocutors and settings presented in these case-study sites, the methods that each author in their cases were distinct. Holley-Kline used GPS mapping to trace kilometers-long footpaths across a landscape and followed up with story-treks and interviews in a variety of communities. Papazian relied on a more generalized mapping strategy within Areni-1 that integrated story-trekking and the timing and recording of stops. Heritage trekking's strength comes not only from its ability to adapt to a wide range of research contexts, but also from the production of outputs whose form depends on the specific application of the methodology. By undertaking multiple story-treks and mapping strategies with targeted stakeholders, the subsequent data integration (i.e. transcripts, fieldnotes, and GIS maps for Holley-Kline and transcripts, fieldnotes, annotated maps, and Excel tables for Papazian) produces datasets that allow for charting change across time in a single research context. Importantly, these datasets are also comparable across cases. Thus, the maps produced by each author were designed to be commensurable with other archaeological and managerial maps currently in use.

As both case studies show, heritage trekking allows for analyses that would not have been possible through more traditional ethnographic interviews, participant-observation, and/or archaeological mapping strategies. For Holley-Kline's interlocutors, the fact that the camino real category had a specific contextual definition meant that tracing their extent based on already-existing maps or interviews alone was impossible. Rather, the combination of mapping, story-trekking, and data integration was necessary to understand the nature and extent of the camino real network. Understanding the caminos reales as a network of footpaths made by the abuelos and used for routine travel to communities within a day's walk meant using access as a criterion for understanding what is local to El Tajín, rather than proximity as defined by the state or archaeology.

At Areni-1, targeting analysis of a particular area through the comparison of maps produced from story-treks, the average length of time spent at the location, and the integration of fieldnotes and discussions happening in the area allowed for a holistic understanding that would not have been garnered otherwise. On each story-trek that stopped at the eastern edge of Trench 3, the site custodian would point to the medieval kiln to demonstrate the thinness of the site's stratigraphy, highlighting his concern for the sustainability of the artifacts and reifying his position as protector of the site's heritage. Heritage trekking revealed that stopping at this particular locale had implications for the future use of the site. On one story-trek, the medieval kiln created an opportunity for an Armenian visitor to make a connection with the site's custodian, which allowed her to later propose bringing her own tour groups to the cave. The implications of these analyses, contingent on space, materiality, timing, and stakeholders, would have been difficult to ascertain in one-on-one interviews or participant observation that did not take into consideration movement and visitation patterns through story-trekking and mapping.

Transcending the traditional output and analysis of ethnographic and archaeological methods, heritage trekking can influence heritage management strategies. In Holley-Kline's case, heritage managers' maps were defined by the borders of the poligonal and the communities it encompassed. Bringing the partial camino real map into the same space, with similar point-and-line forms, calls attention to El Tajín's broader social context and the histories it holds. By implication, heritage management strategies could involve communities that, though not subject to the land-use restrictions of the poligonal, are nevertheless stakeholders in the historic Tajín landscape. Papazian's production of multiple maps and timed stop points, when integrated and analyzed, allowed for a visualization of visitation patterns. Furthermore, when fieldnotes and transcriptions were taken into consideration, a more nuanced understanding of day-to-day management emerged. These outcomes would allow heritage managers and funders to know where to place wooden walkways and interpretive panels. This form of targeted site maintenance will allow for a more sustainable future for the site. Far from being a scholarly exercise alone, heritage trekking has the potential to affect day-to-day management at places like El Tajín and Areni-1. While the success of the merger between academic research and management has yet to be fully realized, heritage trekking is a step in this direction. Beyond just revealing stakeholder valuations and uses of sites, heritage trekking produces results that would not be accessible through more traditional archaeological or ethnographic methods while allowing for practical integration with heritage management strategies.

Conclusion

Today, archaeological heritage finds itself at the nexus of research concerns involving identity construction, rights, development, conflict, and diplomacy, to name a few. Scholars in heritage studies, archaeology, and anthropology have proposed broader methodological frameworks to address the past in the present (e.g. Lafrenz Samuels 2018; Meskell 2005; Sørensen and Carman 2009). Heritage trekking emerges from one such framework, archaeological ethnography, while

specifying the methods that allow for a grounded engagement with sites, stakeholders, and heritage management. In this article, we have presented two case study sites to demonstrate the applicability of heritage trekking to various locales.

Scholars in heritage studies have used the interdisciplinary contributions of archaeology and sociocultural anthropology to develop theoretical interventions useful across a variety of contexts. However, methods have tended to draw on disciplinary training rather than interdisciplinary approaches suitable for the specific contexts of heritage sites. If we understand "heritage as practice" (Breglia 2006, 14), where heritage is conceptualized as a set of social relationships among all those who "use" a site, then we need a methodology to not only take into consideration the actions and attitudes of users, but also one attuned to the changing temporalities and spatialities of the site itself.

By using archaeological techniques like mapping and data integration, and mixing them with ethnographic methods like story-trekking, we suggest that heritage trekking offers a suite of methods sensitive to how a range of stakeholders conceptualize and utilize heritage day-to-day. Advocacy for methodological transparency and the development of specific methods—like the heritage trekking we propose here—can only serve to further develop the field of heritage studies (Gould 2017; Hølleland and Niklasson 2020; Sørensen and Carman 2009; Zarger and Pluckhahn 2013). We hope that the combination of story-trekking, mapping, and data integration that we call heritage trekking will be such a contribution to the methodological development of heritage research.

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