THEMATIC ISSUE

SPACE, PLACE, AND MEANING (THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF LANDSCAPE)

This issue considers the complex ways in which humans both shape and are shaped by the environment in which they dwell. These papers collectively ask how people imbue landscapes with cultural meaning, how people create places out of space, and how social developments (past and present) are impacted by human engagement with natural surroundings and culturally constructed landscapes. These papers examine humans’ social relationships with their surroundings from a variety of times and areas in the world.
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The Tradition of Separate Burials in Ireland: Cilliní and Place

By Emma Pankey

Introduction

Ireland’s historical use of separate burial places for the interment of unbaptized children followed the traditional teachings and prohibitions of the Catholic Church. Specifically, Canon 1239 stated that infants who died prior to having undergone the rite of baptism were prohibited from being buried in a blessed cemetery (Woywod 1957:51). Church theology holds that unbaptized individuals exist in separation from the rest of the Catholic community on multiple temporal and spatial scales. In life, unbaptized individuals cannot receive ecclesiastical rites and in death their remains are separated from consecrated burial grounds as a reflection of the belief that they are separated from the baptized in the afterlife (Garattini 2007:194). Without receiving baptismal rites, a child was not cleared of original sin and therefore was forbidden from entering Heaven. Instead of being condemned to Hell, it was believed that the souls of unbaptized infants went to Limbo, a place between Heaven and Hell that had the qualities of a liminal purgatory (Murphy 2011:410).

In addition to unbaptized infants, it is known that other types of individuals were also excluded from burial in consecrated grounds. These included murderers, the mentally ill, women who died in childbirth, strangers to local communities, shipwrecked sailors, religious heretics, and those who had committed suicide, among others (Garattini 2007:194, Murphy 2011:409). The lives and deaths of these individuals deviated from perceptions of normal life-courses. Like unbaptized children, they were considered to belong to a category of otherness which warranted that their remains be separated from usual burial places. Often, such adults were buried in the same location as unbaptized infants. As a monument class, few cilliní have been excavated in comparison to Ireland’s numerous other monument types. Those that have been excavated, such as the cillini at the Killalee Church ruins in Killarney, County Kerry, confirm that infants, older children that were several years of age, as well as adults, were buried in cillini (Dennehy 2001:21-22). Thus, the term ‘children’s burial ground’ does not reflect the wide age range of the individuals that were buried at many of these grounds.

Separate Infant Burials and Cilliní
Historically in Ireland, when a baby was born stillborn or when a child died prior to baptism it was common for a male family member to bury the individual’s remains at night, away from public attention, and without ceremony (Finlay 2000: 413). A site which was the location of repeated burials was known as a cillín (plural, cilliní). This is an Irish term that can be broadly defined as a historic burial ground for unbaptized children that was constructed away from the consecrated burial grounds of an Irish community. Other Irish names that were popularly used to denote these sites include, calluragh, ceallúnach, caldragh, and lisín. The anglicized name killeen is also used. Some cilliní are simply called ‘children’s burial grounds’ (Murphy 2011:410).

The history of cilliní use in Ireland is long and their origin is not fully understood. The dating of excavated cilliní has tended to place the origin of this mortuary tradition in the post-medieval period, however some researchers trace separate infant burial in Ireland to the Early Medieval period and pre-Christian ideology (Wilkins 2008:8). It is widely proposed, however, that the strict enforcement of Canon Law following the Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have induced a proliferation of cilliní construction (Donnelly and Murphy 2008, cited in Murphy 2011:410-11).

The first documentary evidence that references a cillín is from 1619 (Murphy 2011:410). Many cilliní were also marked on Ireland’s first and second Ordnance Survey maps when cilliní burial grounds are known to have been actively used in Ireland.1 While the use of many of these burial grounds declined towards the end of the nineteenth century and most were disused in the early twentieth century, some communities continued to inter individuals at cillíní until the 1960s (Finlay 2000:409; O’Sullivan 1996:323; Garattini 2007:194). It was in the ‘60s that the Second Vatican Council of the Catholic Church relaxed the position of the Church towards the idea of Limbo (Murphy 2011:411). Vatican II conceded that there is hope that unbaptized infants can enter Heaven and in 1969 the Church introduced a funeral rite for unbaptized infants. The practice of infant burial at cillíní is now obsolete, however, it is still remembered in living memory by many people (Finlay 2000:408, Murphy 2011:416).

Locational Attributes of Cilliní

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1 Ordnance Survey Ireland is the national mapping agency of Ireland. It was founded in 1824 as the Ordnance Survey Office and in 1846 the first OSI mapping survey of the country was completed. Records of place names were also compiled in the Ordnance Survey Name Books.
The location and existence of hundreds of cillini may be unknown to modern people; however, the known location and placement of hundreds of others tells a different story. The greatest concentration of cillini is in the west of Ireland. Several modern archaeological surveys have recorded the geographic location of cillini within specific counties and other land areas. In County Galway alone there are almost 500 recorded cillini (Crombie 1990, cited in Murphy 2011:410). A 1996 survey of the sites and monuments of the Iveragh Peninsula which was conducted by the South West Kerry Archaeological Survey included cillini and children’s burial grounds as an individual monument category in their survey. Using Ireland’s nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps and records, field survey, and information gathered from local people, the survey team identified 116 cillini on the peninsula (O’Sullivan 1996:234). Around the same time of the South West Kerry survey, a second researcher identified around 250 cillini in County Kerry (Dennehy 1997, citied in Murphy 2011:410).

Numerous types of locations were chosen for the placement of cillini. Land located directly outside of church grounds and graveyards, often along boundary walls, was sometimes set aside for individual or mass infant burials. Place boundaries, cross-roads, fields, the shores of water bodies, barren land, and aesthetically striking places such as cliff-sides were also common cillini locations (Finlay 2000:418, Garattini 2007:194, Murphy 2011:409). A significant number of cillini were also constructed at, near, or inside pre-existing monuments, constructions, and places of past use that were abandoned or in ruins at the time of cillini construction. In County Kerry, Emer Dennehy has found that nearly half of all the cillini identified in the county were associated with past sites (Dennehy 1997:37-39, citied in Murphy 2011:417). Locations for cillini associated with past monuments and constructions include early ecclesiastical enclosures, medieval churches, holy wells, cross slabs, shrines, ringforts, cahers, tower houses, fulacht fiadh, and megaliths (Finlay 2000:411, O’Sullivan 1996:323). These range from historic to prehistoric, and pagan to disused Christian sites.

**Interpretational Perspectives on Cillini and the Use of Place**

While a significant amount of research has assessed the traditions and folklore associated with cillini, their regional distributions, and the osteology of individuals uncovered during excavation, less work has been done to analyze the significance of cillini as places. This paper regards cillini first and foremost as burial monuments. These monuments represent the materialization of values and ideas at places on
physical landscapes. In both historic and modern times cillini have influenced ideas about the places where these burial grounds are located and, in turn, these places have influenced ideas about cillini and the individuals buried at cillini.

It is well documented that the physical separation of the remains of unbaptized infants from consecrated graveyards reflects the spiritual and social separation of these individuals (Finlay 2000:408). Additionally, it is believed that specific geographic locations were deliberately selected for the placement of cillini in order to create symbolic associations between unbaptized infants and places. A common interpretation is that poor quality land and out-of-the-way places may have been selected for the placement of cillini because these places were seen to mimic the marginalized social status of the interred (Garattini 2007:195). Similarly, the placement of cillini at land boundaries may have been carried out to represent the in-between state of the souls of the interred in the afterlife.

The placement of cillini at or near older prehistoric and historic monuments and constructions has also been regarded as significant. In their survey of the Iveragh Peninsula, O’Sullivan and Sheehan state that abandoned ecclesiastical sites may have been selected for cillini placement to infer sanctity to the burials (323). For instance, it is possible that while three ruined Medieval churches on the peninsula were no longer the sites of religious activity at the time that cillini were constructed near them, the former sanctity of the churches may have influenced the choice of placement for the associated cillini. Likewise, the placement of cillini at or near prehistoric monuments and constructions such as Medieval ringforts and Neolithic and Bronze Age megaliths may have been chosen because these places symbolized the otherworldly or mythological nature of the past and pre-Christian history (Finaly 2000:411-12, O’Sullivan 1996:323). Cillini themselves are sometimes associated with supernatural beings. O’Sullivan and Sheehan report that a cillín at the townland of Killurly in County Kerry is known locally as a ‘giant’s grave’ (O’Sullivan 1996:332). There is also the possibility that, like abandoned ecclesiastical sites, folklore about the former religious function of sites such as prehistoric megaliths, standing stones, and stone rows was an impetus for cillini placement.

The reuse of previously sacred places, or sites of past importance and contemporary mythological significance, for the placement of cillini can be interpreted multiple ways. Such reuse can be viewed as creating associations of liminality between cillini burials and the ambiguous sanctity of the past.
Past monument and construction reuse can also be viewed as a form of resistance. Places that were sacred in the past may have been chosen for infant burials as a way to circumvent the Church’s prohibition on the burial of unbaptized infants on consecrated grounds. Places of former sanctity could also simply have been thought of as the next best burial location if remains were excluded from being buried at actively used consecrated burial grounds. In this way, the reuse of the past landscape would represent the use of the past to create associations of sacredness and ultimately legitimation for *cillini* burials.

If we follow the interpretation that the placement of *cillini* in association with past monuments and constructions was purposefully carried out to create ideological associations about liminality, marginalization, or sanctity, then this may reveal ideas about a community’s collective understandings of the past (Holtorf 1998: 24). The construction of *cillini* at places of past use and ritual activity marks one of multiple uses for these places. For these uses to change, so too would cultural understandings about these places have had to change. For example, cultural memory would have had to reformulate ideas about the original function or significance of sites that originally served utilitarian purposes, such as *fulacht fiadh*, in order for symbolic associations of sacredness between *cillini* and the past be able to be created at these places (Finlay 2000:412, Holtof 1998:24).

Alternatively, conceptions about the symbolic placement of *cillini* were challenged by Eileen Murphy in her recent paper on historic mortuary ritual and the psychology of infant death in Ireland. Murphy contends that a practical explanation for the siting of *cillini* is more plausible, and that to explain the placement of *cillini* in marginal locations or in association with past monuments, it is necessary to view these places from a functional perspective. The fact that Irish Catholics were not landowners following the British conquest of Ireland in the seventeenth century may have most strongly influenced the geographic placement of *cillini*. Marginal land, old monuments, and abandoned buildings may have been some of the only options for the placement of *cillini* by those who did not own land (Murphy 2011,418). Furthermore, agriculturally unproductive land as well as pre-existing monuments and buildings that had been abandoned but remained on the landscape would have offered safety for *cillini* burials.

Attempts to create a sense of monumentality for *cillini* could also have influenced their placement at disused constructions. Mortuary monuments are usually constructed with the notion that they will be
permanent and monuments often do survive on local landscapes for long periods of time (Levy 1989:159). In this regard, the continuation of memory is an important factor in the construction of mortuary monuments. In contrast to victims of infanticide whose remains were typically disposed without burial in eighteenth century Ireland, the parents of unbaptized infants may have chosen to site burial grounds at places of past construction since these places offered protection from grave disturbance (Murphy 2011:417). If so, then the placement of *cillini* near past monuments and constructions was an act of memory making that worked to inscribe these places with parental grief over child loss.

Ultimately, reasons for the placement of *cillini* on particular types of landscapes and at places which were the sites of past activity are difficult to ascertain. Folklore and oral history present both ideas about liminality and infant burial as well as parental grief and affection for lost infants (Murphy 2011:417). What is certain is that *cillini* were not randomly located. Whether for ideological, symbolic, emotional, or functional purposes, the placement of many of these burial grounds represents an active use of local landscapes, features, and places which can be visualized in the material form of *cillini* burials that remain on the modern landscape.

**The Life-Histories of Places and the Classification of Cilliní**

Following Cornelius Holtorf’s work on the reuse of ancient monuments, *cilliní* which were constructed at or near older monuments and constructions represent one phase in the “life-histories” of these sites (1998:34). For many places which were reused as children’s burial grounds, their history of human use is both dynamic and prolonged. The island of Illaunloughan located in the Portmagee Channel between the south Kerry coast and Valencia Island is one such site. Illaunloughan is only one hectare in area and during low tide episodes it can be reached on foot from the mainland. Between 1992 and 1995, excavations carried out by the University of California, Los Angles' Overseas Research Project revealed the settlement evolution and changing use of the island.

Radiocarbon dates of 640-790 Cal. AD were found for a stone oratory that overlay two earlier sod-built structures and a *leacht* which related to the island’s use as a hermitage. While the burials from the early phases of the site’s settlement were exclusively male, Late Medieval burials included females and infants. This suggests a shift from the island’s original eremitical function. Additionally, a gable-shrine on the island continued to be used after the stone oratory had become disused (Doyle et al. 2001). In the
nineteenth century Ordnance Survey Name Book records, Illaunloughan is recorded as ‘a burial place for children and adult strangers’ (O’Sullivan 1996:308).

Place names and the classification of sites containing *cillín* offer insight about how people have thought about and related to *cillín* in the past and the present. Of the thirty *cillín* associated sites that O’Sullivan and Sheehan discussed in the early ecclesiastical section of their survey, twenty-three were named as graveyards or children’s burial grounds in the first and second Ordnance Survey records when *cillín* were actively used for burials in Ireland (O’Sullivan 1996). In this case, the use of these sites as children’s burial grounds represents both the physical and referential re-appropriation of these places. Three sites were not marked on the Ordnance Survey maps but are reported to now be locally known as *ceallúnach* (O’Sullivan 1996). Interestingly, an early ecclesiastical site in Killabuonia was recorded as being a ‘*cellurach*’ in 1957 but is now known locally as a ‘church site’ (O’Sullivan 1996:298). It is possible that differences in the names used to describe places containing *cillín* reflect differences in how particular communities view these sites.

