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Social Memory and Landscape: A Cross-Cultural Examination

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Social Memory and Landscape: A Cross-Cultural Examination

Abstract

The study of social memory and landscape in archaeological contexts is a recent trend in social archaeological theory. As such, and despite the flexibility, applicability, and usefulness of this approach, not many sites or societies have been studied from this perspective. The purpose of this examination is to demonstrate the flexibility, applicability and usefulness of the interpretive frameworks by applying it to three disparate sites and societies which are vastly different culturally, spatially and temporally. Research at these sites has not focused on issues of social memory and landscape, despite their perfect suitability.

Keywords

Social Archaeology, Landscape, Memory, Gettysburg, Teotihuacan, Kincaid Mounds

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Comments

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Introduction

The study of social memory and landscape in archaeological contexts is a recent trend in social archaeological theory. As such, and despite the flexibility, applicability, and usefulness of this approach, not many sites or societies have been studied from this perspective. The purpose of this examination is to demonstrate the flexibility, applicability and usefulness of the interpretive frameworks by applying it to three disparate sites and societies which are vastly different culturally, spatially and temporally. Research at these sites has not focused on issues of social memory and landscape, despite their perfect suitability.

The loci of the my examinations range from ancient to modern, from Mesoamerican to Native American to Modern American, and from mountain basin to river valley. They seem to have little in common beyond their status as archaeological sites, until one begins to examine the ways that people remember, and have remembered, those sites. Then, similarities begin to arise; one can see this in the ways people remember, in the ways they imbue places with meaning, and in the ways conflict can emerge in memory. I do not assume that these similarities reflect universality of human cognition, memory or culture – Instead, I argue that my study demonstrates the cross-cultural applicability of the theoretical framework.

This applicability is demonstrated by connecting themes which play out between three sites: Teotihuacan, Kincaid Mounds, and Gettysburg. Teotihuacan is an ancient urban site located about 25 miles north of Mexico City that has been designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and is maintained by the Mexican Federal Government for the benefit of the Mexican people. Kincaid Mounds State Historic Site is a poorly preserved Mississippian mound group in the lower Ohio River valley that is maintained ostensibly by the Illinois State Government, but is in actual fact mostly supported by local stakeholders. Gettysburg National

Military Park is a commemorative area, abutting a town, which is maintained by the United States Federal Government in remembrance of the American Civil War. All three sites are currently preserved by stakeholders and as such are all three actively engaged landscapes of social memory.

The first part of the paper lays out the development of the relevant theories of social memory and landscape. After the theory section I adopt a biographical approach to better introduce the sites, and to highlight the most important aspects of those sites in relation to the themes which will be developed in the discussion. Each site shares with the others aspects of different themes relating to memory and landscape. Some of these themes have been mentioned in passing above: multivocality and conflict in memory, and inscription of memory into charged landscapes. Other themes include monumentation as a form of memorialization, and the differentiation of public from private space in the landscape. In the conclusion, I argue that the new interpretive framework has allowed for new questions to be asked, and for old questions to be redressed in new ways, at three vastly different sites.

Social Memory

The concept of social memory attained prominence in the realm of anthropological theory in the late 1980's with the publication of Paul Connerton's "How Societies Remember", but in fact has a much longer pedigree and can be traced to its foundations with sociologists of the early 20th century. Social memory, in its nascent form, was first postulated by Maurice Halbwachs as *collective memory*. To Halbwachs, collective memory was the recognition of memories shared within a group. This collective memory was really just a conglomeration of many individual memories. Halbwachs concept of collective memory is not described as something superorganic

or even stand-alone, despite his connections with Durkheim's early sociology and the *Annales* movement in France. For him, collective memories only exist in the communication between group members of their individual memories. It is through this process of sharing that "predominate thoughts of the society" come to the fore (Halbwachs 1992[1952]: 21-28).

Halbwachs focuses on the reality of the present in relation to the formation and recollection of memories, both collective and individual. In other words, the truth of the memory lies with the actors which recall that memory. The memory is based in the present. This stems from the basic truth that the past is gone, and memory lives on within the minds of individuals, and the consensus agreement between them will dictate the form of the collective memory. This consensus, as it occurs in a time which is removed from the time which is being remembered, is shaped not only by the different people which are part of the remembering, but also by the cultural milieu wherein the past is being reconstructed. (Halbwachs 1992[1952]: 46-51). As he says of individual memory, so too does he say of collective (social) memory:

... [it] is nevertheless a part or an aspect of group memory, since each impression and each fact, even if it apparently concerns a particular person exclusively, leaves a lasting memory only to the extent that one has thought it over- to the extent that it is connected with the thoughts that come from the social milieu (Halbwachs 1992[1952]: 53).

Halbwachs also pioneered the concept of memory as an ingrained part of an important place or landscape: "Sacred places thus commemorate not facts certified by contemporary witnesses but rather beliefs born perhaps not far from these places and strengthened by taking root in this environment" (Halbwachs 1992[1952]: 199). Halbwachs says that for a supernaturally based religious event to be concretely entered into the collective memory it needs a location to be bound to. Rather than being exclusively spiritual, collective memories inscribed in common locations with egalitarian access could perpetuate and spread themselves over generations and into new groups. Public memorialization or localization of abstract ideas aided

the process of remembering the ideas (not without changes over time however) (Halbwachs 1992[1952]: 193-200).

Halbwachs lay undiscovered or unappreciated by anthropologists and archaeologists for over forty years before Connerton. The next significant treatment of social memory is *How Societies Remember*. But it is not merely a rehashing of Halbwachs; within the book Connerton clearly differentiates his own theory. While Halbwachs stresses the importance of the present social milieu in the reconstructing of the past, Connerton emphasizes the inverse:

Concerning memory as such, we may note that our experience of the present very largely depends upon our knowledge of the past. We experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with past events and objects, and hence with reference to events and objects which we are not experiencing when we are experiencing the present... Hence the difficulty of extracting our past from our present: not simply because present factors tend to influence- some might want to say distort- our recollections of the past, but also because past factors tend to influence, or distort, our experience of the present (Connerton 1989: 2).

He furthers this argument by pointing out the fundamental nature of social memory in group formation, and in politics of the social: "...we may note that images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order. It is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory" (Connerton 1989: 3). These shared memories serve as the fuel for an inherent "inertia in social structure" (Connerton 1989:5). The shared (social) memories are themselves conveyed and sustained through both *inscribing practices* and *incorporating practices*, which re-create the memories for the benefit of the newer generations. These two phrases are Connerton's most influential contributions to the field: *incorporating practices* "are all messages that a sender or senders impart by means of their own current bodily activity, the transmission occurring only during the time that their bodies are present to sustain that particular activity" (Connerton 1989: 72). He cites commemorative ceremonies as the best examples of this type of remembrance, such as tribal dances, war memorial gatherings or even everyday body

postures and practices. His other contribution, *inscribing practices* “require that we do something that traps and holds information, long after the human organism has stopped informing” (Connerton 1989: 73). Examples of this from modern times are such as he provides (computers, tapes or photographs), and pre-modern or pre-literate examples would consist of monuments, markers, or otherwise alterations to the landscape.

