2020

Social Memory, Persistent Place, And Depositional Practice At The Hand Site (44Sn22) In Southeastern Virginia

Taylor Blair Triplett
William & Mary - Arts & Sciences, triplett.tb@gmail.com

Social Memory, Persistent Place, and Depositional Practice at the Hand Site (44SN22) in Southeastern Virginia

Taylor Blair Triplett

Mechanicsville, Virginia

Bachelor of Arts, James Madison University, 2015

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of
The College of William & Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

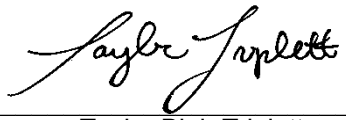
Department of Anthropology

College of William & Mary
August 2020

APPROVAL PAGE

This Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



Taylor Blair Triplett

Approved by the Committee July 2020

Committee Chair
Martin Gallivan, Professor, Anthropology
College of William & Mary

Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, Research Assistant Professor, Anthropology
College of William & Mary

Audrey Horning, Forrest D. Murden Jr. Professor of Anthropology
College of William & Mary

ABSTRACT

The Hand site is a complex Native American village site located on the Nottoway River in southeastern Virginia. Intensive excavations in the 1960s identified over 600 archaeological features, including hearths, pits, structural remains, and a complex of human and canine burials, long assumed to date to the Protohistoric period. While previous researchers emphasized the site's ties to colonial actors, a reexamination of the collection instead suggests the site was a geographic locus for Indigenous peoples for over a thousand years. A close attention to chronology as well as space speaks to a deep history of emplacement, whereby social memory was integral to making place.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to express gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Martin Gallivan, whose guidance, patience, and criticism were instrumental to the development of my research. Dr. Gallivan generously welcomed me into his lab, lending me an incredible amount of support as I found my way as new scholar. For that, I'm very thankful. I also wish to thank the rest of my committee, Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz and Dr. Audrey Horning. I cannot convey how grateful I am for the countless hours you've spent reading and commenting on my thesis, as well as challenging me in the classroom and other settings. Truly, you both inspire me.

I am indebted to the indigenous peoples of Virginia for the honor of studying their history; particularly, I would like to thank the Nansemond for their support of and interest in the project. My research was funded by the College of William & Mary, through the Office of Graduate Studies & Research and the Department of Anthropology's Morton Funds. The support of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources was crucial to this project, both financially and logistically. The DHR's Threatened Sites Fund, awarded to the project in 2018/2019 - 2019/2020, was instrumental in carrying out this research. I would like to thank the former State Archaeologist, Mike Barber, as well as the current State Archaeologist, Elizabeth Moore, in addition to the many folks at the VDHR that work to preserve Virginia's heritage resources. Without their enthusiasm, this project would not be possible. I also owe thanks to the Archaeological Society of Virginia, for their generous funding through the Sandra Speiden Graduate Student Research Award.

There are many others whose help brought this research to fruition. A number of sharp and enterprising students spent their valuable time with me in the lab, including Kat Baganski, Carley Fines, and Matt Forcier. You were a real joy to work with. I would also like to thank Dr. Justine McKnight for her kindness and assistance in identifying botanical specimens. Her expertise is an incredible boon to the Middle Atlantic, and I feel fortunate to have received her advice.

To Graham Callaway, I owe a great deal; thank you for reading nearly every draft of this thesis, for lending your extensive technical support in GIS, and, most of all, for being my best friend.

Lastly, my family has been a great source of love and encouragement; I want my mother, Jackie; my father, Tony; and my grandmother, Nancy to know that they mean the world to me. Thank you for listening to my troubles, celebrating in my successes, and having confidence in me even when I cannot. You really keep me going.

This Thesis is dedicated to my Granny.

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction:

At the turn of the sixteenth century on the bank of the Nottoway river, the remains of a young woman were carefully buried within a deep grave-pit. Those entrusted with her burial positioned her, fully extended, upon a litter made from woven mats that rested at the base of the grave. She wore copper jewelry in her left ear, as well as eight intricate strands of minute shell beads around her neck. Placed next to her right arm was a collection of items including a hafted, hand-wrought nail, a bone awl, and a pair of iron scissors – tools necessary for sewing and crafting. As the grave was dug and subsequently refilled, a plethora of materials from past events were also exhumed and remixed with the sandy earth: heaps of fragmented mussel shell, hundreds of pottery fragments, bits of fire-cracked rock, broken bifaces, stone flakes, and the occasional chunk of steatite or broken pipe stem were churned up, encountered, and redeposited.

The riverside plateau where this moment took place several hundred years ago is now known as the Hand site (44SN22) in southeastern Virginia. Archaeologists excavated the Hand site in earnest in the 1960s, revealing an extensive Native American village settlement (Smith 1984; 1971). Though excavators recorded nearly five hundred features including feasting pits, hearths, posts, smudge pits, and 131 human burials, the interment of this particular woman, recorded as Burial 1, influenced the site's interpretation perhaps more than any other feature. The woman's iron scissors, one of four objects of European origin recovered from the site, were dated by the primary investigator to the turn of the sixteenth century, seemingly indicating that the Hand site's

primary occupation fell within the period 1580-1630 AD. Crucially, this temporal designation neatly placed the site in conversation with the Roanoke and Jamestown colonies. It also suggested the site's inhabitants were Iroquoian-speaking Nottoway, whose territory at the arrival of Europeans extended across the majority of the Nottoway river.