The ways that archaeologists think about and classify associated *cillín* is often different from how people thought about and classified these places historically and how modern people reference these places presently. When studying sites that contain *cillín*, archaeologists are usually more concerned with the original use of the sites or with site activity that occurred prior to the construction of *cillín*. In their Iveragh Peninsula survey, O’Sullivan and Sheehan list associated cilliní by reference numbers that direct readers to the sections of their survey publication that detail the category of sites that *cillín* containing sites were originally constructed or used for (O’Sullivan 1996:335). For example, to read about the thirty *cillín* that the survey authors found associated with early ecclesiastical sites readers must turn to the early ecclesiastical site section. On the other hand, readers can find information about the seventy-two non-associated *cillín* in the children’s burial grounds section (O’Sullivan 1996:324-335).

Separating *cillín* which are associated with past constructions and those which are not raises questions about what determines how a site containing a *cillin* is classified. By separating *cillín* located near past constructions under the category of site that they are associated with, an unsaid message that *cillín* are less important than their associated features is conveyed. At the end of the background information O’Sullivan and Sheehan give on early ecclesiastical sites they write, “It is unclear when
individual sites finally went out of use, though some may have been abandoned in the twelfth century. . .but the majority were thereafter used only as ceallúnaigh” (O’Sullivan 1996:248). While they would be correct to state that the original use of the discussed sites had ended, to contend that the sites which were subsequently used as cillini “went out of use” is misleading. In fact, the use of these sites as cillini was the next socially revealing chapter in the history of the human use of these sites. Cillini should not be viewed as an afterthought that came subsequent to a site’s abandonment, but rather as a later edition to the story of a place’s human use. Cillini attached new meanings to places, and it is even possible that cillini built upon and reshaped ideas about the original use and function of individual places.

The Modern Treatment of Cillini

It must also be remembered that human interaction with cillini did not stop after their initial construction and use. Modern communities continue to think about, relate to, take action towards, and reuse cillini and the physical spaces they are located at. The current attention given to blessing cillini represents a revisited ritual use of these places. While they were not the sites of typical Irish Catholic religious ritual at the time of their construction and use, many cillini have been incorporated into the modern religious care of local communities. There is much shame in contemporary Ireland regarding the historic practice of separate infant burial. Memorials and plaque inscriptions dedicated to those interred at various cillini, such as pictured in Figure 1, are modern attempts to amend historic wrongs.

In 2011, the BBC released a documentary titled “Limbo Babies”. The film seeks to draw attention to the issue of infant burial on non-consecrated grounds in Ireland. In the film, mothers and family members, whose lost infants were buried in an outlying part of Belfast’s Milltown cemetery decades ago, fight to reclaim the mass infant graves where their loved ones were buried. The land where these graves were located had been sold to the Ulster Wildlife Trust for the creation of a nature preserve in 2000. While this land has now been restored to cemetery grounds, the contention over the land is indicative of the genuine emotional relationship that many contemporary Irish people have with cillini burial grounds and the individuals interred at them (“Limbo Babies” 2010).

The activist group Hidden in Unconsecrated Ground works to promote legislation that protects cillini and separate burial grounds, to create a national register of these sites to record their geographic location, and to recognize these burial grounds through the dedication of site markers (HUG Alliance
This group aims to reclaim the places where *cillini* are located, to transform them into sites of active remembrance, and to address the stigma surrounding the issue of separate infant burial in Ireland. Reclaiming the places where *cillini* are located is a way to reclaim the memory of the individuals who were buried at *cillini*.

In contrast to the *cillini* which are now the sites of modern memorials, many other *cillini* have been repurposed since their construction and use as burial grounds. As described in the site descriptions of O’Sullivan and Sheehan’s survey, numerous, perhaps hundreds, of *cillini* are unkempt and overgrown with vegetation (O’Sullivan 1996). Near the ruins of Templenakilla church in Eightercua, County Kerry, modern land improvement operations have leveled the boundaries and burial ground of a disused *cillín* (O’Sullivan 1996:354-355). The leveling of *cillini* occurred both in recent times and at least over a century ago in some cases. Whereas a *cillín* at Dunloe Lower, County Kerry was leveled during the 1960s, the Ordnance Survey records from 1896 report that a *cillín* at Kealariddig, County Kerry had been leveled to reuse the land for agricultural purposes. If widespread, such leveling operations would make it hard to estimate how many *cillini* were ever in existence in Ireland.

Where *cillini* survive in poor states of preservation, these areas have often been used to deposit stones and debris from nearby field clearance operations. An Early Medieval caher in Spunkane, County Kerry, recorded as ‘Cathair Chon’ in Ordnance Survey records, was reused as a *cillín* and then was reused again as a modern garbage dump (O’Sullivan 1996:194). Similarly, a sewage tank was installed within the enclosing bank of a *cillín* in Killelan East, County Kerry (O’Sullivan 1996:332). Although at odds with efforts to protect and memorialize *cillini*, the reuse of *cillini* for purposes such as agricultural reclamation offers insight about the social history of these places. Like the sale of land that contained infant burials at Milltown Cemetery, the destruction of *cillini* is likely part of what has provoked the actions of the *cillini* protection movement.
Fig. 1  A modern memorial dedicated to the individuals who were buried at a cillín on Achill Island, County Mayo. “In Remembrance Of The Babies And All The Dead Buried Here. May They All Rest In Peace.”

Conclusion

“Placeless souls: bioarchaeology and separate burials in Ireland”

The above statement is the title of a 1998 Master’s thesis on the practice of separate infant burial in Ireland and the bioarchaeology of excavated separate burials. The characterization of individuals interred at cillini and separate burials as “placeless souls” is entirely misrepresentative of the role that place played in the construction of cillini and the current social importance of places where cillini are located. To reconstruct meanings from cillini burial practices and remains, it is necessary to understand meanings of place. This is because locations for the construction of cillini were deliberately chosen and attributes of geography and place may have meaningfully influenced this choice.

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Individuals interred at *cillini* were far from placeless souls in the past, and, despite having been thought to go to a separate place in the afterlife and having been buried in separate burial grounds, they are also not placeless in the present. *Cillini* continue to be a part of Irish landscapes. Dedications and blessings at *cillini*, the prayers of those who visit them, and efforts to preserve these burial grounds are all testaments to the importance of these places. Additionally, the locations of *cillini* constructed in association with past monuments and constructions should be viewed as places with evolving life-histories of use and ideology. The fact that *cillini* continue to be sites of reuse, debate, reverence, and scholarship attests to the longevity of these places and their life-histories.

*The views expressed in this article are the author’s own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Anthropology and University of New Hampshire.*
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The idea of “place-making” in anthropology has been extensively applied to culturally created landscapes. Landscape archaeologists view establishing ritual spaces, building monuments, establishing ritual spaces, organizing settlements and cities, and navigating geographic space as activities that create meaningful cultural landscapes. A landscape, after all, is “an entity that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced, and contextualized by people” (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 1). A place - physical or imaginary - must be seen or imagined before becoming culturally relevant. It must then be explained, and transformed (physically or ideologically). Once these requirements are fulfilled, a place becomes a locus of cultural significance; ideals, morals, traditions, and identity, are all embodied in the space. In its most basic form, the transmission of these meanings occurs through storytelling. In Keith Basso’s words, “place-making... does not require special sensibilities or cultivated skills. It is a common response to common curiosities - what happened here? who was involved? what was it like? why should it matter? and anyone can be a place-maker who has the inclination” (Basso 1996: 5).

With this acknowledgement, it should not be surprising that anthropologists and historians are themselves place-makers. Claims for a “more objective approach” aside, they ask the same questions that Basso attributes to ethnographically standard place-making. Indeed, Basso admits the validity of place-making as a form of history: “place-making is a way of constructing history itself... Building and sharing place-worlds, in other words, is not only a means of reviving former times but also of revising them” (Basso 1996: 6). Archaeologists, by recovering artifacts and imagining how they may have affected daily life, are place-making at the excavation site. They create new meaning and new ideas, and tell a story about that place. Museums, taking this story, contribute to the recently revised (not “new,” as the site has always been experienced and interpreted by someone) “place-world” by creating exhibits - which are, of course, new, meaningful places in themselves. Next, a visitor to the museum, or a reader of historical interpretation, experiences the site, drawing their own conclusions and making their own place. All of these activities are contributions to the site’s “life history” - the continuous use, reinterpretation, re
purposing, and re-defining of the site (Holtorf 1998). Methods of historical presentation and museum exhibits, then, are themselves culturally meaningful sites of understanding. Physical sites are recast as settings of a story connecting the past to the present. Indeed, the past itself becomes a created place, a site that is navigable and ultimately accessible.

This article will investigate variations on place-making involving the museum presentation of the well-preserved bodies of Danish bog sites. While any museum site holds the potential for such a critical analysis, bog bodies have a unique role in the narrative nature of place-making: they are individuals who experienced the story being told (assuming, of course, that the story is “true”). They are, in essence, characters in the created story of the “place-world.” Well-preserved bodies are fully recognizable as humans, with recognizably human faces and, sometimes, discernible facial hair. They seem almost ready to tell the story of the past themselves. By telling these individuals’ stories, museum exhibits and visitors alike imagine and create place in a seemingly more real way: by imagining individuals’ lives, they transform the past into a relatable and accessible place where other humans acted, thought, and made meaning. The past landscape can, after all, have no significance if no one was there to experience it.

In displaying the past, museums present two forms of landscapes. The first is rooted in a single physical place (such as the bog at Tollund village, Denmark). This is a remembered landscape. Museums, archaeologists, museum visitors, and others make place by telling the story of life at this site, either at a single historical moment (the time when Tollund Man was sacrificed) or as it changed over time (the site’s “life history”). The second is a broader, less-defined landscape of the past as a conglomerate, made up of many remembered landscapes. This is a kind of memoryscape, a place transcending time and physical reality, but still drawing meaning from specific locales and events. The desire to access this memoryscape is exemplified by connections drawn between the various Iron Age Danish bog bodies, who together tell the story of sacrifice over a 1300-year period (Silkeborg Museum 2012). While the physical landscape undoubtedly changed throughout the Iron Age, the era itself is a landscape, a place modern individuals can experience in its (perceived) entirety by touring a museum. In the examples of Tollund Man, Grauballe Man, and other Danish bog people, these landscapes are created, utilized, and interpreted to create varying meanings. In the stories of these places, museums and visitors find (or
create) traditions and morals, a sense of nationality and community, continuity with the past, and new ways to make sense of the present.

**Overview: The Bog People and Landscapes**

This paper will reference two specific bog people: Tollund Man and Grauballe Man. While the exhibits and interpretations of these men’s lives vary, all participate in “making place,” in the form of remembered landscapes and broader memoryscapes. Stuart MacLean explains this process of landscape transformation:

Interpretations of the past generated from the excavation and analysis of bog bodies and other finds are, in turn, projected back onto the landscapes from which the finds in question were first retrieved, these same landscapes being re-imagined in the present as onetime sacred spaces and sites of ritual sacrifice… In this sense collective memory is indissolubly linked to transformation … (think, for example, of archaeological scholarship’s rediscovery of bog landscapes as ritual and sacrificial spaces) (MacLean 2008: 306).

In all cases, museums ask Keith Basso’s fundamental question - “What happened here?” While the stories told in response to this question can reflect a nationalized “official” history (mandated by the authority of the museum), museum visitors and others often create their own imagined views of the past and place. Both versions are forms of place-making; more than representing the “truth” of the past, they reflect the ideas and values of the story-teller.

**Tollund Man:** Tollund Man was discovered in May 1950, in Tollund village, Jutland Peninsula, Denmark by a family cutting peat for fuel. He was so well preserved that the family who found him called the police, believing him to be a recent murder victim. The braided cord around his neck suggested he had been killed by garroting. When he was buried, he was positioned neatly on his side, suggesting that he had been the victim of ritual sacrifice (a murder victim would not have been buried with such deference). Carbon-14 analysis dated his death to 400-300 BC. Tollund Man is now on exhibit at Silkeborg Museum, just nine miles from the site of his discovery (see Fig. 1) (Glob 1965: 18-20; Silkeborg Museum 2012).

**Grauballe Man:** Grauballe Man was discovered in April 1952, by another group of peat cutters in Nebelgård Fen, a village near Grauballe in Jutland. His throat had been cut, which that he, like Tollund Man, had been killed as a ritual sacrifice. Carbon dating placed his death at around 290 BC. He is now
part of an exhibit at Mosegård Museum, 30 miles from Nebelgård (see Fig. 2) (Glob 1965: 37-41; Mosegård Museum 2012).

Figure 1                              Figure 2

1) Distance from Tollund village to Silkeborg Museum; 2) Distance from Nebelgård Fen to Mosegård Museum. In both images “A” represents the bog, while “B” represents the museum (images from Google Maps).