Connerton asserted that the history of the social sciences had been one of a focus on interpreting the inscribing practices of the past, and he was convinced that the incorporated practices of the past wielded great power over the social memory of past societies. He places myth, the passed down tradition of social memory and history, in the camp of the inscribed memory and in opposition to the ritual which he sees as the epitome of incorporated practice. Connerton sees the transmission of myth as not requiring belief by either teller or listener, and furthermore as an informal and readily changeable form of information transfer. He sees it as a “reservoir of meanings” from which agents may draw endless permutations of lessons and ideas to stress or obfuscate in retellings and re-workings of the tales (Connerton 1989: 53-61). Ritual on the other hand, he sees as requiring tacit approval from all participants. As a performative action, ritual employs reflexive and self-fulfilling language which refers back to the re-enactment of the ritual itself. In plain language, it is an end unto itself, with the “point” of a ritual being to enact the ritual. A ritual re-enacts and performs, whereas a myth will only teach a lesson. Employing the rhetoric of re-enactment, ritual incorporates masks, gestural performance, and linguistic/liturgical performance to re-present acts or agents (literally “re-present”, to make new again). Through the constant re-enactment of ritual, the social memory of the object of that ritual is constantly re-formed (Connerton 1989: 53-61).

After Connerton, many publications followed on social memory in anthropology and archaeology, and as with most theories, the expansion of authors created an explosion of different themes which had as their lynchpin the overall framework of social memory. Multivocality and conflict in memory is a popular theme in recent archaeological scholarship (Ashmore 2009; Joyce and Hendon 2000; King 2001; and Pauketat and Alt 2003). The idea of social memory as unified and monolithic finds its counterpoint in multivocality- the acknowledgement that each individual or sub-group will have its own take on social memories, based on their relation to that particular aspect of the past, whether it is the result of a contestation of power, or just difference in interest. As will be demonstrated in this paper, multivocality and conflict are crucial and inescapably integral parts of all social memory; the very passage of time signifies the birth of new agents who will have their own subjective appraisal of group memories, each individual and group shaped not only by their own thoughts, but by the currents of the social milieu within which they re-interpret the past.

There are, in addition to the theme of multivocality and contested memory mentioned above, three further themes which dominate the discussion in the field. All three of these themes employ a landscape approach to investigate their themes of social memory. In order to interpret traces of social memory from the archaeological remains, one has to understand how those social memories attained materiality and were inscribed into the landscape to be recovered by archaeologists.

Landscape

The ascendancy of the landscape approach is even more recent than that of social memory; despite the temporal proximity of its founding theory to that of the foundational theory

of social memory. The explosion of landscape archaeology really occurred between the mid nineteen nineties and the early two thousands, and saw its full integration with social memory approaches by the tail end of that period. But the foundational texts for this field have long been extent in the literature. Most archaeological work that employs a landscape approach owes a debt to the phenomenological writings of both Heidegger (Heidegger 1962) and Merleau-Ponty (Merleau-Ponty 2002[1962]), as well as the works of Bourdieu, particularly in relation to his interpretations of the concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977).

The main hallmark of landscape archaeology has been the understanding that human activity and human mentalities are enacted within a physical location – the phenomenological approach points out the inherent truth that everything (every action, all discourse, and all thought) takes place within a landscape. The “inhabitation of place” create these landscapes; “...places emerge as places through their involvement in structures of understanding and practice. Places are always already place-like as soon as we are aware of them, use them, and consume them” (Thomas 1998: 83-85). Landscape archaeology then is really the study of people-in-place; of understanding the importance of people’s physical surroundings in the creation and maintenance of their conceptions of themselves and others, as well as their day to day lives. The opposite is true in that on a daily basis people are shaping their surrounding physical environment to their own cultural specificities; this recursive relationship playing out over the entire length of occupation of a place.

Almost all landscape work can be traced in some regards to Heidegger’s incredibly influential work *Being and Time* and his concept of *Dasein* or Being-in-the-world (Heidegger 1962). Being-in-the-world as a concept could be summed as the understanding that humans exist only in surroundings of distinct materiality, in relations with other distinctly physical things

which make up the world. This vast simplification of a complex philosophical treatise gets at the kernel of theory which landscape archaeologists have clung to – namely, that people exist within environments of physical things and places. Through the introduction of issues of structure and agency the picture has been complicated to include the way those physical things and places have affected the people occupying their spaces. Bourdieu’s work is a prime example of this sort of second level theory that set the stage for the rise of landscape archaeology. Particularly, his interpretation of *habitus* as the sets of socially constructed “normal” actions, thoughts and dispositions which have been constructed over time and transmitted through social interaction (Bourdieu 1977), and (of particular interest) through physical surroundings such as socially constructed house layouts (Bourdieu 1970). Merleau-Ponty, although himself a philosopher, is worth mentioning as a founding figure of landscape archaeology, even though my own work does not draw much from him. His work on the primacy of perception and the physical interface of the body to the environment (Merleau-Ponty 2002[1962]) has provided the seed for the current burgeoning literature on embodiment and embodied experience of place.

By the middle of the 1990’s these three theorists had set the stage for the rise of landscape archaeology, and in 1998 Thomas called for an “archaeology of phenomenology” (Thomas 1998: 1-93) which heralded the explosion of work from which archaeologists draw today. Knapp and Ashmore address the then-booming rise of landscape archaeology and emphasize the novel nature of addressing human-land interactions in a non-economically oriented manner; “Today, however, the most prominent notions of landscape emphasize its socio-symbolic dimensions: landscape is an entity that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced and contextualized by people” (Ashmore and Knapp 2000: 1). This focus on the “socio-symbolic dimensions” of landscape opened the door to such fascinating cross-theoretical

concepts as biography of place, emplacement, and monumentation (Ashmore 2009; Bender 2007; Manzanilla 2002; Meskell 2003; and Umberger 2002). It is in this tradition of theoretical hybridity that I am pursuing an examination of landscape and social memory at the three sites in this project.

Biography of Places: Teotihuacan, Kincaid and Gettysburg

The biographical approach has shown promise in the study of things (Kopytoff 1986) in addition to its traditional role in ethnographies of people; the same concept can be applied to place. As Kopytoff says in his influential article:

Biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure. For example, in situations of culture contact, they can show what anthropologists have so often stressed: that what is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use (Kopytoff 1986: 67).

This same idea can be applied to landscapes- for it is the people who are moving and changing, and the landscape that remains static:

To bring the foregoing points together entails recognizing that places acquire life histories, or biographies, as people live in them and that these biographies may incorporate any of the kinds of alternative meanings just described. Places that are marked by buildings and other discrete architectural features accumulate histories as constructed elements are built, occupied ... or allowed to fall to ruin. Each of the diverse acts is a chapter in the life history that can carry profound, potent social and symbolic meanings (Ashmore 2009: 16).

Therefore it is the way that different people “culturally redefine” the same landscapes over time that we are interested in here. This will allow us to access issues of multivocality over time.

Furthermore, this biographical approach will allow us to follow the cultural changes over time, which ties in perfectly with the generational nature of social memory.

Zona Arqueológica de Teotihuacán

Teotihuacan is located twenty five miles northeast of the heart of Mexico City, in the Basin of Mexico, a high altitude intermontane plane. The site, situated as it is in the Basin, is surrounded on three sides by mountains – the exception to this rule being to the east where, during the Classic period, Lake Texcoco lay. This lake which has since dried up and disappeared under Mexico City was an important resource. The semiarid environment produces scrub and cactus, but not much else to block the wonderful vistas afforded by the location. Two rivers ran through the ancient city, the Rio San Juan and the Rio San Lorenzo, though now both are trickling streams that are only noticeable by their fetid smell when crossing over them.