Rather than indexing the primary occupation of the site, the burial of the sixteenth-century young woman should instead be understood as meaningful reference to the locale's extensive history, an act of memory-making meant to invoke the past of a particularly ancient place. This study reconsiders archaeological evidence from the Hand site (44SN22) through the lens of social memory. While previous researchers emphasized the site's ties to early colonial actors from the Jamestown and Roanoke colonies and place its primary occupation within the protohistoric period (Smith 1984; 1971; Mudar et al.1998), a reexamination of the collection instead suggests the site was a vital locus for indigenous peoples for over a thousand years. Using a suite of methods, including a ceramic analysis and radiocarbon assay, I argue that the most intensive occupation of the Hand site instead falls within the thirteenth century. A close attention to chronology, as well as space, speaks to a deep history of emplacement, whereby social memory, mediated through oral histories and material encounters, was integral to making place. This reassessment complicates the notion that the Hand site is best understood through the lens of the colonial moment and seeks to re-center the site's indigenous past. The implications for this reassessment are far-reaching, as multiple Native American

nations living in the lower Middle Atlantic view the Hand site as a place of important cultural and ancestral ties. I begin this paper with a further discussion of social memory, exploring, namely, what social memory is and how it may be productively deployed in a southern Middle Atlantic pre-colonial context.

Social Memory, Things, and Place:

Memory studies have emerged from a range of disciplines, including philosophy, psychology, history, and anthropology, to name only a few (for a cross-disciplinary review, see Olick and Robbins 1998). The concept of social memory particularly allows emphasis on the ways the past is constructed and reproduced via collective social practices, rather than individual cognitive processes of recollection. Individual instances of remembrance are certainly entangled with the collective; we are socialized to conceive of and construct memories in certain ways, and yet, corporate attempts to commemorate, reference, or memorialize the past would be impossible without the individual faculty to remember.

In line with broader theoretical trends, social memory studies have also shifted away from Durkheimian structural interpretations that conceptualize memory as a kind of cultural repository, and instead embraced practice theory (following Bourdieu 1977; Mills and Walker 2001:6). The recognition that memory is created and maintained by individuals who exist within intersecting social groups allows a greater focus on how and why memory-work is enacted, rather than just the contents of particular memories. The term *memory-work* itself is

meant to emphasize the active nature of memory construction; memories are selectively emphasized, forgotten, glorified, and contested, not passively experienced (Fewster 2007; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Hall 2001; Mills 2001; Howlett-Hayes 2013:123). As Nora (1989:8) notes, memory "remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived." Following Stockett (2010:316) then, I conceptualize social memory generally as the historically contingent understanding of past persons or events, that is collectively accessible and actively negotiated.

It almost goes without saying that past peoples existed in a world created and influenced by their predecessors. Far from being a neutral backdrop, the past was manifested through particular practices to suit the needs and desires of the present. Particular pasts were regularly invoked to certain ends – be it to bolster political arguments, reinforce identities, emphasize common histories, and legitimize or challenge hegemonic power structures. For contemporary examples of this in play, we need only look to discourses surrounding Brexit (Bonacchi, et al. 2018), indigenous rights movements in Guatemala (Frence 2010:31), and Civil War memorialization in the United States (Osborne 2017). The list could go on.

The articulation of social memory by past societies is perhaps most accessible to archaeologists when that memory-work is expressed materially, and indeed, it often is. The past was referenced in ancient Native North and

South America through materials as small as bodily adornments (Joyce 2003) and pottery (De Lucia 2018) to structures as large as earthen mounds (Pauketat and Alt 2003). Decisions regarding how to engage with the traces of the past, particularly ancestral places, become meaningful expressions. The collective decision to dwell in and alter a location is rarely, if ever, a neutral act, and the restructuring, establishment, abandonment, or destruction of particular places provides one avenue through which to interpret social memory (Bender 1992; Rubertone 2008; Van Dyke 2004; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003).

Archaeologists addressing social memory in precolonial Eastern Woodland contexts, have primarily focused on monumental features, like mounds or shell rings (Wallis 2008; Wilson 2010; Pauketat and Alt 2003; Pauketat 2001). However, mound-building extended only as far west as the Appalachian region, and as such, discussions of social memory in the indigenous Middle Atlantic, that stretch of seaboard extending from New Jersey to Virginia (Hantman and Gold 2003), must take a different tack.

Instead, the concept of *persistent places* provides a helpful avenue through which to discuss the intersecting phenomena of memory, place, and practice in the Middle Atlantic (Gallivan 2016:9-14; though some have rightly conceptualized mound complexes as persistent places, see Gamble 2017; Moore and Thompson 2012). While ‘persistent places’ may generally refer to locations that maintain their importance across extended periods of time, Schlanger (1992) more specifically characterizes persistent places as often built environments, that structure subsequent engagements and reoccupations. This perspective helpfully

encourages one to consider the landscape as it was experienced by peoples in the past, opening the door to questions regarding material encounters and the organization of space.