Place-making in Danish Museums: Tollund Man and Grauballe Man

The idea of a “remembered landscape” is not new to Denmark. In many cases, Danish museums are in fact closely related to the site from which the displayed artifacts came: they may be located directly on-site, or focus on the history of a nearby location. Mosegård Museum at Aarhus (the current home of Grauballe Man), for example, claims that many of its exhibits are based on local history. The museum’s “well-preserved manor house environment and natural surroundings, which include [the] Ancient Path with reconstructed prehistoric houses and tomb monuments,” portrayed as part of the “natural” landscape, contributes to the creation of a remembered landscape (Mosegård Museum 2012). Likewise, while Aarhus is 30 miles from Nebelgård Fen, the museum recreates and recasts the ritual significance of the bog landscape in a permanent exhibit entitled “Grauballe Man and the Magic of the Bog” (Mosegård Museum 2012). Despite a slight distance from the “real” site, these exhibits are rooted in a physical location, suggesting that visitors to the museum have seen and experienced a true representation of a past landscape. Rather than a piecemeal conception of “Iron Age life,” the bog exhibit provides a physical example of a site at which life played out; if the visitors had any inclination, they could easily drive 30 miles west from the museum to see the exact site where Grauballe Man was sacrificed and
(presumably) lived. However, as sociologist Erik Cohen explains, such recreations of the past increasingly become part of the physical, historical or cultural environment—they become ‘naturalized,’ [which blurs] the distinction between ‘natural’ and ‘contrived’ [landscapes],” and natural and recreated pasts (Kelleher 2004:8). While visitors may not see the actual landscape, they can still view the memory of that place in the museum.

Mosegård’s sister museums also follow this pattern. At the Odder Museum, visitors tour the “coherent cultural environment of the historic Otter Water and Steam Mill,” supposedly viewing life as it occurred on the site. At the Viking Ship Museum, visitors walk down a flight of stairs with years painted in decreasing order, literally leading them into the past (Mosegård Museum 2012). Keith Basso’s description of Western Apache place-making as “a form of narrative art, a type of historical theater in which ‘pastness’ of the past is summarily stripped away and long-elapsed events are made to unfold as if before one’s eyes” (Basso 1996: 33) is relevant here. Although Danish museums do not speak of the past in the present tense, as Basso observed of Apache stories, these Danish exhibits still actively strip away “pastness.” The superimposition of past and present effectively casts the past as an accessible, physical space. By blurring the distinction between past and present into a coherent story of continuity, allowing visitors to physically experience the landscape of the past.

The Tollund Man exhibit at the Silkeborg Museum is an excellent example of such continuity. The museum focuses on the history of the Silkeborg region, from prehistory to modern industrial development. Deeply concerned with local heritage, the museum promotes conservation archaeology, publishing a pamphlet entitled “Do You Have a Mound in Your Backyard?” to educate the public in preserving the ancient past (Silkeborg Museum 2012). While both industry and daily life threatens such sites (Tollund Man, after all, was discovered because of the local and traditional practice of peat-cutting), the museum emphasizes the importance of the landscape in forming Danish identity. The museum’s Tollund Man website (a complex site including pages on the body’s discovery and analysis, Iron Age life and ritual, and connections to other bog bodies) provides very detailed investigations life in Iron Age villages in and around Silkeborg. The website claims, “Over the years many excavations have been completed in the area surrounding Silkeborg where the Tollund Man was discovered[,] and they seem to show that the villages were placed just as close to each other as they are today - the villages of the Iron Age were
probably their ancient predecessors” (Silkeborg Museum 212). Here, once again, stories about the past landscape are presented with stories of more recent times: a visitor familiar with the local villages will be able to clearly envision the villages of the Iron Age and see village agricultural life played out in the past similarly to its appearance in the present, seemingly with no break in continuity. Located just nine miles from the Tollund bog, the museum is very much a part of the historical landscape. Tollund Man, in his own exhibit, tells the story of “what happened here” just a short distance from his burial place. In this story, the bog has always been part of Danish life; in what Holtorf calls its “life history,” the bog was a site of agriculture and ritual sacrifice, then a site of peat cutting, and, finally, a site of collective memory and heritage.

This story, describing the present as a direct result of the past, full of similarities despite differences in ritual, is thus a distinctly nationalistic version of place-making. As Ruth VanDyke notes, “social memory is often used to create the appearance of a seamless whole, naturalizing or legitimizing authority” (Van Dyke 2004: 414). Depicting modern farmers as the direct descendents of the farmers of Tollund Man’s lifetime, the museum uses the physical landscape to legitimize the current location and organization of villages, suggesting that this is how Denmark “should” be organized. Tied to the land for thousands of years, such stories unite the modern Danish population with a shared history, further legitimizing the country’s existence despite changes in industry and globalization. This creates an “imagined community” of the Danish population: the bog is part of a “political landscape... constituted in the places that draw together the imagined civil community, a perceptual dimension of space in which built forms elicit affective responses that galvanize memories and emotions central to the experience of political belonging” (Smith 2003:8). Laying claim to this national history, the Mosegård Museum website does not have an English translation, while the Silkeborg Museum’s English translation is rough and at times awkward. 3 Although English is a common language in Denmark, these websites effectively block entrance to the “Danish” landscape, showing preference toward those within the imagined community (those inhabitants of Demark who speak Danish). This limited access to the past further strengthens the idea of a community to whom the past belongs. In this framework, Tollund Man and Grauballe Man are former members of this community, who have been re-created to extend this identity across time and

3 All quotes from the Mosegård Museum have been auto-translated by Google Chrome.
space, in a “memoryscape” encompassing both the Iron Age and the present, and not only the history of
the individual bogs, but of the entire country.

**Appropriating the Past: Seamus Heaney’s Bog Poems and the Danish Bog People**

In a study of nostalgia and artifact preservation in Northern Ireland, Ray Cashman proposed that people preserve relics of the past in order to “control” the changes from past to present:

Unable to slow the pace of change but unwilling to passively float with the tides of change, people nonetheless claim their right to at least evaluate change in retrospect, to discern true loss (such as a decline in neighborly cooperation) … Nostalgic practices such as amateur preservation work can be seen, then, as a reclamation of individual agency… Nostalgic practices do not offer people the power to literally arrest change, but they do offer them the temporal perspective necessary to become critics of change, and more or less willing participants. (Cashman 2006: 146).

As Danish museums demonstrate, preservation of the past does indeed provide a sense of continuity into the present, limiting the perceived extent of changes in the landscape. While the previous section discussed this perception as deliberately created by the museum (as a mechanism for producing a “national history”), it is also evident that the people who visit museums tell their own stories about the past. Although anthropologists have critiqued museum-created pasts as valuing profit more than “true” history (Kelleher 2004; Gable and Handler 1996), their theory overlooks the fact that museum visitors certainly have their own reasons for viewing, imagining, and interpreting the past. They do of course pay to visit museums, and are presented with the “official,” created version of the past, but they certainly do not always take that version at face value. Museum visitors are place-makers as well, telling their own stories about the past based on the artifacts they see – and while museums may try to nationalize or standardize their history, they cannot prevent individuals from “appropriating” the landscape of the past and making their own meaning.

As has been shown, Danish museums do not intend for bog bodies to be symbols of humanity’s past; rather, they are symbols of an imagined community of Danish people that has (supposedly) existed for thousands of years. However, bog bodies, as recognizable faces from the past, become symbols for outsiders as well. The Northern Irish poet Seamus Heaney is a notable example, reinterpreting the Danish bogs’ significance through his “Bog Poems.” Holtorf’s work on with German megaliths has proven that monuments and landscapes are never culturally “dead” – they are constantly reused, whether for their original purposes or new (Holtorf 1998). Heaney, therefore, is simply adding to the site’s “life
history,” using the landscape to create meaning and find answers to Basso’s questions: what happened here, and why should it matter?

In the case of the poem “Kinship,” Heaney’s created meaning is one of identity. By visiting the bog’s physical landscape and imagining stories, he gains a sense connection to the past and to the Tollund Man (“the strangled victim”):

Kinned by hieroglyphic
Peat on a spreadfield
To the strangled victim,
The love-nest in the bracken,

I step through origins
Like a dog turning
Its memories of wilderness
On the kitchen mat…

I love this turf-face,
Its black incisions,
The cooped secrets
Of process and ritual (Heaney 1975: 40).

Walking through the physical landscape of the bog (any bog, really; Northern Ireland, Heaney’s home country, has its fair share of bogs as well) allows Heaney to walk through the past (“I step through the origins”) and imagine former life (“the cooped secrets/ of process and ritual”). Here, the entirety of humanity’s past becomes a landscape: regardless of geographic and temporal separation, present-day Heaney and Iron Age Tollund Man are part of a single history created during Heaney’s walks through the bog. As Anthony Purdy, a literary critic of Heaney’s work, notes, “Far more important than either the Iron-Age world of the bog people or the modern world of their archaeological reappearance is the very particular way the bodies mediate the relationship between the two.” (Purdy 2002: 94). Here, as with the imagined continuity of Danish villages in Silkeborg, past and present landscapes are superimposed, creating a remembered landscape that emphasizes its “life history.”

Purdy’s critique of the use of bog people in Heaney’s poems is remarkably similar to Basso’s idea of place-making. Drawing on Bakhtin’s literary criticism, Purdy argues that an “artifact in an archaeological excavation is ‘the place where the knots of narrative are tied and untied,’ where ‘time becomes, in effect, palpable and visible”’ (Purdy 2002: 93). As in Basso’s argument, creating and examining an artifact’s narrative (or, by extension, the landscape of it’s discovery’s narrative), the place-maker strips away “pastness,” making “long-elapsed events… unfold as if before one’s eyes” (Basso
Purdy calls Tollund Man a “mnemotope” in these narratives: “a chronotopic motif manifesting the presence of the past” (Purdy 2002: 93). As in Danish museums, bog people in Heaney’s work are recognizable individuals who experienced the past, beings through which Heaney and others can enter and explore the entire imagined landscape of the past.

Heaney’s fascination with bogs may be partly connected to Cashman’s observations of Northern Irish nostalgia: because of the numerous artifacts found in Irish bogs, he has called the bog “a landscape that remembered everything that happened to it” (quoted in Purdy 2002: 95). This is supported by his poem “Kinship,” in which he claims to “love this turf-face,/ Its black incisions,/ The cooped secrets/Of process and ritual” (Heaney 1975: 40). However, many of his bog poems have deeper significance, connecting Iron Age sacrifices to modern violence surrounding Irish nationalism. In these, he uses the landscape to tell a “true” story that, in his view, illuminates and explains present conflict. In his poem “The Tollund Man,” for instance, he expresses his desire to visit the bog at Tollund: “Some day I will go to Aarhus/ To see his peat-brown head…/ In the flat country near by/ Where they dug him out…/ I will stand a long time” (Heaney 1996: 62). Here, he believes, he could “consecrate the cauldron bog/ Our holy ground and pray/ Him to make germinate/ The scattered, ambushed/ Flesh of labourers” killed in the Irish Civil War of the 1920s (Heaney 1998: 63; Purdy 2002: 96). Just as Tollund Man was sacrificed in the Iron Age, Heaney sees his dead countrymen as victims of sacrifice. The Danish bog, therefore, is as Irish (“Our holy ground”) as it is Danish. While Heaney creates a “memoryscape” linking both distant and recent past, the physical landscape whole’s significance in its story. By visiting the bog, Heaney hopes to gain a better understanding of the recent (and continuing) political turmoil:

Something of his sad freedom  
As he rode the tumbril  
Should come to me, driving,  
Saying the names

Tollund, Grauballe, Nebelgard,  
Watching the pointing hands  
Of country people,  
Not knowing their tongue.

Out here in Jutland  
In the old man-killing parishes  
I will feel lost,  
Unhappy and at home (Heaney 1998: 63).
Despite the language barrier, Heaney imagines he will feel at home in the Danish bogs. Even saying the names of the bogs will conjure up for Heaney images of the bog people’s histories. As Keith Basso notes, the “evocative power of place-names” allow individuals to “register claims about their own moral worth… and… to produce a beneficial form of heightened self-awareness” (Basso 1996: 80-81). This claim is evidently as true for Heaney as it was for the Western Apache who Basso was writing about.

Here, therefore, Heaney reclaims a landscape that is not “his own” and tells a story about it, “evoking… entire worlds of meaning” (Basso 1996: 5). He did, in fact, visit the Tollund Man exhibit in 1973, writing an excerpt of the poem in the Silkeborg Museum’s guestbook. Again showing preference for a national history, the museum’s website includes a page for the poem – but, while English is widely spoken in Denmark, a Danish translation is provided before the English original (Silkeborg Museum 2012). Thus, in its “life history,” the Tollund bog has undergone constant transformation, from a site of ritual, to a site of peat cutting, a site of national history, a site reclaimed for Irish significance, and, once again, a site reclaimed for Denmark.

Conclusions

In his definition of place-making, Keith Basso noted, “remembering is often the basis for imagining.” Place-making, therefore, is not necessarily a truthful act. Its primary importance, instead, lies in its use to make sense of the modern world. As the Danish examples show, a site’s history can be cast as nationalist or trans-national, nostalgic or violent. The choice to portray either version, of course, reveals a great deal about the story-teller.