The history of long term sedentary occupation in the landscape around Teotihuacan is first recoverable from around 1000BC. By 500BC the area of the Classical city was sparsely dotted with small villages (Millon 1973:50). At most, the residents of the Teotihuacan area in this time period numbered at a thousand individuals, according to Millon's Teotihuacan Mapping Project. By 100BC, the area began a new era of growth and change in settlement pattern. The villages coalesced into one larger settlement that, covered an area within the bounds of the northwest quarter of the Classic period city (Millon 1973: 51). This original settlement served as the foundation of the Classic period city; the several temples (the only stone or permanent public buildings in this period) are built over in traditional Mesoamerican style for the next millennium and serve as anchors of the city's plan for the Classic period (Millon 1973: 51). This permanence of sacred place is one of the hallmarks of Teotihuacano memory, and over the following centuries these early examples of monumental architecture were to grow in size and extravagance of decoration. The rest of the buildings of this period were built of impermanent materials and were mostly one storied.

Between AD1 and AD150, population and construction at Teotihuacan exploded- the city expanded to an area of twenty km² and to a population of possibly 25,000 to 30,000 persons (Millon 1973: 52). During this period, known as the Tzacualli phase (which forms part of the Terminal Pre-Classic Period), there was an expansion of public architecture, and the emergence of the basic layout of the city. The original layout of the Avenue of the Dead, which was to serve as the ceremonial and spatial axis of the city for the rest of its existence, was in place at this time (Millon 1973:52-53). This street runs straight through the city and establishes the layout of the city's architecture. This orientation, known as "Teotihuacan North" is 15.5 degrees off astronomical north (Sugiyama 2004:102). Two of the three most recognizable pyramids at Teotihuacan were first built during this period – the Pyramids of the Sun and of the Moon. The residential buildings of this period retained their impermanent character, and also did not conform to the regular grid system we see later – nor are they oriented to Teotihuacan North (Millon 1973: 53). Conformity of all the architecture at Teotihuacan to this orientation attests to a controlled and shared idea of urban identity, which is also reflected in the shared labor which would have been required to construct the monumental architecture in the city.

Within the next fifty years the population density of the city increased dramatically, though its extent in space did not – this would lead to the need to conceive of a new settlement pattern at Teotihuacan, which was addressed in the next archaeological phase (Millon 1973: 54-56). The Ciudadela was constructed during this phase of fifty years. This enormous plaza, surrounded by stone temples and focused around the Temple of Quetzalcoatl (The Feathered Serpent Pyramid), was to be the home of the rulers of Teotihuacan for the remainder of its history. The stone buildings produced for them were the prototypes of the apartment compound which was to solve the housing crisis mentioned above (Millon 1973: 55).

The following period of Teotihuacan history sees the beginning of the Classic period at Teotihuacan, which denotes both the extent of its size and population, but also supposedly the greatest extent of its cultural importance. The most markedly material evidence of this Classicalness is the rise of the apartment compound, the archetypical housing unit at Teotihuacan:

The Tlamimilolpa phase (ca. AD200-450) is characterized by an enormous amount of building activity, apparently signaling a revolutionary change in settlement pattern. Permanent stone walled residential compounds, most consisting of a number of apartments, appear to have been built of relatively impermanent materials. High, faceless walls and narrow streets became the rule in most of central and north-central Teotihuacan. The city assumed the form it was to have until its fall (Millon 1973: 56).

These apartment compounds combined many nuclear families into corporate groups, and placed them within a private sphere. The surrounding walls of the apartment compounds really are “faceless” as Millon says; they are more than two times the height of a modern person, and serve to completely set off private, permanent space. This distinction of private space from public space denotes a distinction of access to memory by creating new groups which share daily tasks and activities and therefore form their own social memories within the confines of their own apartment compound.

The fall of Teotihuacan has been described as sudden and unexpected. Regardless, during the eighth century the center of the city burned and was never rebuilt. Shortly thereafter, the city as a whole was abandoned and the population dispersed and/or disappeared (Millon 1973: 59-61). It was already in ruins when the Aztecs began to use it to legitimize their rule at Tenochtitlan. The Aztecs, using the legacy of the (already ancient) city to claim cultural descent even though they were really nomadic peoples from far to the north, referenced Teotihuacan architecture (**See Figure 1**) and art. They placed their origin story at Teotihuacan, and during some periods, the Aztec ruler travelled from Tenochtitlan to Teotihuacan as often as every

twenty days to perform rituals (Hamann 2002: 351). Developing his theory of “original debt” as a sociological universal in Mesoamerica, Hamann ties the Aztecs to Teotihuacan on a deeper level than superficial political theatre:

Because of this, the many tangible references to Teotihuacan within the Mexica capital would have done more than simply “legitimate” the Mexica as a people by linking them to one of Central Mexico’s ancient civilizations (as, perhaps, one could claim for material references to the post-Sunrise Toltecs). Implicitly and explicitly, Teotihuacan-referencing remains would have reminded the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan of the place where their basic debts to the gods originated. Implicitly and explicitly, such materials would have reminded the *macehualtin* [commoners] of their dependence on the elites who worked to repay those primordial debts, and whose elevated status itself was linked to Teotihuacan (Hamann 2002: 357).

The names for the massive pyramids and the ceremonial avenue running through the city come to us from the Aztec – and are therefore interpretations in themselves (Millon 1973: 33). Thus we see that over time, various groups can imbue the same places with importance and cultural meaning, even obfuscating the original memories attached to the landscape.



Figure 1: Serpent heads on outside of Templo Mayor, an Aztec temple in Tenochtitlan which is reminiscent of the Feathered Serpent Pyramid at Teotihuacan. Photo by Author.

Now, the Zona Arqueológica de Teotihuacan is a national park for the Mexican people. Entrance is free to nationals, and at an hours’ drive outside of Mexico City, it is a convenient and

popular day trip for schools as well as picnicking families. The remains have been restored extensively, though due to an easily distinguished stone patterning one is able to tell original from restored, including the remains of several apartment compounds which are simply amazing. With the possible exception of the locals hawking merchandise at every passerby, the park is world-class, as reflected in its UNESCO World Heritage Site designation.

Kincaid Mounds State Historic Site

Kincaid Mounds is located in the southernmost tip of the state of Illinois, in a bend of the Ohio River, straddling the line between Pope County and Massac County. The settlement was originally built directly on the Ohio River, but over time the course of the river has shifted further south, and the only remaining traces of it are in the soil, and stagnant pond that fills the old watercourse and which has been designated Avery Lake (See **Figure 2**). Though little is known archaeologically about the early human occupation of the Lower Ohio River Valley (LORV), there is evidence of Paleo-Indian peoples and Archaic period occupation as early as 10,000BC (Muller 1986: 45).

Period & Date Range	Remarkable Developments	Evidence in the Lower Ohio River Valley
Paleo-Indian Period 10,000BC – 5,000 BC	Entrance of humans to region	Periodic camp sites, Clovis points
Archaic Period 4,000BC-1000 BC	Plant domestication, sedentary lifeways	Carrier Mills burials over several generations
Woodland Period 1000BC-AD1100	Reliance on cultigens, permanent settlement	Kincaid site population greater than in Mississippian period
Mississippian Period AD1100-AD1400	Adoption of Mississippian culture package	Construction of Mound and Plaza complexes, within palisade

Figure 3: Condensed chart of human occupation of Lower Ohio River Valley

The story of the development of subsistence patterns in the Lower Ohio River Valley is long and slow; the first evidence of plant domestication in the region comes between 4000 and 3000BC with sumpweed, gourds and squash in evidence as cultigens. There is a marked explosion in population along with a reliance on cultigens in the Woodland period, which is attested to by the surprising fact that the density of middens in the Kincaid area is actually higher during the Woodland period than it is during the Mississippian period (Muller 1986: 109). These people lived probably permanently, and certainly semi-permanently, at what became known as Kincaid in “substantial houses” (Cole 1951:227). However, at this time Kincaid lacked its most distinguishing feature- its mounds.