The Hand site, I will argue, is one such example of a persistent place. In reframing the Hand site, I work from the assumption that indigenous peoples would be fluent in, or at least have the tools to be attentive to, the traces left by their ancestors (Ingold 1993:153). I will first argue that the Hand site was an enduring locale in the lower Middle Atlantic that was periodically occupied from the Late Archaic through the Protohistoric period. The nature of these occupations was certainly in flux, as indigenous peoples likely returned to the Hand site with different needs and desires. Exploring depositional and mortuary practices at the Hand site enables us to identify the ways social memory in particular was in play; the reoccupation of the Hand site through time was not an incidental reuse of space, but rather an attempt to invoke the history of a place heavy with ancestral presence.

The Hand Site: Reconstructing a Biography of Place

Site Background

The Hand site is located on the Nottoway river, approximately ten miles north of the Virginia-North Carolina border, placing it at the interface of the of the archaeologically defined Middle Atlantic and Southeastern regions. By the end of the Late Woodland period, the lower Middle Atlantic was home to Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan speakers. Ethnohistoric accounts indicate that the

Iroquoian-speaking Nottoway occupied the northern reaches of the Nottoway river, with their territory ending at some point down river. To the south, the Meherrin and Tuscarora occupied the Meherrin and Roanoke River basins, respectively. The Algonquian-speaking Chowanoke are known to have occupied the Chowan as far north as the Nottoway/Blackwater confluence, while the Nansemond occupied the region surrounding the Nansemond river. The broader region is still home to numerous state and federally recognized Native American nations, including the Meherrin, the Occaneechi, the Nottoway, the Cheronhaka, the Nansemond, and the Tuscarora.

The site is situated on a relatively flat expanse of land cradled between the Nottoway river to the east and a small creek to the west. The site likely received its name from nearby Handsome, Virginia, which is sometimes shortened to 'Hand' on early twentieth-century maps (e.g. U.S. Geological Survey 1920). Located within the inner coastal plain, the surrounding terrain ranges from relatively flat to gently sloped, while nearby riverine sources are freshwater.

The Hand site was first identified as a several acre scatter of artifacts in a plowed field in 1964 and was excavated intermittently from 1965 to 1969. Excavations revealed over five hundred non-post features, including refuse pits, hearths, storage pits, structural remains, seven dog interments, and a dense burial area containing a minimum of 131 individuals. At the close of excavations in 1969, the disinterred human remains were incorporated into the Physical Anthropology Collections at the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), while the remaining artifacts and field notes were accessioned to the Virginia

Department of Historic Resources (VDHR). Both collections still remain with these institutions. A site report was written in the form of a dissertation by Gerald P. Smith at the University of Missouri in 1971.

The Hand site was dated primarily to the protohistoric period, on the basis of a ceramic inventory and the presence of six objects of European origin, including two corroded pieces of sheet iron, two hand-wrought hafted nails, a pair of scissors, and a fragmented biface identified by Smith as European chalcedony. Smith tentatively attributed the scissors to early seventeenth-century Jamestown. The ceramic inventory performed by Smith appeared to corroborate a protohistoric temporal designation. Smith noted that the most abundant indigenous ware was “Chickahominy ware,” a very broad ceramic category that included all shell-tempered ceramics and was, at the time, thought to date to the Late Woodland (Evans 1955). An Archaic component and Middle Woodland component were also identified, however, Smith suggested that the vast majority of the features could be placed within the Protohistoric period. Though the site’s spatial organization was described by Smith, a site map was never published. Smith wrote that the site was characterized as a nucleated settlement with a central cemetery area. Dense clusters of posts throughout the site were interpreted as a series of fortified stockades, replete with archery towers and scaffolded walkways. Recognizing the lack of examples of such a construction at Native American sites elsewhere, Smith suggested the Hand stockades were modeled after fortification practices at the Jamestown or Roanoke colonies.

There was renewed interest in the Hand site collection in the 1990s. In 1993, the Nansemond petitioned the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) for the repatriation of any culturally affiliated remains within the institutions holdings, specifically those associated with the Hand site (Mudar et al. 1998) owing to the fact that Nansemond peoples migrated to the Nottoway and Meherrin rivers in the late seventeenth century, living in close proximity with the Iroquoian speakers there (Vest 2003; Gallivan 2011:301). In response, the NMNH initiated a reexamination of the human remains from the Hand site in order to address the Nansemond's request.

The results of the osteological inventory were published in a report by Mudar et al. (1998). The intention of the report was to "explore questions of the cultural affiliation of the Hand site through a consideration of information from the mortuary data" (Mudar et al. 1998:134). The article includes detailed osteological information regarding morphology, pathology, mortality, and trauma, and also includes a discussion of Late Woodland mortuary practices in the region. Mudar et al. (1998) conclude that the Hand site had been occupied by an Iroquoian-affiliated group based on the size of the burial population, the distribution of grave goods, and the central location of the cemetery within the village space.