The Danish examples are certainly not the only methods of museum place-making. While the Silkeborg Museum, located almost on-site, attempts to draw parallels between past and present villages, other museums may not follow this example. The British Museum’s famous bog body, Lindow Man, was moved almost 200 miles from his discovery site, and belongs only to a larger exhibit on Iron-Age Britain. The museum has uprooted him from the physical landscape, drawing a hard line between past and present, showing a strong desire to downplay any continuity with the past, and certainly eliminating any sense of British identity with his era (British Museum 2012). The Danish examples, therefore, are only a few potential methods of viewing the past. Yet the fact that there are other examples only illustrates the larger point: all museums and archaeological exhibits have a story to tell, and it is never without bias. For
all their interest in portraying the past as objectively as possible, archaeologists and historians must answer the same questions as a culture telling the history of the monuments of its ancestors. The stories archaeologists and museums tell about the past are potentially fascinating in their own right; the fact that archaeologists exist at all is, of course, part of a cultural preference for telling stories about places. Remembering the landscape in narrative form is thus an act of perceiving, creating, and imagining, for archaeologists and poets alike.

*The views expressed in this article are the author’s own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Anthropology and University of New Hampshire.*
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The Geoglyphs of The Atacama Desert: A Bond of Landscape and Mobility

By Marika Labash

In the northern-most area of Chile, stretching six hundred miles down the coast of South America and expanding more than forty thousand square miles into Bolivia, Peru and Argentina lies the Atacama Desert. This massive, barren landscape consists of expansive salt flats, out of which towering volcanoes extend, reaching twenty thousand feet into the sky. The Atacama Desert is known to be the driest desert in the world, with a landscape resembling that of Mars (Vesilind 2003). Despite this extreme and often harsh environment, the Atacama Desert has been home to a diverse population since as early as 10,000 B.P.. Emerging out of a transfusion of The Late Formative Period and the Period of Regional Developments (between 1000 and 1450 A.D.), a new tradition began (Briones 2006) that involved indigenous peoples branding the earth over which they traveled and these impressions remain today. These structures are called “geoglyphs” and embody the most fundamental aspects of archaeological landscape, including feelings of deep attachment to the earth, means of survival, and religious vestiges.

Fig. 1 Dry Riverbed, Punta Chorro, Chile.

Typologies and Techniques
Now, what exactly is a geoglyph? Encyclopedia Britannica defines “rock art” as being “ancient or prehistoric drawing, painting, or similar work on or of stone…includes pictographs (drawings or paintings), petroglyphs (carvings or inscriptions), engravings (incised motifs), petroforms (rocks laid out in patterns), and geoglyphs (ground drawings)” (Promet 2007:1). In the specific focus of geoglyphs, there are two techniques by which they are created. The “extractive” technique, the more common of the two, involves scraping away the top layer of soil on the hillside, allowing for the soil beneath to create distinguishing designs on the surface. The “additive” process entails gathering materials such as rocks and piling them on the soil surface to create a raised outline (Briones 2006). In the extractive process, the designs will appear lighter than the surrounding soil and in the additive process the designs will appear darker. There is also a third technique that is a complex combination of the additive and extractive processes which allows for a combination of light and dark colored figures (Briones 2006). It is thought that there are as many as 5,000 of these formations atop the deserts of Chile, including geometric, zoomorphic, and anthropomorphic figures. Of the geometric symbols, Briones notes, “many resemble designs on textiles and ceramics, such as circles, concentric circles, circles with dots, rectangles, equal-sided crosses, arrows, simple parallel lines, complex parallel lines, spirals, simple and complex rhombuses” (Briones, 2006, 13). The category of zoomorphic figures includes, “…camelids in pairs or in lines, figures of felines, birds of lakes, sea or land, such as flamingos, seagulls, eagles, rheas, serpents, toads, lizards, foxes, dogs, monkeys and fishes, especially open-sea species like dolphins or sharks” (Briones 2006: 14). Briones describes anthropomorphic figures as being related to activities such as hunting, fishing, religion and also some figures show evidence of hierarchical organization (Briones 2006: 16).
Interpretations

Although there is a significant amount of information available on the geoglyphic construction and typology, less is known about the ways in which they may have been used in the past. The most recent research into the purposes of geoglyphs has revealed that many of the figures can be directly related to migration routes of the early desert peoples. The term used to describe this movement of people is called “caravan activity” which can be described as groups of people moving along a set route with caravans of early breeds of alpacas and llamas. One piece of empirical evidence for the travel to and from the coast would be at Alto Sur, where chemical analysis has shown that a sort of red paint was used on the glyphs, which was made from iron oxide and seawater (Briones 1984:10).

The travelers were moving between the coastal regions to the highlands with their herds, and they needed to utilize the natural resources of each geographic location they encountered. Although the extreme conditions of the desert were daunting, it needed to be traversed, and geoglyphic symbols could have marked sources of water and even noted the quality of it as well (Briones 2006).

The ways in which early Chileans navigated the vast desert is not unlike the ways the Inuit use their intricate maps and memories to navigate their snow covered landscapes. Peter Whitridge’s “Landscape, Houses Bodies, Things” describes how the Inuit used place-names along with carved maps to create permanent recognition of the places in which they encountered. He writes, “Alongside a rich and culturally distinctive body of place-based spatial conceptions were technical practices that reified space in a manner hardly distinguishable from Western scientific spatialities” (Whitridge 2004: 222). In this case, the Inuit were using their memories of carved maps (because of the fact that they were not portable) along with place-names to maneuver the coastlines and snowy plains in ways that were highly technical and advanced. The indigenous peoples of the Atacama Desert may have been using similar techniques to cross their landscape, including using their complex geoglyphic patterns to designate landmarks along
the migration route, alongside oral maps and landscapes drawn from memory. Difficult and often formidable landscapes seem to create a theme amongst early travellers. The need to survive in bitter and scorching environments alike caused them to invent distinctive but logically similar systems of navigation which were passed down for many hundreds of years.

For many, the idea that the geoglyphs represented more than trail markers creates skepticism, however, others believe that the geoglyphs represent characters and divinities of Andean myths, such as Nazca or Cuzco (Briones 2006). One thing that is clear through all of the research and theory is that the indigenous peoples of this time associated greatly with their landscape. On the one hand, they marked the land as a necessity in order to survive in the formidable and grueling desert environment. On the other hand, the production of geoglyphs was astonishingly interrelated to the social and political changes to the indigenous ways of life. These people felt so literally connected to the landscape by ways of spirit, ancestry and tradition that they marked the hills with figures of their own selves, their animals and their geometric designs. Movement of agriculture and domestication along with social integration likely caused the indigenous Chileans to create markers on the land that not only literally marked paths of travel but also represented ideological locations of great meaning for Chile’s earliest settlers.

Briones (2006) notes however, that, “The precise reasons why certain groups of travelers who crossed the Atacama Desert felt the need to mark it, integrate it, recreate it or make it sacred by means of the geoglyphs are likely to remain an enigma” (2006: 22-23).

An example of connections to political and ideological changes is in the disappearance of the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures by the Contact period in 1540 A.D. and the emergence of, “…crosses, stations of the cross and church towers” (Briones 2006: 18). The European influence on the indigenous Chileans caused them to abandon their traditional markers and create landmarks that literally represented European-based religious practices and monuments.
Although the migration-route theory is the most contemporarily researched, some have suggested a correlation between these and the Nazca Lines in the adjacent Nazca Desert of Peru. The similarities between the Nazca Lines and the geoglyphs of the Atacama are striking. When speaking of a German archaeologist’s research in Peru, archaeologist Andrew Curry writes, “There were puzzling gaps, like the absence of temples and large plazas in Nasca towns…Reindel began to suspect the lines evolved locally as a form of religious expression” (Curry 2009: 35). From this, the idea emerged that these mysterious desert markings could have been used as “prayer walks”, similar to a Christian labyrinth, where the participant will walk on their knees though the maze while praying until they reach the center or emerge on the other side, having reached clarity or enlightenment. The proximity of the Nazca Desert to the Atacama is compelling as well as the fact that neither the Atacama geoglyphs nor the Nazca Lines are associated with prominent settlements (or any other structures at all for that matter). However, no direct connection has been made between the two anomalies.

Outside of scholarly interpretations, many concepts also circulate in public imaginations about geoglyphs, which can be more suspect. Some say that the “Atacama Giant” contains possible alignment to solar eclipses and lunar phases. Supposedly, each of the four spikes protruding from the giant’s head will align with the sun or the moon during specific times of year. Others have even suggested that they were created by other-worldly visitors.

**Personal Conceptions of Landscape**

One gets a general sense that the Atacama geoglyphs are an “enigma”, a mystery encapsulated in the past, which we will likely never solve. I encountered these feelings that the geoglyphs may hold undiscovered messages for the future when I spoke with a Chilean man who discussed specifically the
Atacama Giant by saying:

“Considering the existing limitations at the time it was built, the ‘Giant of Atacama’ has succeeded to stand strong for centuries, which makes me think the message it contains was a very relevant one for the former inhabitants of the Atacama Desert, and surely there is still something valuable for the coming generations to decipher.”

Though the enigma framework is limiting, certainly the archaeological and historical community has and continues to make solid discoveries and connections about these features. One approach we can take to try to gain some insight on the past thought of these perplexing people is to bring oral histories to the archaeological datasets. Although many of these migration paths are no longer used today as major routes of transport, it would be quite enriching to know if the Chilean people still feel as strongly connected to these creations as they did a few thousand years ago. An intriguing approach to gaining this type of personal knowledge has been employed by Barbara Bender. Bender’s “Time and Landscape”, a piece that discusses an area Bodmin Moor in Cornwall, England, resonates the ideas that contemporary peoples can comprehend the ways in which their ancestors may have felt about their landscape:

We move around between houses, out through doorways, down drove-ways, along stone rows, and up to the high tors, trying to understand how people might have engaged with the land as they built their homes and enclosed their fields, moved around with their herds headed down to the spring or the ford over the river, stopped at a field shrine, or walked the length of the ceremonial stones (Bender 2002: s108).

Bender’s technique involved immersing herself and her peers directly into the landscape in order to truly discover how her ancestors would have interacted with their landscape. In the mind of an archaeologist, this sparks and interesting conception: one way to really know how Chileans feel about their own history with the geoglyphs is, quite simply, to ask them.

In speaking with another Northern Chilean man, we discern quite swiftly how deeply connected a person can truly feel to the landscape by which they surround themselves. Growing up in a small Atacama town, this man’s connection to the rocks grew beyond a childhood fascination, and he became a geologist so he could further study the environment of the Atacama. When I asked him in what ways he felt interconnected with these structures he said:
“I deal with rocks, I am able to talk to them and get answers. Thus, rocks for me are living things. When I see that people who have left a shadow on the Earth through working with these rocks are able to leave a message to the future, it is very impressive to me. When I touch these geoglyphs, I feel that I am receiving a message from a very distant past.”

This man found that his own history was so deeply rooted in the history of these historical markers that he could almost speak to the ancient peoples who once read the geoglyphs when he touched the stones and carvings. Briones and Alvarez (1991) have used the term “ethno-perception” to describe these feelings of connection to the landscape and environment, defined by deep feelings of, “appreciation of space” (Briones 2006: 12).

Speaking with this man raises another notion: the idea that a structure on the landscape can affect a person greatly both emotionally and physically. This concept was evident in Keith Basso’s “Wisdom Sits in Places”. His ethnography details how the Western Apache use place names to give meanings, tell stories, and teach lessons. The Apache wanted to pass wisdom on to their children through these stories attached to places carried down through the generations. When speaking of the Apache migrations, Basso writes, “The families traveled long distances…they had able leaders who told them what to do, and despite the hardships involved they took pleasure in their journeys. And wherever they went they gave place-names and stories to their children. The wanted their children to know about the ancestors. The wanted their children to be wise” (Basso 1996: 125).This strong connection that the Apache feel towards their places and their migration stories could have been similar to the way the Chileans felt about their geoglyphs. They were not complex or intricate edifices, and they were not places of settlement or habitation, yet they held great meaning to the travelers who used them as guides. It is possible that simply stating the name of a certain glyph could create a mental map for the nomads, a place that was embedded into their history of migration.

Another man that I spoke with shared similar feelings of connection and even a slight sense of pride in the ability of Chilean ancestors to create such a marvel for the future. When I asked him if he thought these sites were an important part of history for Chileans he said, “Definitely, I am proud to learn that these large geoglyphs are located in my country. I feel this kind of archeological site only shows us the wisdom and simplicity of our ancestors. We must keep this for future generations to know”.

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Conclusions: Future Outlooks

In discussing the purposes and ideologies behind these impressive earthen structures, many themes begin to appear. Firstly, indigenous Chilean peoples created a relationship with their harsh desert environment in order to use it to their benefit and to survive their necessary migrations. Carved landmarks, visible from the migration path, spoke to travelers, telling them stories of the landscape; where they would be welcomed by nourishment and where they would be discouraged by desolation. Briones (2006:23) writes, "...the associated socio-cultural indicators prompt us to define these manifestations as the product of a long intellectual process motivated by the desert landscape and inserted into selected places already chosen by their predecessors". This begs the question, who traversed this infertile landscape first, and what commenced the need for such impressive guides?

Secondly, spiritual and ideological interpretations of the geoglyphs show a deep and continual connection to the earth over which they traveled. It is even possible that the extreme and formidable nature of the desert would have caused travelers to create religious geoglyphs along the migration routes just in order to conjure feelings of contentment and relief from the difficult migration. In this case, theories concerning migration and spirituality can be combined to create an all-encompassing hypothesis in which indigenous peoples felt as connected to their landscape as they did to their deities. More recently, concepts have emerged regarding geoglyphs as sources of creative and artistic outlets of religious expressions, but the research regarding the art history has been meager. Luis Briones, a major contributor to this research, plans to continue his studies in this unknown area of pre-contact Chilean art and expression.