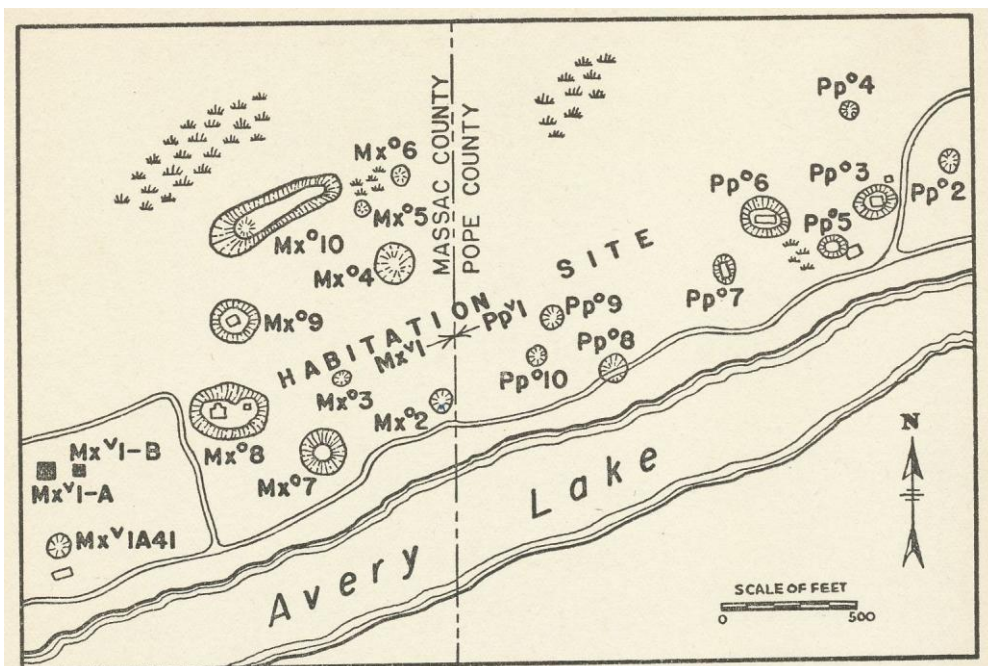


Figure 2: Map from University of Chicago excavations, showing Avery Lake (Cole et al 1951)

The mounds were a Mississippian culture addition. At its “cultural height” Kincaid was manifest as a settlement a mile long, built along the Ohio River to its south, and surrounded on the other three sides by a massive palisade. The Mississippian period saw the elevation of several mounds and the creation of plazas between them. Within the palisade were at least nineteen

mounds, houses, and other buildings (Muller 1986: 200-202). There were structures on top of the mounds, and unlike previous Woodland peoples elsewhere in the Mississippian culture area, the mounds were not used for burials.

Other than the mounds and the palisade, which Muller states are “clearly related to the political and economic role of the emerging Mississippian elite”, the settlement pattern at Kincaid is very clearly reflective of lesser Mississippian settlements in the area (Muller 1986: 207-208). During this period, it has been postulated that a population of 2000 to 3000 people lived in the area surrounding Kincaid (at a distance of 10-15km). This number is to include the residents of Kincaid itself, though no postulations as to the actual population of the city itself is made (Muller 1986: 210-216).

It is important to note that, contrary to older archaeological interpretations (Cole 1951), the changes in cultures discussed above are not the effect of massive migrations of people or invasion. While authors like Cole *et al.* have postulated diffusionist theories for the various cultural “phases” and “focuses” at Kincaid, the field has largely moved away from such antique theory. The fact of the matter is that the people who lived at Kincaid during the Mississippian period were almost certainly the biological descendants of the residents of Kincaid during the Late Woodland period. Pauketat points out that what being Mississippian really means is “a suite of horizon markers” such as “triangular Cahokia-type arrowheads, Cahokia-style ‘chunkey’ stones, the predominance of shell-tempered pottery, a novel wall trench architectural style, pyramidal mound construction, and a suite of icons depicting supernatural themes” (Pauketat 2004:10). Pauketat furthermore acknowledges that the adoption of these horizon markers is not uniform outside of his area (Cahokia/Monks Mound), and as Muller says “Mississippian was an adaption to special [local] circumstances” (Muller 1986: 251).

The currently accepted dates for the Mississippian period at Kincaid, and by extension its “height” of occupation and landscape alteration, fall from AD1100 to AD1400 (Cole 1951; Muller 1986; and Pauketat 2004:137-139 for a more concise chronology). Muller puts the complete abandonment of Kincaid at no later than the beginning of the sixteenth century (Muller 1986:253). This short chronology means that the extensive mounds and palisades had to have been constructed within the space of these three hundred years, but the likelihood is that they were constructed in a much shorter time period. The whole settlement working together would have been able to construct the entire place in mere weeks of controlled labor (Muller 1986). This in turn means that the construction of the landscape would have been mostly a memory for the majority of the history of occupation at the site; it is possible that it formed an origin myth of sorts that bound together the descendants of those who had constructed the landscape in the first place.

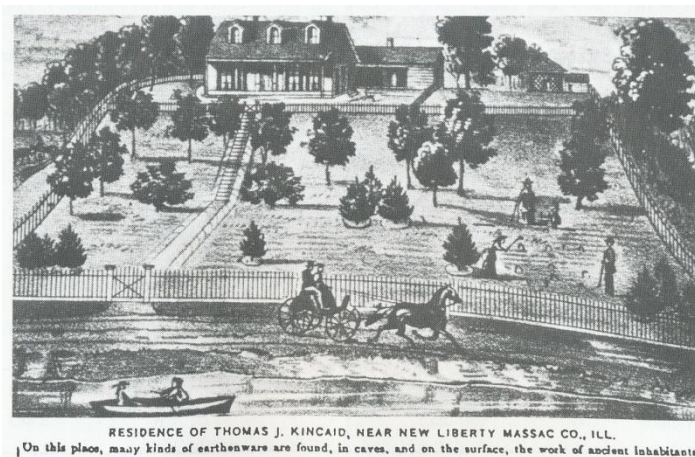


Figure 4: Image of Kincaid’s Landing (Muller 1986)

For centuries, Kincaid lay fallow. It was not until the very early nineteenth century that European settlers enter the Lower Ohio River Valley (Muller 1986:268-270). By the late eighteenth century, one of the larger mounds on the site had become the foundation for the home of a prosperous settler, whose name was Kincaid, which was where the name for the site came

from: the place was known as Kincaid's Landing in this period (**See Figure 4**) (Muller 1986: 12-13, 201).

A string of what one could call either “amateur historical enthusiasts” or “gentrified looters”, depending on one’s mood and generosity of character, attempted to dig at Kincaid – mostly unsuccessfully. The first modern or scientific excavation was carried out by the University of Chicago in the mid 1930’s through to 1942. In the latter years of the field program, they received labor support from the Works Progress Association; however, World War Two interrupted the excavations. The field report was finally published in 1951 (Cole 1951). The site remained incompletely excavated (the UC excavations having focused only on the mounds) until the Southern Illinois University began salvage excavations intermittently in the 1960’s. On and off the site remained the object of surveys and pit excavations, but no large scale excavations until the 2000’s, when SIUC started the field school program at Kincaid (Muller 1986:1-22). The site was owned by various University and State organizations after the UC excavations; it is currently owned in part by the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency. The other part of the site, on the Pope County side of the border, is privately owned. The site is maintained by the Kincaid Mounds Support Organization, a not-for-profit organization of local interested citizens, that has been responsible in the past few years for the paving of the country road to get to the site, the erection of commemorative and educational plaques and a cement viewing platform at the site (Bruce Horman 2010: personal communication).