The criteria selected by Mudar et al. (1998) for affiliation were heavily influenced by long-standing, normative regional models which attempt to link perceived historical linguistic boundaries and known tribal groups with specific mortuary programs, settlement types, ceramic styles, and skeletal morphologies (Phelps 1983; Loftfield 1990). Under this model, Late Woodland Iroquoians living

in the coastal plain buried their dead in centrally located ossuaries containing approximately two to five individuals as well as grave goods such as marginella beads; contemporaneous Algonquian burials are considered large ossuaries, sometimes containing hundreds of individuals that rarely contain grave goods, and are placed on the outskirts of villages (Ward and Davis 1999:194-228). These characterizations greatly gloss the variety of burial treatments observed archaeologically across both archaeologically conceived Algonquian and Iroquoian territories (for critique, see Killgrove 2006), and, as will be discussed later in the paper, poorly fit the Hand site data. Mudar et al. operated under the assumption that the Hand site was strictly a sixteenth to seventeenth-century site. They also used demographic models derived from the Hand site's skeletal population to suggest that the site was occupied for thirty rather than sixty years – an argument that further muddies the issue of chronology (Mudar et al 1998:142).

The Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) also completed an inventory of the Hand site collection within their holdings in the 1990s, resulting in an extensive artifact catalog. During this time, a single radiocarbon date was also procured from charcoal associated with Burial 55; the radiocarbon date was acquired to facilitate a comparative analysis between burial contexts at the Hand site and burials with similar grave goods at the Middle Woodland-dated Whitehurst Freeway site in Washington, D.C. (Letter on file, VDHR; Crowell 2000). The radiocarbon sample from Burial 55 produced a mean calibrated date

within the Middle Woodland period, casting doubt on previous interpretations of the site's chronology.

In 2018, a reassessment of the Hand site was designed in order to address the spatial and temporal questions that continue to hamper interpretations of the Hand site. The reassessment was made in partnership between the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the Anthropology Department at William & Mary, and in consultation with the now federally recognized Nansemond tribe (report by the author forthcoming).

In the pages to follow, I examine temporal data derived from the reassessment. First, I present the results of recent radiometric assays, which will form the basis of a new site chronology. I then expand this framework using select diagnostic materials, particularly indigenous ceramics, ranging in relative age from Late Archaic to Protohistoric. I also present spatial data derived from a newly generated, comprehensive site map to facilitate these conversations, and to highlight the ways social memory was integral to the reoccupation of the Hand site through time.

Chronology

Twenty-one organic samples were selected for radiocarbon dating. The assay was designed to capture a variety of feature types and cover the breadth of the excavated area (Figure 1). In keeping with radiometric best practice, nineteen of the twenty-one selected samples were short-lived botanical specimens, such as hickory nuts, maize, and pinecone. The remaining two samples were derived

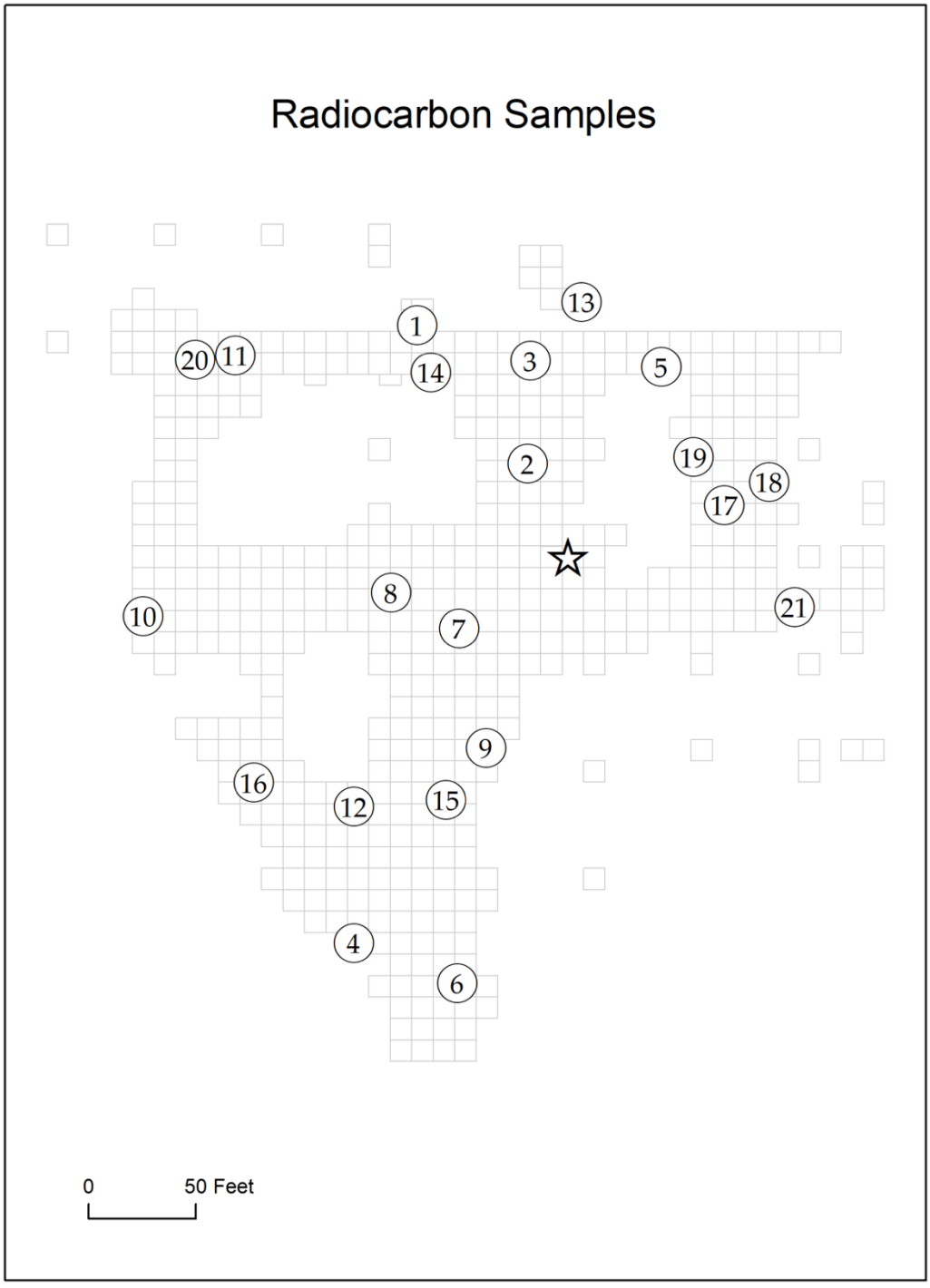
from deer long bone, selected from features without noted botanical material, in order to circumvent a potential sampling bias. All radiometric tests, as well as pretreatment, was carried out by Direct-AMS (https://www.directams.com/). Radiocarbon dates were subsequently calibrated using OxCal 4.3 (Bronk Ramsey 2009) applying the IntCal13 calibration curve (Reimer 2013).