One theme I encountered in speaking with the Chilean people was that there is a great desire to preserve these sites so that future generations can enjoy their magnificence and discover their history. When I asked one Chilean man what the next step should be in the life of the geoglyphs he said,

"I think these geoglyphs are an important part of world heritage which should be taken care of and protected by the local authorities. They should be made open for studies by universities, colleges and non-profit sociological foundations around the world in order to better understand the way of living of the ancient people and to ensure their preservation for future generations."
Another person I spoke with shared the same sense of pride as many of the others by saying, “Anytime our country can attract international attention for something positive and that can contribute to our progress in understanding how we have evolved into what we are today, is good. I feel there should be a sense of pride in sharing these findings with the world.”

Much can be said for the creation and use of ancient Chilean geoglyphs, most importantly, the impact of indigenous travelers on the landscape, and even more, the impact that the landscape had on them. Deeply rooted feelings of spiritual and contextual connection remain embedded in the dry hills of the Atacama Desert, including complex ideologies surrounding spirits and ancestors, many of which remain waiting to be discovered.

*Fig. 6. A modern highway cuts through the Atacama desert.*

The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Anthropology and University of New Hampshire.
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Figure 6: Labash, Marika. Highway 5. 2008. San Pedro de Atacama, Web. 3 May 2012.
Olympic Landscapes: A Global Event on a Local Landscape

By Krista Silva

Introduction

Recently, cities around the globe have become involved in a competition for obtaining the title of the most “powerful” city in the world. Hosting mega-events, like the Olympics allow for these cities to restructure the entire floor plan of their metropolis. The Olympic games are well-known global events that occur within a smaller scale local landscape; therefore, the landscape undergoes many changes due to the drastic measures the games entail, as well as the goals for the landscape, economy, and residents post-Olympics.

While looking at these landscapes, it is important to remember that the individual shapes the landscape, while the landscape itself influences and shapes the individuals who reside there (Tilley 1996:162). The landscape of the Olympics is structured around human desires and political interests, while in turn, the reconstructed landscape, reshapes the memories, meanings, and conceptions the residents associate with the area itself. The built landscape of the Olympic can be understood as a conceptual, ideational, and a constructed landscape through the instilled memories, political associations, aesthetic appeal, and the outcomes of the newly shaped area. In this paper I analyze the Olympics in terms of its effects on a city by using analytical categories of conceptual, ideational, and a constructed landscape. I consider the desirability of becoming host city, the transformation of the land not only to support the event itself, but also in relation to the functioning use of the land post-Olympic, as well as how monuments, places, and cohesive events instill a stronger sense of social solidarity and unity through emotional connections.

Hosting the Games

The Olympic games occur in different areas of the world every two years. This means that multiple cities have the opportunity to become a host city every time the global tradition is repeated. The host city needs to be prepared to reconstruct the entire infrastructure of the urban area. Over the recent years, the Games have become more and more elaborate and technologically advanced, therefore more
expensive to accommodate. This makes it essentially impossible for small-scale cities and poor countries to make it past the early rounds of the biddings (Short 2008: 333). The more renowned cities are chosen because they are able to generate more income than other areas and are more recognized in all areas of the globe. These factors and many more often increase the desire and competitiveness of becoming host of the Olympic games.

Cities around the globe are often honored and excited to be able to accommodate such a large-scale event as the Olympics. Most of the time the cities view this as an opportunity to convey a positive international image. Being viewed as the arena for the Olympics enhances the areas image as a dynamic place involved in the globalized world (Broudehoux 2007: 384). Hosting the games is also used as an opportunity to recreate and restructure the entire urban environment (Short 2008). The area is able to undergo large-scale transformations without public scrutiny and with a strict deadline (Broudehoux 2007: 384). According to Short (2008), these “urban makeovers” are designed to improve international linkage and increase the circuits of international capital flow. Because the Olympics are worldwide events, the host city is going to experience a vast amount of tourism while the games are in session. However, these landscapes continue to exist after the Games have come to an end, therefore it is important to look at how the reconstructed urban landscapes are inhabited post-Olympics.

**Urban Landscapes**

The new infrastructure that is enabled by becoming a host city of the Olympics is obviously a major part of the landscape. Because the Olympics are a world event, the landscape needs to be all encompassing. Host cities use this to their advantage to create a completely different skyline of their metropolis. The host cities also use the reconstruction as an advantage to become a “global city” (Short 2008: 337). Reaching “global city” status is a vision these elite cities have of a “self consciously ‘global’ city replete with images of busy international airports, foreign tourists […] and an overwhelmingly positive image shared around the world” (Short 2008: 336). This image is used to promote and project certain images, such as multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism around the globe (Short 2008: 337). The Olympic games allow to speed up this process because they provide dramatic infrastructure renewal and improvement. This positive image is most often embedded in the dramatic and aesthetically pleasing architecture and design of the Olympic monuments and structures.
The visual appeal and aesthetic of these dramatic infrastructures also plays a huge part in the reputation of the urban area. According to Minnaert (2012), the globalization of the economy has brought about the concept of “the entrepreneurial city.” In these cities urban elites unite in order to promote the economic development of their city in order to enhance their position in the “global urban hierarchy,” with the goal of obtaining the highest position on the hierarchy and to “showcase the city as an attractive place for investment” (Minnaert 2012: 362).

The attractiveness of the city is a result of the “constructed landscape” (Minnaert 2012). The ideas, designs, and emotions are projected onto the world in attempts to achieve the outcome desired. In this case, the desired outcome is to become the most powerful city in the world through aesthetically pleasing design. The visual appeal of the city also contributes to how the place is remembered and recognized. A building or monument will be most noticed if it is conspicuous and if it emits a strong aesthetic presence (Broudehoux 2010: 57). Although these constructed landscapes may be aesthetically pleasing, and serve a purpose in the larger, global scale, they impact the meaning of the landscape to the local residents. Knapp and Ashmore (1991) argue that “modernization of landscapes often leads to truncation and impoverishment of their living embodiment of memory, to a rupture in their “cultural biography” –the long interaction between people and their environment” (1999:10). The aesthetic of the landscape may contribute to its status in the entrepreneurial world. However, the drastic change causes the memories that were once instilled among the landscape to completely change. These changes may not always be done to create a stronger sense of power among the world, but in some cases, the infrastructure is changed with a purpose to emanate stronger power relations and control domestically.

**Power Landscapes**

In the 2008 Beijing Olympics, the city was completely reconstructed in order to project the element of power and global interest onto the landscape. Beijing in particular accomplished this with spectacular, one-of-a-kind monuments. Broudehoux (2007) reminds that “[i]n its attempt to modernize its image and to leave a mark in Olympic history, Beijing has followed other aspiring world cities in exploiting the emblematic power of architecture as cultural capital” (2007: 384). Beijing used the capacity of the Olympic games to restructure their city using spectacular architecture to draw in the attention of the outside world. The structures and monuments presented an image of power and authority throughout the
internal and external world. In the recent years, urban areas have been cast under the spell of the “Bilbao Effect,” an effect causes cities to embark on a competition for global preeminence by building the largest, most dramatic, daring, and technological advanced buildings (Broudehoux 2007: 385). This is clearly seen in the architecture created in Beijing for the 2008 Olympic games.

Beijing wanted to be seen as a powerful, dominating landscape not only to the other world renowned urban areas, but to tourists and potential investors in Chinese economy. Most importantly, Beijing wanted to be seen as a powerful, controlled urban area in the eyes of others, while maintaining authority internally in the country. The monuments and structures not only created a visualized aspect of power but also reinforced the power that was already in existence throughout the landscape. Broudehoux (2010) argues that

Their monumentalism reflects upon the government’s dynamism, authority, and will power, and testifies to its desire to be taken seriously on the world stage. It also boldly marks the continuous presence of the state on the urban landscape, and reinforces, on an everyday basis, the awareness and experience of state power (Broudehoux 2010: 57).

Daily these new structures project and instill the sense of power and authority on the Beijing’s citizens. This image of power and visibility reasserts Beijing’s legitimacy as the leader of China (Broudehoux 2010: 57). This concept and initiative relates to what Tilley (1996) refers to as “empowering landscapes,”

[ ][l]andscapes empower, they form personal biographical understanding of an agent’s place. While people create their landscapes these landscapes recursively act back so as to create the people who belong to them (Tilley 1996: 162).

The dominating landscape Beijing elites have created, directly impacts the people governed by the existing regime. The disenfranchisement of the powerless serves as a means to reinforce social control while hindering the progress of resistance movements by breaking community networks (Broudehoux 2007: 389).

This disengaging of the lower class is a result of the worldly oriented goals of the Olympic landscape. The purpose of these landscape transformations is to be seen as a modern, influential area of the world with a focus toward the future rather than the present. Therefore, the individuals who live in the core of the area are subjected to the social inequalities and unjust governance. This can be understood
as what Dillehay (2008) calls “utopic space.” When looking at the Olympic landscapes through the power relations within Beijing, the changed landscape can be viewed as a “utopic space” defined by Dillehay (2008) as a space in which “society’s concept of utopia is expressed spatially, materially, and […] aesthetically” (2008: 46). Because the main focus of these newly enforced landscape is toward the future, the development and urban planning is more oriented to instill a newfound sense of order and control.

Dillehay (2008) suggests that such spaces are considered “utopic” because of the important role they play in relation to the places and spaces that they are compared to. Beijing, in comparison to the other core areas of the world, is full of with dramatic infrastructure and complex technology. The landscape created for the Olympic games only allowed for Beijing to progress closer to a “utopic space.” Such “utopic spaces” become imperative points in a complex chain of social spaces relying on their aesthetic appeal, as “they express varying degrees of connectivity, centrality, and influence within the setting of relations” (Dillehay 2008: 46-47). These elements are used together in order to look more towards the future than remain in the present. The main focus of these spaces is to instill a new sense of order and status while comparing themselves to other “non-utopic” spaces. This allows such spaces to remain powerful and dominant in global relations.

However, prioritizing the cities image amongst the global world over its daily use by its inhabitants reproduces inequality among those who live within this utopia’s borders. The image these built landscapes project onto the outside world plays a huge factor in the reasons behind building them. By constructing massive, dramatic structures, the city of Beijing is hiding certain features of their culture through the landscape. Through these Olympic structures the city is projecting a constructed reality of an economically successful and well-functioning society (Broudehoux 2010: 61). Inasmuch as these landscapes project power, they also conceal the rising contradictions and social inequalities that are associated with Chinese society. The monuments idealize the elite and continue to ignore the lower class. For instance, in order to build these massive structures people need to be relocated in order to create room for the building. More often than not these people are of lower class and therefore, the social inequalities are being perpetuated within the city.

**Negative Social Impacts from the Landscape**
Although Beijing may believe that by building these landscapes the area is benefiting dramatically, there are quite a few downfalls to being the host of the Olympics and having to construct these massive facilities. After the Olympics have concluded the host city needs to figure out how they are going to continue to use the monuments built for the Olympics. They need to be able to continue to support their economy while supporting these elaborate, land consuming structures built for the Games. What is going to happen to the community, as well as the remaining landscape after the Olympics have ended? What type of legacy are these Olympics going to leave behind? How is the economy going to support these major structures built upon their landscape?

Throughout the past twenty Olympic games more than twenty million individuals have been displaced and relocated in order to allow the constructions of Olympic monuments and buildings (Borger 2007). Minnaert (2012) observes that “[f]or socially excluded groups, the impacts may be negative, via diluted community structures or an inflation in the housing market, which may force people who do not own their homes to move (2012: 362). These negative impacts for the lower class can range from rent increase for social housing to the complete tearing down of the place they once called home (Digby 2008: 46). Figure one shows an image from the Beijing 2008 Olympics in which a central-city area was completely demolished in order to make room for the renovation of the new infrastructure. This exemplifies just how much stress urban areas place on their reputation around the world. The socially elite are able to thrive in these entrepreneurial global cities, however, the lower class end up struggling to maintain a home, health care, and education.
The disenfranchising of the lower class can also be seen in the upcoming London Olympics (at the time this paper is written these Olympics have not happened yet). These Games are going to take place in five boroughs of east London; one out of the five being one of the poorest and most deprived areas of the UK according to the 2001 UK Census (Digby 2008: 46). These five boroughs are also the areas of London with the youngest, most diverse population. Of course, this played a huge factor in the bidding process because cultural diversity and the young energetic population will make the “global city” look promising to the rest of the world. However, within London, the forty-one percent of the population that is under the age of twenty-four make up the majority of the one-parent families, with the worst health and living conditions (Digby 2008: 47). This makes them the ideal target for displacement and relocation for the means to build the elaborate structures the Olympics entail. The structures that are built in order to enhance and sanitize the location for the Olympics will hide these factors and project a constructed reality of a well functioning society, similar to the case in Beijing.

According to Beriatos and Gospondini (2004), ninety-five percent of the projects planned for the Olympics are not temporary but permanent, and therefore need to be re-designed or re-structured in order to have a function after the games have ended. In most cases, the former Olympic landscapes are
constructed in tourist venues or sporting arenas. When considering the type of individuals who will be able to go to these facilities it becomes apparent that the structures are contributing to the social and cultural inequalities of the area. Many of the Olympic venues in Beijing that were constructed over older, lower class neighborhoods will not be accessible to the general public. Instead, they will be turned into luxury resorts for China’s new elite. This creates a space of exclusion, in which particular types of people are advantaged (Broudehoux 2007: 386-387). This, in turn, increases social disparities and is causing a greater income divide than ever before (Broudehoux 2007: 389).