Gettysburg National Military Park

Gettysburg National Military Park is a federally maintained battlefield commemorative area abutting the town of Gettysburg. Gettysburg is in the piedmont region in the southern part of

what is known as the Great Valley. The first European settlers near the area of Gettysburg were Scots-Irish Presbyterian and Quaker settlers who pushed west as early as 1734 (Myers 1991: 1). The great bulk of immigrants to the area however, were the German Lutherans who would later be responsible for the founding of both institutions of higher learning at Gettysburg – Pennsylvania College (later Gettysburg College) and the Lutheran Theological Seminary.

By the time the seminary and college were founded (1826 and 1832 respectively) in addition to the agricultural pursuits of the surrounding county Gettysburg was the home to carriage making industries. Despite these budding industries, the town “remained a country town whose primary function was to provide goods and services for itself as well as for the surrounding rural communities” (Frassanito 1987: 3), a task it was to continue to fulfill well into the late nineteenth centuries before it gained another function: tourist attraction. With the arrival of the railroad in 1858, Gettysburg was well on its way to becoming connected with the rest of the country, especially considering the increase in roads that used the town as their junction place (Frassanito 1987: 3).

On the eve of the battle for which the town was to become so famous, it was just a crossroads town with a new railroad depot, where people would gather on a Friday night from the surrounding countryside to visit the bank, talk to an attorney or buy a wagon-full of supplies. The homes of 2,400 people in the town were mostly all brick, and had “spacious fenced yards behind each, with a vegetable garden, perhaps chickens, a cow, a shed and a privy” (Boritt 2006: 5). With dirt roads, but paved sidewalks and gaslights in the streets, and with a newly rebuilt courthouse, Gettysburg was flourishing (Boritt 2006: 6).

This is not the place for a study of the battle, but suffice it to say that between July 1st 1863 and July 3rd, the fate of the town was decided. For the next one hundred and fifty years the

identity of the town, the occupations of its residents, the size and layout of its growth, and the day to day lives of residents and visitors were all shaped by those three days and their effects.

The residents of the town were deeply involved with the aftermath of the battle. It fell to them to care for the wounded and dying, to feed themselves and the thousands of temporary residents, and to bury those that had already died. These tasks took months, but by November 19th, 1863, the nation was knocking at the door once more. This time they had come not to fight but to begin the commemorative process and monumentation which has come to become the hallmark of Gettysburg. President Lincoln and a host of other dignitaries (politicians, military commanders, and orators) had come to preside over the dedication of the new national cemetery, where some reburials had already begun to take place. This was to be the first lesson in mass-tourism that the residents of Gettysburg were to receive. Everyone in town hosted visitors; people stayed three or four to the bed, floors were covered, hotels rented out rocking chairs on their porches, and some people who were unable to find accommodations roamed the street all night before the ceremonies (Boritt 2006: 69-90). Life at Gettysburg that was not related to the ceremonies stopped.

After the famous speech, which was unenthusiastically received and vastly overshadowed by the main oration, the nation went back to the business of conducting war. Tourism never disappeared at Gettysburg, but it certainly declined in this period. That is, until the efforts of John Bachelder to commemorate the battle got into full swing. In 1880, the United States Congress approved Mr. Bachelder, a failed landscape painter turned amateur historian, to interview as many officers and men who were at Gettysburg as possible, and write the official history of the battle.

The government grant of 1880 sought to get all of this amassed information preserved and collected into one gigantic written history of the battle. While this never happened, Bachelder still had an enormous effect on the way people have thought about the battle for the past one hundred and fifty years. He was responsible for the creation of the idea of the “High Water Mark of the Confederacy”, and as a leader of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (the private predecessor to the GNMP) had a huge influence over the placement of monuments as well as the way the monuments looked during a time when the most monuments were placed on the field. As such, he was easily the most influential man over the way the battlefield looks today (Desjardin 2003: 83-107), and between Bachelder and the GBMA the placement of monuments and their design was tightly controlled. Through this official control, the landscape of the battlefield was formed to reflect a certain idea of commemoration and military dignity which it has retained to this day.

The first reunion of Northern and Southern troops at Gettysburg was not until 1887, and even then it was weakly attended with only 500 Northerners from a Philadelphia Brigade and 200 Southerners from Pickett’s Division (Reardon 1997: 97). This was not to be a trend however; at the fifty year anniversary of the battle in 1913, thousands of veterans from both sides attended. A massive encampment, complete with US Army tents and special water fountains, was erected on the fields surrounding the college campus. It was between these two reunions that the monumentation process at Gettysburg reached its height, with both unit and state markers making their appearances. During this period, the modern landscape of the battle was created, and came under the auspices of the federal government first as War Department property and then under the newly created National Park Service when it became the Gettysburg National Military Park (GNMP 2011). It was also during this period that the town of Gettysburg began to

shift towards an economy geared towards tourism. By 1910, jewelers in town produced engraved watches and spoons for tourists, photographers ran a booming postcard business, and liverys popped up everywhere because any resident with a decent horse and carriage gave battlefield tours. This involvement (and perhaps reliance) of the town with the battlefield has come down to today fairly unchanged.

The modern relationship of the town to the Park is much the same. All the residents benefit in some way from the tourist business, though many will phrase their thoughts about tourists negatively. Entire sections of the modern town are completely geared to this seasonal trade, particularly the Steinwehr Road area near the old visitor's center. But relations between the town and the NPS have not always been perfectly calm; in recent years the efforts at "viewshed restoration" by the Park Service have had negative effects on people's property, though the aim of the initiative is worthy. The decision to move the visitor's center has also ruffled a few feathers with local business owners, though to date no businesses on the main tourist drag have shuttered. In all, it is a complex relationship as any relationship between private stakeholders and an entity of the federal government will be.

Discussion

Monumentation is a process that can be clearly seen at all three sites under consideration in this paper. As a practice that inscribed the social memories of a particular group into the landscape, it is the one of the more intentional and conscious practices of landscape creation or alteration. The way that monumentation is manifested at the three sites can be very different, not only between sites but also at the same site over time as different people with different motives occupy the landscape or control the power over its modification. The intentionality of the

monumentation can be directed in various directions, among which are: monumentation as practice, monumentation as memory and monumentation as politics. This list is far from exhaustive, but these are the most applicable directions for the three sites and people under discussion. It should furthermore be noted that, as will be demonstrated, these directions need not be discrete and separate from each other, but in fact often overlap. Also oftentimes, as will also be demonstrated, the intentionality of the creators of the monument can be misunderstood or misread by interpreters.

Monumentation is most often considered to be an effort to preserve the memory of a person or event through the creation of a commemorative, material, public object; but this can also be expanded to include the memorialization of a society. Defining memorialization in this way is the effect of teleological thinking from our position in the present examining the past; it glosses over the actual and historic motives for the erection of monuments, in favor of interpretations centering on the effects of the monuments on the present. In recent years there has been a slight redressing of this issue in regards to monumentation as practice. Pauketat and Alt, writing for the consideration of “microscale cultural practices” as evidence of multivocalic social memories within the framework of the “macroscale cultural practices” of Mississippian mound building, ask the potent question “was it the *mound* that was the goal of the builders, or the *act of construction* itself?” (Pauketat and Alt 2003: 152 – original emphasis).