One radiocarbon date from the site had been previously obtained. In 1998, one charcoal sample from a burial context was submitted for radiocarbon dating to Beta Analytic by archaeologists at Parsons Engineering Science, Inc. with permission from the VDHR (Letter on file, VDHR; Crowell 2000). Noting striking similarities between burials identified at the Middle Woodland Whitehurst Freeway site near Washington, D.C., and the Hand site, a radiocarbon date was acquired to determine if a temporal relationship existed between the two contexts. The results of that date, as well as the newly acquired dates, are listed in Table 1.

The radiocarbon assay produced a slightly bimodal pattern, with the majority of the results clustering either within the Late Woodland or terminal Middle Woodland. Strikingly, eleven of the twenty-one dates group at the thirteenth century, with median calibrated dates ranging from AD 1210 to AD 1294. These features include a wide range of contexts, including hearths, storage facilities, smudge pits, refuse pits, and a dog burial. The latest dates in the assay were derived from a dog burial and two burn features containing abundant carbonized hickory nut elements. These contexts produced median calibrated dates within the fourteenth century. The Late Woodland samples are broadly distributed

across the excavated area; however, the thirteenth century dates loosely correlate with the southeastern portion of the site.

Figure 1. Distribution of features selected for radiocarbon dating; squares represent excavated units. Map oriented N/S.



Lab code	Feat.	Feat. Type	Sample	^{14}C Yrs ± σ BP	Median Cal Date	Cal Yrs ± 2σ
#1) D-AMS 037873	47	Dog Burial	Maize	572±23	1347	1310 - 1417
#2) D-AMS 037524	290	Hearth	Nutshell	605 ± 23	1347	1290 - 1404
#3) D-AMS 033534	87	Hearth/ Smudge Pit	Nutshell	631 ± 27	1353	1287 - 1398
#4) D-AMS 037871	289	Smudge Pit	Nutshell	681± 23	1294	1273 - 1387
#5) D-AMS 037872	144	Smudge Pit	Maize	710 ± 22	1281	1262 - 1378
#6) D-AMS 037528	335	Storage Pit	Nutshell	747 ± 26	1268	1224 - 1287
#7) D-AMS 037527	248	Hearth	Pinecone	772 ± 23	1271	1227 - 1289
#8) D-AMS 033536	201	Dog Burial	Nutshell	785 ± 27	1256	1211 - 1279
#9) D-AMS 037525	215	Hearth/ Smudge Pit	Pinecone	788 ± 22	1245	1217 - 1273
#10) D-AMS 037529	342	Smudge Pit	Maize	813 ± 23	1233	1183 - 1267
#11) D-AMS 033533	23	Hearth	Maize	815 ± 28	1229	1170 - 1265
#12) D-AMS 033535	284	Nutshell Refuse Pit	Nutshell	823 ± 26	1222	1168 - 1262
#13) D-AMS 033531	214	Smudge pit/ Refuse Pit	Maize	829 ± 29	1216	1163 - 1262
#14) D-AMS 033532	51	Hearth/Smudge Pit	Maize	835 ± 28	1210	1160 - 1261
#15) D-AMS 037874	405	Refuse Pit	Nutshell	870 ± 22	1180	1050 - 1222
#16) D-AMS 037870	211	Hearth	Pinecone	884 ± 22	1163	1046 - 1218
#17) D-AMS 033537	126	Refuse Pit	Bone collagen	1050 ± 26	996	901 - 1026
#18) D-AMS 037534	322	Refuse Pit	Nutshell	1070 ± 24	981	898 - 1020
#19) D-AMS 033538	74	Refuse Pit	Bone collagen	1165 ± 29	859	772 - 965
Beta-115691	B55	Human Burial	Wood Charcoal	1210 ± 50	815	679 - 952
#20) D-AMS 037526	17	Pit	Nutshell	2369 ± 30	-441	-538 - -388
#21) D-AMS 037531	454	Possible Empty Grave	Nutshell	4954 ± 27	-3730	-3784 - -3661

Table 1. Radiocarbon Dates, Calibrated using OxCal 4.3 (Bronk Ramsey 2009) applying the IntCal13 calibration curve (Reimer 2013).