As an outcome of hosting the Olympic games and gaining a completely new urban infrastructure, the area is destroying the landscape-history it once had. In Beijing, the historical infrastructure and cultural landscape was completely undone in order to reach the standards of “global city status” through spectacular architecture. Broudehoux (2007) observes that “by destroying Beijing’s historical fabric and obliterating its unique cultural landscape they effectively annihilate part of the city’s competitive advantage and erase the particularities that had given Beijing its distinctive flavor” (2007, 384).

The history of a landscape is something that many people identify with. In order to call a place home, the history and memory of the individuals residing in the area need to be recollected. Ruth M. Van Dyke (2004) discusses the importance of the memory and history of certain landscapes. She believes that the memory of a particular location or space is crucial to invoking the history of social engagement throughout the area (Van Dyke 2004: 414). The way an individual remembers a certain area or monument is not only a reflection of the landscape itself, but it is also used as a way for people to situate, organize, and use the landscape (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:14). The memory associated with a place is part of the way individuals engage and experience the landscape in which they live. Knapp and Ashmore (1999) argue that “[p]laces create and express sociocultural identity. Landscape provides a focus by which people engage with the world, and create and sustain a sense of their social identity” (1999, 15). By completely changing the infrastructure of the land, the meaning and social identity that is embedded within the landscape is altered. The recreation of the landscape for the Olympic games disengages this factor of memory. Because the landscape is completely renovated, the memory instilled in the land becomes vulnerable, and so do the lower class individuals.

**Collective Effervescence and Public Open Spaces**
The Olympic games, no matter where they are held, are known to generate a feeling of national pride and identity. Since individuals are traveling from all over the world to either participate in the games, or watch the games, there is a need for landscapes in which these people feel comfortable and feel a sense of social solidarity. In order to create a space where social and cultural, diversity can be fostered and enhanced “public open spaces” were created. The spaces synchronize the different social, cultural, and economic groups. Because these individuals are all embedded within a common space, new social solidarities are created (Beriatos and Gospondini 2004: 198). These spaces also allow for the fostering of stronger feelings of pride and place attachment due to the lack of restrictions and the openness of the area (Minnaert 2012: 362). This type of Olympic landscape falls under what Knapp and Ashmore (1999) term “conceptual landscape.” In these spaces, the land itself plays a major role in the relations that occur within them. These spaces are normally areas in which the architectural landscapes have not dominated and are simple parks in the midst of the urbanity, allowing for people to be more aware of their physical emotions rather than the physical dominance of the architecture. Figure two shows a computer-generated image of the supposed 2012 London Olympics’ public open space surrounded by the larger, more urban structures developed for the Olympics.

Figure 2. A computer generated view of the Olympic park in London 2012 (Digby 2008: 41).
These public open spaces often emanate stronger feelings of nationality and collectiveness among the individuals. Unlike many of the other Olympic spaces, these open spaces are completely free to the public. This allows locals and tourists to participate in the celebration of the Olympics regardless of whether or not they have purchased event tickets. Knapp and Ashmore (1999) discuss landscape in terms of social order and cultural relations; “as a community merges with its *habitus* through the actions and activities of its members, the landscape may become a key reference point for expressions of individual as well as group identity” (1999: 16). In this particular case, the landscape does act as a key reference point in which people’s emotions are expressed to create a sort of group identity and social cohesion. This merging of community can be seen throughout the entirety of the Olympics. However, the natural setting and physical openness of the “public open spaces”, allow for a stronger sense of collectiveness through similar emotions.

Durkheim (1895) discusses the collective emotions shared between individuals when brought together at a shared event or location. His ideas can be reflected within these public open spaces seen at the Olympic games due to their intended purpose of cultural integration and cohesion. The fact that these open spaces are created for the strict intention of allowing people to gather together during a momentous event shows that individuals need to feel a part of a larger, collective group and therefore, supports Durkheim’s (1895) theory of “collective effervescence” or “collective consciousness.” Durkheim (1915) argues that when social and cultural events in which people congregate becomes a powerful stimulant that draws people together and in turn, fosters an experience of common passion,

> There are occasions when this strengthening and vivifying action of society is especially apparent. In the midst of an assembly animated by a common passion, we become susceptible of acts and sentiments of which we are incapable when reduced to our own forces […] (1915: 209-210).

In this particular case, the Olympic games are the occasions in which the society feels a stronger sense of assembly and common passion. This sense of passion and pride become stronger in public open spaces because they are areas that are completely surrounded by Olympic sentiment, allowing everyone to be aware that the Games are present. Public open spaces are a particularly interesting case because no events occur there other than cultural cohesion and solidarity.
Conclusion

The landscape of the Olympic games creates various feelings of cultural cohesion and social solidarity, while enhancing the host cities status as a "global city." However, while reinforcing a sense of global identity, the landscape is completely transformed, and in turn results in displacement of some local individuals. In many cases, among the displaced and those who attend the new places, the memories associated with the previous landscape are lost and the importance of power and utopia are prioritized. The host cities of the Olympic games are often honored when designated to this task, however, the infrastructure and economy of the city is subject to complete renovation. Whether transformation of the landscape has a positive or negative impact on the population, I think depends on the city. This transformation, however, shows how landscapes can affect the residents of the area not only through the building process, but also by the visualization, the urban infrastructure, collectiveness, and the globalization of the landscapes involved.

*The views expressed in this article are the author’s own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Anthropology and University of New Hampshire.*
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Manifestations of Ideational Landscapes: Heaven, Hell and Film

By Hillary Christopher

There is a place where you walk upon the clouds. Before entering, you must go through a golden gate of sorts. Once passed, all of your loved ones smile and greet you. There might be a flock of doves flying someplace in the distance. Somewhere else is another place constructed not of clouds, but of jagged rocks. This place is dark and full of fire. You feel alone, full of dread and fear.

These two places should be familiar despite a simple description. Hopefully you identified them as Heaven and Hell, respectively. They are classified as one of the three landscapes, which Knapp and Ashmore (1990) define as constructed, conceptualized, and ideational (1990:10-13). A constructed landscape is a set of meanings imposed on a built feature. Conceptualized landscapes place meaning on natural features. A mountain, for example, might have cultural significance despite not having any man-made alterations done to it. Finally, an ideational landscape is something that can be experienced within the mind and thought of, rather than experienced physically. It can also be termed as an imagined place. In this paper I discuss ideational landscapes using Heaven and Hell as main examples. I argue that the general concept of ideational landscapes can give insight on how humans have the ability to create a communal place; more specifically, ideational landscapes can be a collective set of thoughts, desires, and social manifestations.

By examining such landscapes, it is possible to determine what humans consider important, attainable, or simply in existence. It is important to remember that someone (an individual or a group) or something can dictate ideational processes. The resulting manifested landscape can only represent the ideational one in a material sense. The relevance here is that if ideational landscapes are significant enough to be collective and hold common attributes among individuals, the material landscapes might be incomplete or non-comprehendible to anyone outside of the community, such as an archaeologist.

I demonstrate the use of ideational landscapes and phenomenology in archaeological perspectives by using examples of Heaven and Hell. The very concept of Heaven and Hell has been
persistent for thousands of years. As a result, even non-believers, or those for whom Heaven and Hell are not real, are probably familiar with the description (like the one above). I was born and raised Catholic; I am biased. Thus, the Heaven and Hell discussed in this paper will refer primarily to the Western Christian standards. Heaven and Hell are present in Judaism, Islam, and other religions. Because of my unfamiliarity with possibly different variation of these places within different contexts, and because of the scope of this paper, the Christian versions will have to suffice. By no means I want to promote religion, Christianity, or related ideologies. Rather my purpose is to discuss and stress the significance and power of ideational landscapes in general, while grounding this argument in these well-known places. This paper is also not necessarily grounded in theology or philosophy. The use of Heaven and Hell is deliberate because of the fact that regardless of belief and variation, almost every single person in the West at least knows about these places. The use of capitalization is also notable due to the assumption that we are discussing the specific places and not allusive ones (such as in vernacular speech as mentioned below).

The communal sense and understanding of what Heaven and Hell and such ideational landscapes are is also reflected in pop culture. Ideational landscapes are not always connected to Heaven and Hell specifically, but commonly appear in fantasy and sci-fi genres. I focus on this matter in the second part of this paper. A trend in cinema is to explore the possibility of actually going to and visiting an ideational landscape. While there are countless films that do this, I use Alice in Wonderland, Thor, and Tron: Legacy as basic examples. Each of these films has a varying degree of ideationality. Alice in Wonderland is based on an individual’s imagined world; Thor has roots in what we now consider a mythical realm; and Tron: Legacy is exciting because it explores the virtual world as real.

**Human society and the ideational**

Any human society must hold ethos of a shared experience in order for it to exist and be defined as such. For example, Heaven and Hell in Western cultures reflect normative behavior, while normative behavior is reflected on the ideational construction of the descriptions of Heaven and Hell. The binary of the two places is particularly interesting. Heaven is good and Hell is bad; likewise, those who do (and are) good go to Heaven and those who do (and are) bad go to Hell. We are able to distinguish and define good and bad qualities in a social context.
This binary has also set up all political systems. Hierarchies are typically built and maintained by leaders who care for the masses. If the leaders are destructive or negligent, a revolt of sorts will take place to institute a new head or order. More egalitarian societies adhere to accepted behaviors while expecting that everyone support the group. Either way, there is a communal sense of right and wrong and of good and bad.

What is contained within the descriptions of both Heaven and Hell hold a structural foundation but may be conceptualized slightly differently between individuals (Dewsbury and Cloke 2009; Hart 2007; Everden 1981; Anschuetz et al. 2001; Lowenthal 1961; Schein 1997). This is understandable. Heaven and Hell are not always talked about directly and definitely during someone’s regular interaction with others. The fact is that

…peoples’ intimate relationships with incidental properties of certain worldly phenomena allow them to understand and describe accurately the essence of the things they experience…Although vernacular knowledge is not a singular manifestation between cultures or even within specific cultures, certain cross-cultural regularities occur in classificatory systems upon which common-sense beliefs are imposed (Anschuetz et al. 2001:183-184).

In other words, we are able to mutually understand each other because of this vernacular knowledge, which is especially applicable to the descriptions of ideational Heaven and Hell. But this is on a structural and basic function only. Individuals inherently do have their own specific details of what these places looks like and entail. Everden (1981) uses an example of two people of different philosophies, backgrounds, and perspectives describing the same tree,

Each observer would probably consider his interpretation accurate and the other’s viewpoint trivial, nonsensical, or unrealistic. Each would be correct, as far as he goes. Each illuminates one aspect of how the tree appears. Neither describes the way a tree is, but each describes why the tree is important to him and is real to him. However, a description of the tree acceptable to both observers would be difficult to achieve, unless there were an explicit recognition of the various ways a tree can be and an attempt to describe as many of these ways as possible in the hopes of discerning the common or
essential features. Without this clearly defined intention, each viewer will see only his own version of reality (1981:152).

But because Heaven and Hell are communal in nature and manifested with societal expectations, the varying "realities" are negligible. What matters most of these two arguments is that the vernacular knowledge and the proverbial tree exist simultaneously. Therefore it is valid to say that the vast amount of variations based on individual versions of ideational landscapes commit to a conglomeration and collective, singular ideational landscape. To attain placement in either Heaven or in Hell, one must act as an individual according to communal expectations.

If there is a widespread communicable vernacular knowledge of Heaven and Hell, there must be an ideational landscape of them despite disbelief. Those who take Heaven and Hell to be unreal places are still aware of them, can describe a simple phenomenology, and are familiar with the behaviors associated with each. Non-believers can at least acknowledge what the ideational aspect can contain (Dewsbury and Cloke 2009:704). The reasons for both belief and disbelief are, thus, irrelevant because these ideational landscapes are stubbornly resilient. Those who see Heaven and Hell as real places know that these places are directly inaccessible and intangible until death (literally!). Thus these places can exist, for now, within individual mind only as ideational landscapes. It can be argued then that since Heaven and Hell are ideational only, and that they transcend individual belief, they do indeed exist within the mind and not necessarily in reality, but can be considered real in the sense that at far minimum, individual thoughts about these places exist.

The phenomenology of an ideational landscape such as Heaven or Hell is also important. Such a concept "exists on two levels, a material and corporeal one and an immaterial and incorporeal one; both equally real" (Dewsbury and Cloke 2009:707). One cannot actually physically go to an ideational landscape, such as Heaven or Hell, because it is located in the mind. Because Heaven and Hell are divine landscapes, there is a limitation to how humans can perceive them. Tilley (1994) claims that "this results in the creation of a gap, a distance in space. To be human is both to create this distance between the self and that which is beyond and to attempt to bridge this distance," and therefore the phenomenology of such places are inherently limited despite our greatest efforts (1994:12).
It is also important to note that the ideational landscapes of Heaven and Hell might have found a loophole. That is, there is the perception that they don't exist on or really near Earth at all. No one can then visit them besides their mental construction. Regardless, Heaven is typically seen as above Earth or in the sky; Hell is likewise viewed as beneath/underground/deep. The location of these placements can reflect existing ideals about good and bad. Good Heaven is higher than bad Hell.