I would answer this question with the assertion that the act of construction itself was a manifestation of monumentation as practice. The Kincaid site is within the same cultural framework that Pauketat and Alt are referencing; the construction of the mounds (and therefore the landscape of the settlement) may have been an effort to ingrain the social distinctions of the society into the very landscape they occupied, or it may have been an effort to preserve the

memory of whatever political entity served as the impetus to build the mounds, this is at present unresolved. What must be understood however, is that there are certain realities of construction of these mounds in a pre-modern environment. This would have been a large scale, perhaps pan-society, construction effort (Muller 1986: 100-101). It would have required cooperation and mutual hard labor between many different groups with a unified goal. The completion of that goal left an indelible mark on the landscape that people constantly interacted with on a daily basis. I do not contest Pauketat and Alt's assertion that there would have been many different interpretations of this labor (Pauketat and Alt 2003), perhaps as many interpretations as there were people involved. The fact of the matter however, is that the actual process of creation (over years) of mounds would have brought people together that might not have had such close contacts in everyday life. This is not to fall into a structuralist explanation for the mounds as intentionally socially reaffirming, as Pauketat and Alt warn against (Pauketat and Alt 2003). It is not even to claim that the main purpose of the mounds was to bring together the populace in a yearly communal activity. The point of monumentation as practice is to understand that there were very real ramifications in the everyday lives of the people responsible for the construction of the mounds. This shared experience, though not necessarily the primary intent of the wielders of power, nevertheless created social memories of the construction that bound together the society and found its anchor in the landscape as the mound itself.

The recurring nature of construction may have also increased the effect on social cohesion. As generation's progressed and new members of families of corporate groups took part in the construction alongside elder members, the memories of the old could pass to the young and take on new meanings as they were re-interpreted. The way that the first generation of mound builders thought about their task would have been different from the way people one

hundred years later would have thought about it; it is the difference between inventing a new tradition and taking part in an age old one.

The same idea can be applied to the pyramids, temples and apartment compounds at Teotihuacan. As mentioned above, in only a short period of one hundred and fifty years the residents of the nascent Teotihuacan constructed the ceremonial Avenue of the Dead and constructed the first builds of the two major pyramids on site, the Pyramid of the Sun (largest) and the Pyramid of the Moon. Following this ceremonial/religious build period, there followed the longer period during which the entire population of Teotihuacan built and then occupied the stone walled apartment compounds. This shift must have been tremendous- from a perfectly flat landscape with impermanent one story buildings dotted with an occasional stone temple complex, to one which was entirely closed off into discrete stone walled boxes in a grid pattern surrounding pyramids of gradually increasing height. Of course, no one person could have witnessed this entire process, but even the raising of one of the pyramids would have been awe-inspiring. This massive construction process was really the inscription of an entire culture's worth of social memory into the landscape which they occupied. The shift from impermanent to permanent and monumental architecture ensures that the people who lived at Teotihuacan were there to stay for generations: Teotihuacan had become a place of special meaning to them. Though we cannot yet recover the exact meaning of the various pyramids or temples, we can be sure that these places remained important to people at Teotihuacan over time. There are multiple layers to the pyramids, stretching for hundreds of years; and when the pyramids could grow no more, Teotihuacanos placed adosado platforms in front of them, like at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid and the Pyramid of the Moon. And these are only the materially evident traces of memory in the landscape; we can be sure that as long as the city was occupied and life went on

as normal that these places were used to enact practices of embodied memory in ritual, dance or otherwise.

Since there is no evidence of “contractors” responsible for the construction of apartment compounds in the city, it is reasonable to assume that the future residents of the building were those responsible for its construction. Therefore it was the people themselves who created the physical landscape which they and their descendants were to occupy on a daily basis. The corporate group as a whole created the physical representation of themselves. Through the physical act of construction as a group they would have reaffirmed whatever bond (biological, fictive kinship, etc. [See Sempowski and Spence 2004]) held them together. The same principle applied at the larger, city-wide, scale (as it did at Kincaid) with the pyramids and the Avenue of the Dead. This city-wide involvement may have aided in the construction of an urban mentality, and incorporated the idea of Teotihuacan-ness into individuals’ sense of self. By reifying their identities in the landscape, perhaps it aided in their own self-construction of identity.

Although monumentation had an effect on the people who provided the labor (and support of the labor) through the actual practice of construction, the intentionality behind the erection of monuments was often political. The obvious example of this would be to point to the person or groups that exercised their agency over the population to mobilize them to build the monument. But reuse of sites is another way in which politics can be inscribed into the landscape in the form of monuments. When the Aztecs used Teotihuacan and its material markers to legitimize their rule in the Basin of Mexico, they constructed their own monuments at the site, at least one of which may have been located in the plaza in front of the Pyramid of the Sun (Umberger 1987: 83). The commission of this monument was specifically designed to leave an indelible marker of Aztec presence in the landscape. The same sort of cooption of cultural

identity takes place at Tenochtitlan, only in reverse. The Aztecs built Teotihuacano style temples near the site of, or on top of, the Templo Mayor. This referential architecture is still visible today in the form of the Red temple (See Figure 5).



Figure 5: Templo Rojo Norte (The North Red Temple) on the Templo Mayor, an Aztec Temple in Tenochtitlan, mimicking the Talud-Tablero architectural style of Teotihuacan (Photo by Author)

The placement of the Eternal Peace Light on the crest of Oak Hill in Gettysburg was another such example of reuse and citation. Dedicated by President Roosevelt at the 75th anniversary of the battle, this memorial has an eternal flame on top of a pillar that represents the everlasting peace between the two belligerents of the civil war (NPS 2004). Ironically however, the peace light's message does not extend outside of our own borders. Even as he dedicated the memorial in 1938, the President directly compared the challenges faced by the nation in 1863 and the challenges faced by the nation then, namely the situation in Europe. This monument then was not a monument to peace on earth, nor was it to a specific unit, person, or group at Gettysburg. In fact, by 1938 it made sense to place a monument at Gettysburg that commemorated and celebrated America, the American people, and their Unity. By 1938, the localization of American-ness at Gettysburg was already in full swing. This cooption of the Eternal Peace Memorial to rally a nation to a new cause which would result in the deaths of

millions of people all over the world was not the only example of irony in remembrance at Gettysburg; the Ku Klux Klan rally mentioned below also took place on Oak Hill, just a few years before the dedication of the memorial.

The placement of monuments at Gettysburg, as well as what they depict and how, has always been influenced by the politics of memory. When the surge in monumentation was strongest in the 1880's, John Bachelder issued a statement to units applying for monuments "We [The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association] are not unmindful of the fact that Gettysburg is now classed among the great battles of the world, or that this field is already the best marked battlefield in the world, or that it is our desire that the artistic character of the monuments shall be of the same high order" (Desjardin 2003: 155). This led to the rejection of certain monument plans that, while memorable and poignant, nevertheless did not make the grade of "high order" in the eyes of the GBMA, such as the 1st Minnesota. The original design called for the most expensive memorial then on the battlefield (an actual concern of the veterans) which had for its top a gigantic metal Union soldier bayoneting the serpent of secession to death. After this plans rejection they opted instead for something more conventional (**See Figure 6**). By attempting to claim more prestige, clout, or attention on the battlefield than their contemporaries, the 1st Minnesotans tried to overstep the bounds put in place by the governing body which preferred their own agendas to those of various veteran groups. Rather than allowing each veteran group to display its own image of itself as they chose, the GBMA decided to impose restrictions on monuments that conformed to their own ideals of what a great commemorative military park should look like.

Placement of monuments was perhaps an even more politically charged issue during these years. The fighting at the Angle was at the end of Pickett's charge on the third day, and has

received most of the attention from tourists over the years (thanks in large part to John Bachelder). The placement of monuments at this area has been highly contested and was actually decided in the court system in the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court. The 72nd Pennsylvania's marker now sits between the 71st and the 69th along the wall at the Angle, but the GBMA and veterans from every other group at the site fought against this. On the day of the battle, the 72nd had been placed in reserve about 50 yards behind the line to be rushed forward to plug gaps. When the time came for them to rush to the line however, they refused several times the orders of the general on the field to advance to the line. In order to cover their cowardice, the veterans of the 72nd sued repeatedly to have their monument placed on the line with the others of their brigade (Desjardin 2003: 161-165). While this is the most extreme case, the stories of contested placement of monuments abound at Gettysburg.