Three of the samples resulted in radiocarbon ages clustering at the terminal Middle Woodland. All three contexts were refuse pits containing pottery, animal bone, lithic, and mussel shell, and were spatially clustered along the excavated area closest to the river's edge. Samples included both deer bone and a charred nutshell. These samples produced median radiocarbon dates ranging from AD 859 to AD 996. These results coincide with the radiocarbon date derived from charcoal associated with Burial 55 (1210 ± 50 bp, median calibrated date AD 815). The date procured from Burial 55 suggests burial practices began at the Hand site sometime in the Middle Woodland. As noted by Crowell (2000:103-104), the grave goods interred with Burial 55, including antler combs, perforated shark teeth, and stone pendants corroborate this interpretation. Though the vagaries of the well-defined "old wood" problem and issues of inbuilt age should be kept in mind when interpreting this data (Schiffer 1986; Gavin 2001; Kennett at al. 2002), the ascription of a Middle Woodland designation seems appropriate.

The two oldest dates vary greatly in age. The more recent of the two dates was derived from a charred nutshell within a large pit at the northeastern edge of the excavation area. The median calibrated radiocarbon date lands at 441 BC, placing it within the early Middle Woodland. The associated ceramic materials are predominantly the Late Woodland shell tempered and fabric impressed Townsend ware – calling into question the validity of an early Middle Woodland association. Similarly, the oldest date produced a mean calibrated date of 3720 BC which falls within the transition from the Middle to Late Archaic. This feature is a large stepped pit, potentially a grave shaft (for similar examples, see Ward

and Davis 1993:277). The pit contains eighty ceramic sherds, again, predominantly Townsend wares, effectively precluding it as an Archaic feature; ceramic technologies were not in use in the Middle Atlantic until the Woodland period. The radiocarbon dates in both cases likely do not index the creation of the features. It may be that these features disturbed much older contexts. Both features are relatively deep. The stepped pit extends just over three feet deep, while the other extends approximately two and a half feet deep. The dated charred nutshells in these contexts may represent natural burn events of great antiquity – but, it is also possible that they index anthropogenic nut foraging and processing activities occurring as early as the Middle Archaic.

Despite potential issues with several of the “oldest” samples, this suite of radiocarbon dates calls for a dramatic revision of the Hand site’s chronological frame. The strong association with the thirteenth century demands a reorientation in conversation — away from the protohistoric period and towards the Late Woodland.

The ceramic data echoes the results of the radiocarbon dates. As part of the reassessment, ceramics from feature contexts were assessed by temper, surface treatment, thickness, width, and decorative motif. This data is too fulsome to cover here in its entirety, though a report is forthcoming. Instead, I will broadly characterize the ceramics within the collection, with a particular eye to those types which are most abundant or highly diagnostic. I also broach other diagnostic materials to supplement conversations regarding chronology, such as soapstone and the handful of objects of European origin.

By far, the most common ceramic ware observed in feature contexts is Townsend ware, or the closely related North Carolinian type, Colington; shell tempered, fabric impressed sherds comprise over half of the typeable ceramic assemblage (n=8,574, 63%). While the majority of these ceramics are undecorated, a smaller proportion contain incising, castellated lips, cord-wrapped dowel impressions along the rim interior, and punctations along the rim or into the rim lip. Fabric impression is also frequently included along the lip surface of rim sherds. The second most common group of ceramics is fabric impressed, with rounded and crushed pebble temper – a combination most similar to Cashie ware (n=1,692, 12.5%). As with the Townsend ceramics, the Cashie sherds are predominantly undecorated, but occasionally include incised exteriors, castellated lips, and, occasionally, parallel dowel impressions along the inner rim and along the rim lip.

Both of these ware types are thought to be contemporaneous. Cashie ware production likely spans AD 800 through AD 1715, though the range of associated calibrated radiocarbon dates for Cashie wares in North Carolina is currently within to AD 1022-1418 (Herbert 2009:144). Townsend wares are clearly associated with the Late Woodland and are very common throughout the coastal plain. Townsend wares were likely produced between approximately AD 800-1600 (Herbert 2009;143; Egloff and Potter 1982).

Nearly every feature bearing identifiable ceramics at the Hand site contains Townsend sherds, placing the majority of the features within the AD 800-AD1600 range. Other ceramics frequently occur within these features, albeit in much

fewer numbers. The remaining ceramics can be placed within a wide variety of types, reflecting practices observed across temporalities and geographies. It is worth reiterating that the ceramic inventory focused exclusively on feature contexts, introducing a possible bias as pits may be a culturally and temporally sensitive phenomenon. Other ceramic wares, though arguably incongruous with the features they're included in, do indirectly attest to other components.