**Symbols**

The absence of Heaven and Hell on Earth but their presence in the mind creates an interesting manifestation. "Physical alterations of spaces that correspond to astronomical or cosmological phenomena are some of the most testable aspects of ritual use of landscape" (Anschuetz et al. 2001:179). We have built gateways such as churches, temples, mosques, and other places of worship, essentially to assist individual feelings about ideational landscapes. These gateways resemble and become a part of physical landscapes. Yet, these are only the means of getting *closer* and not the means of true transportation, in a sense that the gateways can only represent, by material manifestation and construction, the "actual" ideational places, which are not to be present on Earth. Because our imagination is unlimited and yet because we can make only representations, our physical manifestations and our perceived details of ideational landscapes must draw from what we have seen and know; what we are familiar with intimately. This might be a fatal flaw. As Lowenthal (1961) argues,

mankind’s best conceivable world view is at most a partial picture of the world—a picture centered on man. We inevitably see the universe from a human point of view and communicate in terms shaped by the exigencies of human life (1961:246).

We are then unable to comprehend anything than our own. This is particularly troubling when discussing any ideational landscape—we are trapped within our own minds. What we do to alleviate this is to distort and transform examples from reality (Lowenthal 1961:249). In other words, we make adaptations to the familiar to suit what we are able—and what can be made—to manifest the ideational, the unknown.

These distortions are embodied as symbols. Symbols also manifest meaning within a landscape. We can glean other social concepts based on the descriptions of Heaven and Hell. Clouds, gates, individuals who we love, airiness, and light are associated with Heaven. There is a certain ethereal quality about these things when grouped together. Contrasting Hell’s symbols include fire, caverns,
sharp and pointy objects, heat, and the color red. A hellish picture is formed to make someone fearful and to reflect (or create) a sense of utter despair. A simple Internet image search for both landscapes will produce the respective symbols and images. Each place’s symbols can be representative of the previously discussed qualities. There is however a subtle trend in these symbols and their associations. Light, air, and clouds (water producers) are the very basic necessities of life on Earth. Good is associated with order and progress and solidarity, as is Heaven. Likewise, symbols of Hell like fire, lifeless caverns, and stabbing tools are things that can cause death. Interestingly, this death is both corporeal and social. An individual who does something bad or wrong—according to social laws—essentially dies socially by being marginalized. All of these symbols are familiar and their concepts are applied to ideational factors of Heaven and Hell.

All of these symbols mean something to their constituents, but what do they mean in terms of archaeology and symbolic artifacts? A truly good way for an outsider to gain insight to an ideational landscape is through material symbols. Gould (1978) argues for a materialistic method of understanding such symbols archaeologically,

That is, instead of assuming beforehand that symbolic and social variables are somehow to be seen as epiphenomena in explaining behavior when compared with variables of a materialist nature, we use the materialist approach to confront the totality of variables that may account for the observed patterns of material remains. Human beings do manipulate symbols, and their symbolic behavior can affect the total pattern of material residues in any society (1978:825).
Take art, for example. Whatever the medium, ideas can be transcribed without always following logical norms—they can be abstract. Artistic depictions use representative symbols to project the visual aspect of the landscape, at least initially. Interestingly though is how symbolic artifacts are biased and incomplete. For instance, we have buildings of worship, which are representative of Heaven. These buildings are commonly seen as houses of God. There are virtually no manifestations of places or buildings of Hell specifically, save for disputable cultic practices. Be it buildings or pilgrimage destinations, these places are communal. Symbols however are not bound to this trend. They can be manipulated, utilized, and interpreted on any scale. Christians have the ultimate symbol of the cross and crucifixion. These can be carried around as pendants (jewelry) or displayed in a town square or on a high mountain. Relics work in this same fashion too. This allows these symbolic artifacts to be as public or as private as desired.

Language

Briefly and on the more anthropological track, language concerning Heaven and Hell permeates our culture. We are all familiar with the following phrases, statements, and sayings:

What the hell?
Put through hell
A devilish smile
All hell breaks loose
A match made in Heaven
I’m in heave
All of them demonstrate the commonness of ideational landscapes in practice. Most sayings regarding Hell or a hellish concept are most often curses or damnations (quite literally, and actually case-in-point). While expressions of Hell are more common, symbolic artifacts of Heaven are more frequent. Either way, mentioning either Heaven or Hell directly, or by allusive speech, can have more weight than initially thought. Keith Basso (1996) stresses how place-naming can make people “live right” because of the associations of specific places. Referring to social/communal norms by using the name of a place only is extremely powerful in its own right.

Because one cannot physically go to a landscape that is ideational, symbols are the only connection to them. They are also the only way to visually express the landscape’s details. This in turn becomes the gateway, if only mentally, for visitation. Even the material manifestations of buildings are but mere symbols themselves. In essence, they represent gateways. The symbols are derived from the communal vernacular knowledge, and thus foster a sense of community among those who share an ideational landscape and its image. The symbols that manifest themselves within material culture are relatively durable against time. Generations to follow will see these manifestations in art, architecture, language, and manifest the ideas themselves, ultimately perpetuating the existence of ideational landscapes (Rowntree and Conkey 1980:469). To be clear, the act of manifestation through materiality does indeed shift towards constructed landscapes, especially in the sense of buildings of worship.

**Popular culture**

The idea about individual inability to travel to an ideational landscape is extremely important. Despite this setback, humans have found ways of generally exploring ideational landscapes and *ideas about doing that*. Cinema and pop culture assumes ideational landscapes as actual and travelable places. This is important; this assumption supports my idea that ideational landscapes actually exist in reality, if only by representation. Whether or not we believe that we can physically visit an imagined place, we desire to, as evident in many films’ plots. They all share the notion that when the characters visit the places, they eventually want to return home to reality. The characters in *Alice in Wonderland*, *Thor*, and *Tron: Legacy* all are somehow shipped off to an ideational landscape which they either did not know existed or they thought only existed within the boundaries of ideational theory.
Each of the films’ definition of an ideational landscape is slightly different. For Alice, Wonderland is completely her own imagination. The viewer is showed Alice’s customized ideational landscape from her point of view, although it does depict her reactions to her very own world. As I have discussed previously, although Wonderland is quite fantastical, its details are derived from examples in reality. The reasons for confusion, issues of power and authority, and the concept of feeling lonely in society are all familiar and grounded in reality. Alice simply manipulates these ideas to suit her perception of Wonderland.

Thor’s ideational landscape is even more individualized. The plot is roughly based on Marvel’s version of Norse mythology and characters. Thor’s character is banished from Asgard after he loses his temper and inadvertently starts a war. His destination is naturally Earth. To the viewer, Asgard is the ideational landscape. Yet, since Thor is the main character, the viewers are forced to consider this ideational landscape as objective and that Earth is nothing special and has the potential to be an imaginary place itself. Nevertheless, in the film humans do not consider Thor’s world real, but they are able to acknowledge it. The connection between the two realms is called the Bifröst or “a rainbow bridge”. This is a very appropriate concept; rainbows are ephemeral and transparent. One cannot stand on or in a rainbow, but only observe it.

On a more modern note, Tron: Legacy takes place inside a computer-driven virtual world. This explores a fairly new concept that digital technology can replicate social structure and human behavior. Sam must find and rescue his father, who has been trapped in the Grid for most of Sam’s life. The Grid is a complex computer-based world that eventually had the ability to spawn its own form of life (in human image, of course). The Grid is an ideational landscape in that it is the actuality of program code. For now, this might be the best possible way to sensually experience such a landscape—there is much work being done on virtual realities as it is.

There are varying degrees of possibility of visiting landscapes similar to the ones represented in these films. Undoubtedly everyone has an imagination and can create his or her own fantasy. The existing research of digital realities can transport the mind only, which is still more conceivable than moving the body through computer space. Lastly, Asgard is very similar to Heaven and Hell. By looking at religious foundations, mythical histories, individual ability, and technological advances, it is valid to ask
if the desire to physically experience ideational landscapes is universal if subconscious. We often want what is unattainable. Are ideational landscapes not a perfect example of that? This aspiration has leached into pop culture and has done rather well (regardless of opinions of the three examples of movies). Considering all three levels of attainability, all three main characters ultimately want and do return home or to “reality” in the end. Once the desire is fulfilled and the ideational landscape is explored, there is no need to remain there. All Hollywood climaxes, explosions, and pathos aside, this desire is at the center of these (and other) films. The characters come back to their realities as somewhat enlightened and have added experience. As a result of the cinematic flow, we do not always know if the characters apply this new knowledge and perspective onto their phenomenology of their home landscape. There are some films that leave the viewer in a different mindset than before they saw the film (take Inception as a recent example). There are times though, that the viewer is struck with a (temporary) different phenomenology of their own landscape. For instance, one might feel more aware of their surroundings after a particularly frightening film. Shadows might move suspiciously, or the creaking of a door may indicate an unwanted presence. Cinema and pop culture explore and exploit these ideas as entertainment.

The use of cinema also allows the masses to formulate ideas about exploring ideational places and spaces. In a sense, we can experience all sorts of ideational landscapes simply by viewing a film; the focus is on the visual story that invokes the mind. In other words, films explore ideational landscapes and the ideas about them. We all are aware of the fact that physical travel is impossible—arguably—so we have created a means to address that issue. Still, film is only film. The movie ends and everyone goes home. Is the desire for a movie character to eventually return home an emulation of what happens at the movie theater? Is this the only acceptable action? It could be a fear of the unknown and leaving everything behind with no chance of return. Yet cinema perpetuates ideas about ideational landscapes in a variety of plots and methods. As useful and powerful tools ideational landscapes and ideas about them are important social structures.

Conclusion

Looking at the examples of Heaven, Hell, and film while speaking of general ideas about ideational landscapes, the feasibility of doing their archaeology comes into question. Since ideational
landscapes exist—wholly—only in the mind but are manifested in representations through symbols and symbolic artifacts, will an archaeologist be able to truly get a sense of the communal vernacular knowledge at least? The material remains would probably be incomplete, as with any archaeological site. The biggest obstacle might be that, as we have seen with the films, if it is possible to travel to an ideational place, it is very temporary and something usually only a few individuals (movie characters or the deceased) get the chance to experience. The second important obstacle is the factor of disbelief. Not everyone believes that ideational landscapes actually exist, although many may be familiar with their descriptions. Such landscapes are only partially manifested, more so within the mind than in materials. Only a massive data set could provide such information. Thus no definitive conclusions can be made with the archaeological evidence. This conundrum is a theoretical one. If a phenomenology is going to provide only a fraction of the actual truth, what does this say about landscape theory overall? On the reverse, it might be the only method of understanding such landscapes. We might only be able to glimpse what the ideational landscapes might be like through the material gateways, but never truly understand the depth of the vernacular knowledge. This is not unique to landscape archaeology though; most often the informants are long gone and are unable to flesh out all of the emic (from their point of view) components of their lives.

Ideational landscapes can easily be either overestimated and/or underestimated. What is intriguing about these mental landscapes is how they reflect onto the material record and within society. Because they exist primarily within the mind, their outward expression is inherently subjective and collective; yet they stand the test of time through generations and social significance. The examples of Heaven and Hell—whether they are real yet intangible places for some, they are equally unreal to others (while still containing the prescribed qualities)—do not have necessary presence on Earth. People have, however, imposed these mental images onto other types of landscapes such as in the films and in language. Therefore, it might be possible for ideational landscapes to hold more weight than others. The human imagination is limitless until we imagine something that is limitless itself. The cyclical nature is what creates durability against time. Significant ideational landscapes are so deeply manifested in today’s culture that we must address and hence must be studied more thoroughly. The archaeology of
an ideational landscape is difficult but must be done to further the depth of the understanding of human behavior.

*The views expressed in this article are the author’s own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Anthropology and University of New Hampshire.*
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Approaches to Sensory Landscape Archaeology

By Jessica Faycurry

As the medium through which humans interact with the physical world, senses are crucial to explore when trying to understand the beings that embody them. Senses are the middlemen through which humans register their surroundings, perform activities crucial for survival, and interact with the world and its inhabitants. The phenomenon of senses, although shared among all humans, can be very personal and informative of individual life histories. The scent of cinnamon, for example, can evoke memories of childhood for some, while for others there is no connection. Senses are physically natured but culturally constructed. Colors, tastes, and sounds can hold completely different meanings to different peoples and cultures. Altogether, senses are an undeniably important component of human existence. As such, sensory discourse has led to an interesting accumulation of data, literature, and discoveries. Emerging from this mass of literature is sensory archaeology bringing with it much potential.

The Center for Archaeological Investigations (CAI) defines sensory archaeology as, an umbrella term for ways of understanding the past by investigating the effects of places and things on people’s senses. It considers the potential roles that textures, smells, sounds, tastes, and other less tangible visual qualities, like shimmer, played in informing the choices people made in past societies (2009). Sensory archaeology is an interdisciplinary endeavor, which

… sprang from a number of interrelated fields including sociology, psychology, geography, and of course anthropology. Scholars from such fields wanted to gain an understanding of the roles that senses play in human action and interaction. For example, how does hearing, vision, smell, taste, and touch inform how individuals engage their surroundings? Archaeologists have been incited by such inquiries. Their recognition of the need for sensorial investigations in the study of past societies has resulted in some fascinating observations to date (CAI 2009).

The bulk of sensorial case studies in the archaeological field have focused primarily on “western” senses including touch, smell, taste, hearing, and to the largest extent vision. As a result, the ethno and ocular-centric focus in sensory archaeology has concealed other culturally recognized senses. For example, contemporarily among the Anlo-Ewe of West Africa balance is recognized as a sense that is,
along with hearing, at the top of their sense hierarchy, or sensorium (Geurtz 2002:50). Certainly societies
of the past would also have recognized other senses. This in turn would have had an impact on how
people conducted their daily lives and interacted with their surroundings. The neglect of additional senses
limits the full potential of sensory studies instead looking at past societies through a more restricted lens.
Such attention to other types of senses will hopefully emerge in the near future.