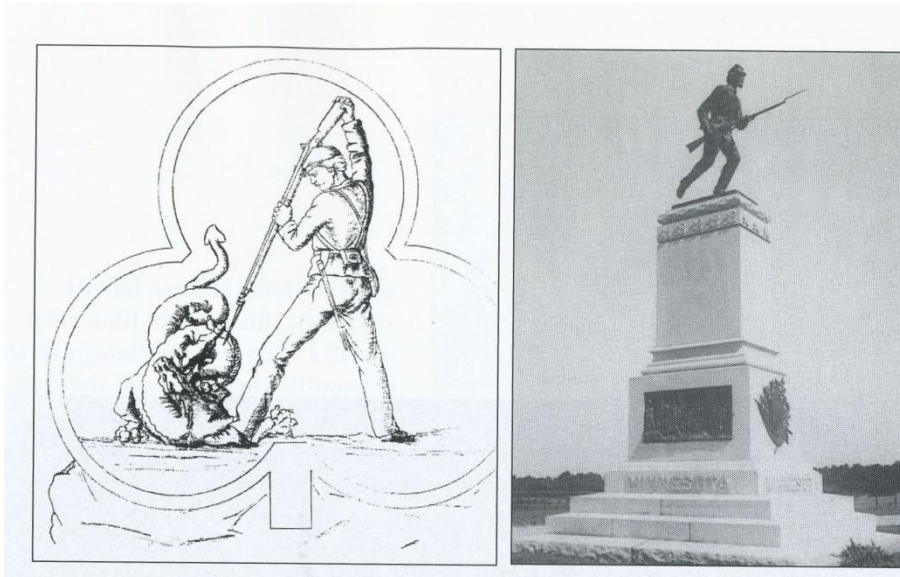


Figure 6: Proposed (left) and accepted (right) monuments for the 1st Minnesota (Desjardin 2003)

This is because while politics informed the placement and style of the monuments at Gettysburg, the actual impetus behind their construction and placement was to preserve the memory of the people who commissioned them. The veterans of Gettysburg understood the

important role the field was taking on in the shaping of the social memories of Americans of both the battle and of the war. In order to secure for themselves or dead comrades a piece of the manufactured glory, they had to ensure that they were represented physically on the field. But the intentionality of the commissioners is not always transmitted perfectly through the layers of interpretation people lay upon the monuments. In fact, due to the creation of this gigantic landscape of monuments at Gettysburg, individual monuments are seldom examined as discrete objects, but rather as part of the larger whole. The agency of the commissioners is to a certain extent obfuscated or redirected by the manufactured agency of the place itself – of the Gettysburg battlefield. A good example of this would be the monuments to generals that have been placed on the field since early on in the monumentation process and continue to recent history. Until the 1990's it was an accident of fate that when a general was depicted on the field on his horse, that the number of hooves of the horse that were depicted as not touching the ground reflected the outcome of the general. The pattern supposed that one hoof off the ground meant wounded in battle, and two hooves meant killed in action. As Desjardin points out, while this was an accurate depiction of the fates of generals, it was entirely coincidental (Desjardin 2003: 159). The commissioners and sculptures responsible for these horses had no contact with each other, or any knowledge of the pattern. But because of their aggregation on the same field, people drew patterns between them that shaped the way future generations interpreted the monuments. The fact that the generals were all alike and all part of the same landscape outweighed the actual messages that the agents responsible for the monuments may have been trying to convey. The breaking of this unofficial code was a direct challenge to traditionalism at Gettysburg, and the debates and comments it has fostered demonstrates the ongoing process of multivocalic memory making at the park.

But monuments are not the only way that social memory can be inscribed into the landscape a people occupy; everyday activities, ritual activity or even perfectly utilitarian practices may have ramifications for the way people negotiate the space they live in. For instance, at Kincaid the people burned down their houses every few years to rid themselves of the pests that would come to live in their thatched roofs. This is attested to by the repeated burned layers and rebuild layers of the archaeological record, cross checked with the accounts of De Soto in the historic South (Butler and Brennan 2010: personal communication). This cyclical burning and reoccupation of the same space with a similar or identical house could also be seen as the re-creation and/or re-invention of place repeatedly in the lifespan of individuals. Would this have led to a decreased focus on home as a specific building, and a resulting emphasis on location? Does this demonstrate a different cultural understanding of home, a different view of sedentary lifeways? It is difficult to know, but it can be said with certainty that despite living in a permanent settlement, the residents of Kincaid “moved house” more often than most societies.

Everyday action can also inscribe memories into landscapes unintentionally. At the Oaxaca Barrio (officially known as Tlaitotlacan) in Teotihuacan the residents left material traces of the way they altered the micro-landscape of their apartment compound to better reflect their concept of self, and to preserve and cite their social memories on a day to day basis. Though other immigrant groups assimilated culturally to the society at Teotihuacan, so perfectly that the only way archaeologists can recover their heritage is through stable isotope analysis (White et al. 2004), those that lived at the Oaxaca Barrio maintained their ethnic heritage. Though it may have only been contained to the private sphere of their apartment compound, the Oaxaceños displayed specific styles of pottery (utilitarian and ritual, like the theatre censers) and even imported Oaxacan clay to use in making pottery of older styles. The people were buried in Oaxacan style,

with Oaxacan artifacts even hundreds of years into the occupation history of the Oaxaca Barrio (Spence 2002). Within the everyday household landscape, the Oaxaceños and their descendants preserved memories of their homeland in the face of urban obfuscation of identity. It is important to note however, that this landscape was a private one, confined as it was within the impenetrable walls of the apartment compounds. Public memory at Teotihuacan was more homogeneous in message, though probably tightly controlled in regards to access.

The “Avenue” or “Street” of the dead may appear to be so from a map, but the actual experience of walking is far from a proverbial walk in the park. It is lined on either side by lines of talud-tablero temples. And though the street itself is straight from Teotihuacan North to South, it is broken up in several places by walls which one has to literally climb over to continue in a straight line. It was likely not a processional avenue, and furthermore may have been used to separate people or block views and sounds from certain directions. This would not be unusual; the Ciudadela (named after the incorrect Spanish identification as a fortress), which surrounds the Feathered Serpent Pyramid at the South of the Avenue of the Dead, was created by raising a box of temples to enclose a plaza. This also requires the act of climbing to cross over into the plaza. The effect of this box is that even the top of the Feathered Serpent Pyramid is invisible from the Avenue of the Dead, and therefore any ceremony going on at the top of the Pyramid (or worse on the Adosado platform in front) would be both invisible and probably inaudible to people not in the ceremonial box. This raises the interesting prospect that “public” memory at Teotihuacan may actually have been restricted, and in a sense private. In this civic/religious space, it was likely that only certain people were able to take part in the public ritual.