The oldest identified ceramic ware is soapstone tempered, suggesting a similarity in practice to Early Woodland Marcey Creek or Croaker Landing wares (Egloff and Potter 1982). Unfortunately, these sherds were too degraded to determine surface treatment or vessel shape (n=12). Fragments of soapstone vessels were also identified (n=16). Though soapstone vessels in the Middle Atlantic are typically dated to the Late Archaic period, the co-occurrence of highly fragmented soapstone and soapstone tempered pottery may point to on-site production of Marcey Creek or Croaker Landing-like wares. Soapstone was primarily mined from the Appalachian talc belt and was a coveted material exchanged across wide-reaching regional networks. Klein (1997) argues that soapstone vessels were incorporated into Archaic, ritualized consumption practices; the destruction of soapstone forms and their incorporation into new, ceramic vessels may thus represent an Early Woodland extension of this practice. Sassaman (1999), however, reminds us that the pre-pottery designation of soapstone may prove false with future interrogation, as few soapstone vessels have been identified without co-occurring ceramics.

Obvious Middle Woodland wares are relatively few by comparison to the Late Woodland types. Mockley – a shell tempered and net-impressed or cord-marked ware that is fairly ubiquitous in the Middle Woodland Virginia coastal plain – comprises approximately 1% of the sampled ceramics (n=132). The Hand sample may include the Early to Middle Woodland Stony Creek ware (Egloff and Potter 1982), as cord-marked (n=152), fabric impressed (n=676) and net impressed sherds (n=12) tempered with coarse sand also occur. On the other hand, these sherds might better reflect a Late Woodland outgrowth of the Middle Woodland Mount Pleasant series. Identified throughout the coastal plain of North Carolina, Mount Pleasant wares are typically characterized as granule or pebble tempered, with cord-marked, net impressed, and fabric impressed surfaces. More recent evidence suggests a coarse sand tempered variant emerged dating to the latter half of the Middle Woodland and extended throughout the early centuries of the Late Woodland (Herbert 2011). This designation would certainly align more readily with the radiocarbon data as they currently stand.

The strongest artifactual evidence for a protohistoric period appears to be the six objects of European origin: two corroded fragments of sheet iron, two hand-wrought hafted nails, the pair of scissors, and a fragmented biface identified by Smith as European chalcedony. Ceramic evidence for a specifically protohistoric occupation is slight, consisting of simple-stamped, lithic tempered sherds (n=65) possibly related to Gaston ware (AD 1200-post 1700). The two iron fragments appeared in a feature identified as an empty grave shaft in excavation notes. Smith wrote that these items are small and heavily corroded. While it is possible

these items were intrusive, the association with a likely empty grave may suggest these fragments were once very small decorative pieces or other trade items. The chalcedony was recovered from a large storage pit. Both of these features are located along the northern edge of the excavation area, and slightly east.

One hand-wrought hafted nail was removed from the primary burial of a man, likely aged 27-35, who was also interred with turtle carapaces. The second hand-wrought hafted nail and the scissors were interred with the woman from Burial 1, also aged 27-35. As noted in the introduction, she wore several strands of shell beads, while staining along her skull suggest she possessed some kind of copper jewelry. Both of these burials are quite close to one another and are located along the western edge of the site. The contexts containing objects of European origin are almost exclusively located at the edges of the area of excavation and are loosely associated with the edge of the river.

Hand-wrought nail technology precedes the colonization of North America; though cut nails gradually replaced hand-wrought nails through time, forged nails continued to be produced in the U.S. in limited numbers until the nineteenth century (Wells 1998). Similarly, scissors have been produced in Europe since the sixth or seventh century, and scissor-making only became a standardized manufacturing process in the late nineteenth century. Prior to standardization, scissor-making was completed entirely by hand by skilled artisans, leading to wide variations in decoration and shape – though the basic mechanical premise of scissors has changed very little since their first creation (Beaudry 2006:118-122).

While the 1570-1572 Spanish Jesuit mission is typically considered the first direct interaction between Europeans and the Native peoples of the lower Middle Atlantic, Europeans had established a strong presence along the north and south Atlantic coasts by the late fifteenth century; indigenous peoples living in the Chesapeake and Albermarle sound regions were likely keenly aware of these developments, and had access to desirable objects like edged metal via down-the-line trade with other indigenous peoples or through interactions with Europeans traveling through in the region (Horning 2013:108-109). Later, John Lederer, writing in 1672, lists scissors as an important trade good, along with items like cloth, looking-glasses, beads, and knives (Lederer 1672). Scissors have been found at a number of sites, including the Fredericks site (AD 1680-1710) in the central North Carolina piedmont (Ward and Davis 1999:242), and a very similar pair was identified at the Potomac Creek site (AD 1300-1560), in northern Virginia (Blanton et al. 1999). Pinning these materials to an exact date of production would be difficult without more intensive comparative efforts.