Luckily, archaeologists have been more fastidious in terms of culturally specific sense hierarchies
acknowledging the possibility that certain past cultures may have valued sound, taste, touch, and smell
as much as or more than vision. However, senses such as taste and smell are less tangible in a material
sense and are therefore more often neglected. For instance, you can see and touch monuments or
artifacts but trying to recreate the taste and olfactory environments of ancient peoples is much more
problematic due to the lack of material traces. Archaeologists and fellow scholars are yet to address this
issue.

There have been diverse themes in the study of sensory archaeology thus far, with landscape
being one of the most recent topics of inquiry among archaeologists and anthropologists alike. Landscape
archaeology specifically focuses on the ways in which past individuals and societies shaped and were
shaped by their surrounding landscapes. Sensory landscape archaeology, then, addresses the roles that
senses play in this interaction. Amazingly, archaeologists have been able to observe sensory applications
in the landscapes, natural features, and architecture of past societies. It seems that past societies were
indeed influenced by their sensory perceptions, especially when it comes to the choices they made
regarding their surrounding environments and how they changed these environments. With senses being
such a large part of humanly interaction it is logical that people in the past would have manipulated and
utilized their surroundings to achieve desired sensory effects. Senses also play the important role of
informing individual and social connection to landscapes. To offer some examples and to introduce some
of the potentials of sensory landscape studies, in the remainder of this paper I provided a sense-by-sense
analysis of several case studies.

**Smellscapes, touchscapes and tastescapes**

Often the most neglected within sensory studies smell, touch, and taste have important
implications regarding the connection between human and landscape. Since sensory archaeology is a
fairly recent field of inquiry, there is a lack of prehistoric archaeological data regarding these three senses particularly the connection between landscape, smell, and taste. Therefore I examine some anthropological case studies instead.

Starting with smell there are numerous publications that investigate the relationship between person and scent. Many psychological and scientific studies have been conducted on smell. Anthropologists have added to this plethora of studies analyses of culturally constructed preferences for certain smells over others, the use of scents to influence people’s behavior, and studies investigating the affect scent has on social memory and emplacement. A particularly intriguing case study regarding the latter is “Scents of Place: The Displacement of a First Nations Community in Canada,” by anthropologist Deborah Davis Jackson which examines the role that changing “smellscapes” have on cultural emplacement. The First Nation reserve of Aamjiwnaang in Ontario Canada, previously known as Sarnia Band of Chippewa Indians, like many reserves in North America is subject to high levels of pollution (Jackson 2011:1). Located in what is known as Canada’s ‘Chemical Valley’ their once healthy landscape has been drastically altered along with associated sensorial features particularly odor. Smells of peppermint, wild ginger, maple syrup, honey-scented flowers, farm animals, and savory aromas of stewed meat and vegetables, had once overwhelmed the landscape belonging to the natives (Jackson 2011:3). Not only are these scents vividly recounted but also remembered in context to the particular times of the year (maple is remembered as the smell of spring, for example) and with activities associated with their culture, such as hunting (Jackson 2011:3).

These pleasing and culturally significant smells have been overshadowed by the insurgence of chemical plants producing unpleasant arrays of smells. Residents have now begun to associate the unpleasant odors of noxious chemicals with home. For example, remembering when she brought her son home after he had been away from the reserve for awhile, a local woman states, “I rolled down my window and my oldest son . . . he was like, ‘Oh my god, what is that smell?!’ I was like, ‘We’re home. This is what home smells like’” (Jackson 2011:6). Not only is the whole reserve associated with an overall background odor, certain locations in town are associated with different smells. Or as one townie stated, “Each corner of the reserve has its own special stench” (Jackson 2011:7). Aware that the odors are due to toxic fumes, the reserve’s inhabitants are constantly reminded of their health hazards and suffer from
anxiety because of it. Thus while in the past the more appealing scents helped to reinforce a sense of community and positive emplacement on the reserve, the present repulsive smells serve to alienate the natives from their ancestral landscape. This in turn gives them a feeling of displacement without ever physically removing themselves from the landscape. This is just one example of the connection illustrating how smell can influence memory, emplacement, and cultural connection to landscape.

Both memory and cultural connection are important. They play a significant role in human-landscape relations. Transforming a landscape or space into place (meaningful and culturally significant space), encompasses individual and social memory. Keith Basso illustrates this relationship between social memory and cultural connection to landscapes in ‘Wisdom Sits in Places’. As Basso states, Sense of place may assert itself in pressing and powerful ways, and its often-subtle components- as subtle, perhaps, as absent smells in the air or not enough visible sky- come surging into awareness. It is then that we see that attachments to places may be nothing less than profound, and that when these attachments are threatened we may feel as threatened as well. Places, we realize, are as much a part of us as we are of them, and senses of place- yours, mine, and everyone else’s- partake complexity of both (Basso1996:xiii-xiv).

This recalls the situation that the natives on the Aamjiwnaang reserve are experiencing. The much less subtle influx of toxic aromas has undeniably affected their sense of place and cultural connection to their land. Senses join with social memory acting together to inform and reinforce the bond people have with landscape. As Keith Basso points out, place-making is, "a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine" (1996:7). Therefore both individual and collective relationships to place or landscape are intertwined with tradition, memory, and the act of place-making in complex ways. Senses, meanwhile, profoundly affect these connections serving to reinforce or, in the example of this case study, discourage them.

Taste has also been hard for researchers to grasp in terms of prehistoric connections to landscape. Dietary and related settlement patterns are generally accessible in the archaeological record. However, discerning how the culturally and individually diverse taste palettes of prehistoric people affected their relationship to landscape can be tricky. Did people in the prehistoric past locate their
settlement sites according to their taste preferences, for example locating their homes next to one species of fruit such as apples versus citrus fruit because they had a preference over sweet foods? Was this preference of sweet versus sour fruit reflected in their use of the landscape including monument and residential construction? How does a particular past culture’s taste palette inform their relationship to their surrounding? Are there any cases in which differential access to specific types of preferred food because of taste preference is reflected in residential proximity? For example, are elites located closer to specific luxury crops and does architecture assist in restricting access to these crops by other than elites individuals? These are only a few questions regarding the relationship between landscape and taste. Hopefully case studies in the near future will succeed in answering many more.

The archaeology of touch is another understudied areas in archaeological research. Archaeologist Vicki Cummings confronted this fact in the article "Experiencing Texture and Transformation in the British Neolithic," while noting that touch and the texture of artifacts and features has been ignored (2002:249). Cummings (2002) makes some excellent observations regarding how stone circles and megaliths were physically enhanced to produce various textures. At the site of Bargrennan in south-west Scotland a stone chamber includes textural manipulation with the left and right of the chamber comprising of diverse surfaces. The stones to the right of the chamber contain a stepped effect on their outer surfaces, the most pronounced of which is the first stone you come upon in the passage. Also on the right is a series of natural depressions, the largest of which is located in the back of the chamber. Stones on the left hold none of these characteristics. According to Cummings, “The stepped effect produces a dramatic visual texture which is most distinctive in the passage where it may have been illuminated by natural light. In the chamber, however, textural differences would have been difficult to see in low or restricted light” (2002:251). Hence the cupmarks at the back of the chamber would have been more pronounced through touch. The use of texture here would have created distinctions between the left and right side of the monument essentially utilizing the sense of touch and not just vision to differentiate. In what other ways did prehistoric societies factor touch into their building constructions? Was the texture of building materials itself as important as the appearance of texture? You could imagine several possibilities and reasons that people would have valued the sense of touch in terms of landscape. For example, are there any examples of utilizing texture in construction to help accommodate blind or visually
challenged individuals? Landscapes of touch, or touchscapes, hold many prospective investigations for both sensory and landscape archaeologists.

**Acoustic archaeology and soundscapes**

Archaeoacoustics is basically the acoustical study of past remains such as artifacts and ancient monuments. Archaeologists in this field have been trying to project the sounds of the past into the present in order to gain an idea of the particular roles sound played in past societies. This has certain implications for sensory landscape archaeology as researchers are recognizing that, for example, the construction of monumental architecture and the use of the natural landscape may have included the manipulation of auditory effects for a number of possible reasons. Stanford researcher Miriam Kolar has been studying such a case of monument-auditory relation at the ceremonial center of Chavin de Huantar in Peru. The “Chavin de Huantar Archaeological Acoustics Project” is, “investigating the architectural and instrumental acoustics of Chavin de Huántar, a 3,000-year old ceremonial center in the north-central sierra of Perú that pre-dates Inca society by over 2,000 years” (Kolar 2012). Their mission is to “provide new forms of sound-related evidence in order to characterize the possible and likely components and implications of the sound environments in ancient Chavin” (Kolar 2012).

Researchers of the project are measuring the enclosed architecture for its acoustic properties in order to see how sound is filtered and transmitted. They have also been utilizing musical instruments known as *pututus* (conch-shell shaped trumpets), by measuring their acoustic properties in the auditory environment of Chavin's architecture. The testing of the sensory effects of instrument and architecture has led Kolar’s research team to discover a strong transmission of sound between Chavin’s Circular Plaza and a Lanzon monolith favoring sound frequencies of the Chavin *pututus* as well as human voice (Magic Sounds of Peru, 2011). The Lanzon, itself, is a 15 foot tall stela (stone monument) adorned with depictions of Chavin’s principal deity, the “Smiling God” depicted as a human-feline hybrid with claws, fangs curved sideways in a smile, and snakes for hair and is believed to symbolize trade, fertility, dualism, and nature (Magic Sounds of Peru 2011). The Lanzon is located in the central chamber within the Old Temple in the ceremonial and religious center of Chavin. It is apparent that a central duct was built to connect the area of the Lanzon to that of the ceremonially and ritually significant Circular Plaza (Magic Sounds of Peru 2011). Sound would subsequently have permeated through a hole in the roof of the...
chamber where the Lanzon sits (Magic Sounds of Peru 2011). Therefore, this would have given the effect that music and human voice was coming from the Lanzon ‘Smiling God’. Iconographic imagery within these structures depict themes of ritual including psychoactive plant consumption and human to animal transformation leading researchers to believe that the acoustic affects were designed to accompany ritual helping to produce an altered state of mind (Kolar 2012).

**Vision and visual archaeology**

Visual archaeology has been a forerunner in sensory studies utilizing a number of methods to access the visual qualities of prehistoric archaeological features. Popular topics for visual-landscape studies include landscapes of authority, power, and surveillance. Such themes recognize the ways in which natural and built landscapes serve to limit and control people’s access to information, resources, or even to other people. The use of GIS in view shed analysis adds to this type of visual access analysis. Phenomenology, and namely Christopher Tilley, has been the ultimate influence on visual archaeological studies, however. Christopher Tilley, has sought to, “describe, as precisely as possible, the manner in which human beings experience prehistoric places and landscapes (today and in the past) from the structured point of view of the physical, living, moving, and sensing human body (Skeates 2010:2). In other words, to experience the world through our use of bodily senses as past individuals would have through theirs. Phenomenology’s use of sensory perception to interpret archaeological sites and landscapes helped pioneer sensory and landscape archaeology but has been criticized by a number of scholars. Sensory researcher Yannis Hamilakis claims that “[s]ensory and sensuous experience is socially and historically specific, and our bodies and sensory modalities too are the products of our own historical moment, thus rendering attempts at sensory empathy with past people problematic” (Hamilakis 2011:1). This way of sensing has also been criticized as favoring the individual versus groups of intercommunicating people (Skeates 2010:2). However, this approach to visual landscape studies has helped to catalyze many interesting finds in terms of the visual connections between archaeological sites and the landscape they reside in.

Christopher Tilley’s examination of British monumental construction in “The power of rocks: topography and monumental construction on Bodmin Moor” discusses such concepts of visual relations to features. Using the phenomenological approach, walking through the landscape and ‘sensing’ the
landscape, Tilley was able to notice a significant difference in Neolithic and Bronze Age construction. The Neolithic Tor cairns are visually very open and accessible whereas the visibility of Bronze Age cairns are much more limited. According to Tilley, "[w]hile in the Neolithic the Tors constituted a series of symbolic resources whose use and veneration was available to all, during the Bronze Age access to, and use of them, became far more restricted" (1996:173). The use of the cairns had changed from public to private and, as a result, the visual access to these monuments had changed. Tilley explains the switch to a more secret and visually restricted monument as "a concern for secrecy, to hide the activities taking place inside the ritual arena from observation from the outside (1996:173). This example of visual control brings many questions into account. Who were the individuals with the power and authority to access such private information? What other ways were monuments altered visually to accommodate changing practices? What are the relationships between social control of visual access and social control of access to information, lifestyles, and practices? The researchers are currently exploring these and other pressing questions related to visual archaeology.

Approaches to sensory landscape archaeology and conclusion

There has been a certain share of criticism for some of the approaches that archaeologists have used in sensorial studies. Already discussed was the privileging of vision before all else along with analyzing the sensorial dynamics of past cultures using only "western" senses as a gauge. In addition to these is the issue of completely isolating one sense for analysis, ignoring the fact that humans are synaesthetic. This may become problematic for instance in the case of taste since the ability to taste is linked to olfaction. Overall, sensory archaeology promises to offer some important contributions to the field and has brought up many questions thus far. Combined with landscape archaeology, sensory archaeology proposes new ways to experience human-landscape relationships; through the embodied senses, which serve to mediate humans and their surroundings.

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