Though counter-intuitive due to the monumental size of the pyramids, it may be that the more inclusive ritual ceremonies took place on the “private” level within the apartment

compounds. Each apartment compound had at its center an altar, which was of the talud-tablero architectural style of the pyramids in miniature, situated in an open area like a plaza, and usually flanked by covered rooms that opened onto the plaza, often sumptuously painted. The similarities between the different temple areas are striking; but one should not assume that the exact same ritual took place everywhere. There is evidence that different apartment compounds had different deity, or at least animal, representatives (Spence 2002). In light of this, it may be a safe assumption that not all ritual was the same, and was tailored to the needs or expectations of the residents of each different apartment compound. This sort of location specific participation in pan-city traditions and ritual would have created multivocalic memories of those rituals and traditions. To a certain extent the memories would concur, but since the actual experience varied by compound, so too would the memories vary. In this way a public ritual, practiced in a private sphere, would be remembered as such- as a Teotihuacan tradition practiced in the way most appropriate to the practicing group- perhaps something akin to Thanksgiving in our own culture; some people go to watch the parade, others stay home but not everyone has turkey or prays to the same god(s).

Seen from the perspective of the elites at Kincaid, the same issue can be examined but somewhat at the reverse. Mississippian elites lived atop the mounds which were constructed in their settlements; their very homes then were in full public view at all times. There would have been a divide between the public conceptualization of the mounds as representative of the society, or of status, or of religious power, etc., and the private conceptualization of the mounds as home for the elites. In a way, the elites are trapped in their own homes by the very power structures that they help nurture and benefit from (Foucault 1975).

Though not the victims of power structures of their own making, private residencies on

the battlefield at Gettysburg are just as much the object of the public gaze; though living on publicly owned land which is seen as a commemorative landscape, they have their private homes with their own memories attached to them which may have nothing to do with their location on the battlefield. In other respects as well the landscape of the battlefield is at the interface of private and public memory: the efforts of the NPS at viewshed restoration in the interest of the public at large have run counter to the wishes of some locals who prefer their backyards uncut, their back windows shaded or the historic bathrooms left in place on the field.

Such is the nature of multivocalic memory when it comes to landscapes; various interest groups come into conflict in regards to control over memory. Gettysburg National Military Park is one such highly contested place, as I have already begun to demonstrate. In addition to locals and local interest groups, there are southern revivalists and union supporters, and even (quite frequently) the Aryan Nation and the Ku Klux Klan. There has been much written on the Lost Cause myth and its localization at Gettysburg (see Reardon 2002; Desjardin 2003) in regards to southern revivalists who see Gettysburg as the place where all was lost. Much of the literature relating to the military history of the field up until the late twentieth century was focused on why Lee lost, and what went wrong that could have thwarted this up till then “invincible” general. The myth of the “turning point of the war” continues up to today, even pervading text books across America.

At a further extreme come the racist interest groups mentioned above. In the 1920's a massive KKK rally occurred at the park and processed through town, apparently to loud cheers and enthusiasm from the populace (Desjardin 2003: photo section). In more recent history are the visits by the Aryan Nation to the National Cemetery in June, 2010, and four years earlier in 2006. Despite the history of pro-union and pro-equality messages at Gettysburg (Lincoln's

address, national reunions and the Peace Light), these groups find the landscape of Gettysburg to be inscribed with messages and memories which conform to their own idealism. This multivocality may stem from the fact that the landscape at Gettysburg is so charged with meaning for so many Americans that it can be incorporated into almost any citation of “American-ness”. The co-option of space in order to legitimize non-standard messages is grounded in the acknowledgement of the places importance in American memory. These groups ultra-conservative messages use Gettysburg as the localization of their values. This may seem counterintuitive, but the memory of American sacrifice combined with a misplaced nostalgia for past lifeways makes Gettysburg a powerful conveyer of meaning.

Conclusions

In fact, over the course of their use-histories, all three of the places under discussion have served as powerful conveyers of meaning. This may be the core of the argument I have put forth in this paper; all of these places have played into the way that the people, who interact with the landscapes, have thought of their surroundings in relation to themselves. Through participation in activities ranging from the everyday to the ceremonial, the landscape has had a powerful influence on the way people have enacted those activities. Furthermore, the landscape has taken part in the shaping of social memories by being the locus for memory. Inscribed memories at all three sites cross boundaries of age, social class and gender to join together the members of the culture that lays claim to the memory.

Of course, this is not to discount any of the themes brought up in the paper which can more appropriately complicate the picture. Multivocality at all three sites accounts for difference in memory: such as at Gettysburg with the differences in interpretation between the Park Service

and hate groups, at Teotihuacan with the cultural isolation of the Oaxaca Barrio, and at Kincaid with the differing conceptions of place as regarded the mounds.

In the case of monumentation the picture was even more muddled. I have put forth three different aspects of monumentation to consider when reconstructing past societies:

monumentation as practice, monumentation as memory and monumentation as politics. The more traditional conception of monumentation aligns most closely with my “memory” distinction, in that both address the desire to place monuments to commemorate. We saw this at all three sites: at Kincaid the raising of the mounds, at Teotihuacan the raising of the pyramids and at Gettysburg with the placement of the hundreds of stone and bronze markers.

Monumentation as practice addresses more the ramifications of monumental architecture building programs: at Kincaid I postulated that the inter-societal bonding that would have occurred with the construction of the mounds, and I postulated the same phenomenon in relation to the creation of an urban mentality at Teotihuacan due to the pyramid construction in addition to the newly created corporate group mentality that I postulated sprung from the construction of the shared living space. At Gettysburg, monumentation as practice can be seen in the reunions and the national healing and re-unification that came from the inclusion of veterans from both sides of the war that came back to commemorate and to reunify the divided nation. Finally, I introduced monumentation as politics, which addresses the issues of power that surround monumentation. At Gettysburg this was most clearly illustrated with the control exercised over the placement and the appearance of the monuments. At Teotihuacan and Kincaid this can be seen indirectly through the existence of a large construction force culled from their respective societies by some political force – whether autocratic, democratic or somewhere in between is

irrelevant – that compelled disparate groups of people to bind together to construct monumental architecture on a grand scale.

All three sites also provide examples of differentiation of space leading to differentiation of memory, which I (perhaps over-simplistically) have divided into the opposed statuses of Private and Public. At Teotihuacan, I put forth the nearly perfect example of spatial control over memory when I described the walled and separated nature of the different ceremonial complexes; the Ciudadela, the Street of the Dead and the plazas of the Sun and Moon pyramids are all divided from each other by huge walls that require the climbing of several steep stairs to enter, all of which would have allowed for the easy control of access over certain “public” memories. Also at Teotihuacan, we saw the physical landscape of private memory in the high and anonymous walls of the apartment compounds that would have kept the happenings inside a perfect, private, secret. At Kincaid I introduced issues of private versus public memory in relation to the mounds- those who lived atop the mounds may have considered their home private space, while the rest of the occupants of the city may have considered it public architecture. Another issue at Kincaid to consider is the exclusive properties of the palisade wall that set off the settlement from the surrounding fields and farmsteads. At Gettysburg we saw these sorts of issues in the conflict between private citizens who live and own businesses on or near the public battlefield.

In short, all three sites have common issues that can be explored when examined from a certain angle. That angle, in this paper, has been examining the sites through the lens of social memory and landscape theory. And although this has been the first attempt at these sites to do so,

it has been demonstrated that they all three provide fertile ground for further in depth interpretation with social archaeological theory.

The intent of this paper was to test these relatively new theories against virgin sites that were vastly different culturally, spatially and temporally in order to prove the flexibility, applicability, and usefulness of this approach. The applicability has been demonstrated by the ease of interpretation even in the face of sometimes incomplete information. The flexibility has been demonstrated by the vast difference evidenced in the cultural diversity of the sites in question. The usefulness of this approach can be decided in two ways, the first of which is to see if these interpretations hold up to new information over time and is inaccessible to us at the moment. However, the second way to decide on the usefulness is to ask the question “Has examining the sites this way given us a deeper, more complex idea of the way people in the past have lived at and interacted with these sites?” I think, yes.

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