The initial desire to place the Hand site in association with the Jamestown and Roanoke colonies exemplifies to the particular challenges inherent to understanding Native histories in the lower Middle Atlantic. While the documents produced through such entanglements can provide lines of evidence otherwise unavailable to archaeologists, their uncritical use risks privileging the gaze of colonial actors at the expense of indigenous-focused narratives (for critiques addressing this phenomenon in the Middle Atlantic, see Gallivan 2016; Gallivan and Moretti-Langholtz 2007; Strickland et al. 2016; Hantman 2018). Integral to

this issue are the inherent tensions between material and documentary perspectives, as well as the continued taxonomic divisions of archaeological time into history and prehistory (Echo-Hawk 2000; Liebmann 2012; Schmidt and Mrozowski 2013). Indeed, the struggle to balance such narratives in light of surging interests in decolonizing practice speaks to the ways archaeologists themselves are arbiters of social memory.

In any case, it is abundantly clear that the Hand site served as a crucial regional hinge-pin for over a thousand years. The results of the reassessment suggest that indigenous peoples lived at the Hand site intermittently from the Late Archaic (3000-1200BC) through the Protohistoric period (AD1500-1700). Burial practice at the Hand site began at least by the Middle Woodland, establishing a distinct mortuary space that would continue to be used for centuries to come. The most intensive occupation of the Hand site likely falls within the thirteenth century. This period in Eastern Woodland history is characterized by dramatic socio-political shifts, comprised of regional-scale population movements, a turn towards increasingly intensive horticulture, and the establishment of concentrated settlements, particularly along estuaries (Gallivan 2003, Hantman and Gold 2002). The sparseness of the Protohistoric evidence suggests that the Hand site was no longer a residential space by the turn of the sixteenth century. The continued use of the site for burial, however, does suggest that the locale remained a socially meaningful site for ancestor-making.

Space and Depositional Practice:

The radiocarbon dates and material analysis certainly indicate that the Hand site was reoccupied through time; but does the repeated return to the same place throughout an extended period itself indicate social memory is at play? A key line of evidence in identifying memory-work lies in the creation of space. The landscape is not a blank slate, upon which any society may enact its desires in vacuum. In returning to particular locations, decisions regarding how to engage with the material traces of the past must be made. Whether such traces are ignored, defaced, expanded upon, or built around by those who came later provides some interpretive ground through which we may consider how the past was conceptualized and re-articulated. While much of what would meaningfully constitute space in the indigenous Middle Atlantic, like wooden structures, are no longer visible, the products of daily practice are embedded within the landscape in the form of differential deposits. Using a newly generated comprehensive map of the Hand site, compiled from over 500 hand-drawn unit plans, the relationships between particular features come to the fore.

The most striking feature of the map is the sheer volume of features and their relatively even distribution across the site (Figure 2). Features of all kinds continue to manifest at the edges of the excavated area, raising the question of site boundaries. It is thus unclear how far the site extends in any direction. The Hand site as currently understood is likely a small subsection of a much larger settlement or series of settlements along the Nottoway river.

The site overall has a relatively shallow and simple stratigraphic profile, typically including a one-foot plow zone, followed by a one to two-foot-deep

midden layer over a sandy or clayey subsoil. Interpreting feature age according to stratigraphic depth becomes a challenge in this context, as the majority of the features occur in the otherwise undifferentiated midden level. Because the Hand site lacks highly stratified soil deposits, as well as observable monumental architectural forms, sub-surface features become the primary unit of analysis in understanding social practice. Certain kinds of activities necessarily require sub-surface pits to achieve a desired end. Small excavated shafts known as smudge pits produce smoke in part because they restrict oxygen to the fuel source — making them effective means for smoking deer hides (Binford 1967). In other cases, the use of pits speaks more readily to other sensibilities regarding the appropriate ways to inhabit the world. It almost goes without saying that the burial of human ancestors is not a cultural given, and neither is the deposition of other remnants, like animal remains or by-products of crafting, typically recorded as refuse. The form, location, and contents of pits are also variable, and thus may be interpreted as meaningful materializations (Blessings 2015).

The extensive use of pit features speaks to a particular way of dwelling, one that includes the frequent moving of earth, run-ins with ancient objects that would otherwise remain invisible, and the creation of novel deposits to various ends. With an emphasis on relationality, or the relationships between features and objects rather than their potential meanings and drawing on studies of depositional practices (e.g. Joyce 2001; Pollard 2001; McAnany and Hodder 2009; Hodder and Cessford 2004), I will highlight how various features evidence the intentional maintenance and construction of social memory at the Hand site.

Perhaps the clearest evidence lies within the burial area, established sometime in the Middle Woodland and expanded throughout the Late Woodland. The majority of the 131 human burials are located at the center of the excavated area. This area appears to be a dedicated mortuary space, having little else besides a dense mass of overlapping interments and pits of various sizes. Burial treatments in this area are highly diverse, including primary interments, secondary burial, bundling, and cremation. Burials considered to be Middle Woodland in origin and characterized by a “Fire Ceremony” – described by Smith as a fire made over the body of a primary burial – appear limited to this central area as well. The inclusion of grave goods is similarly varied, ranging from stone tools, ceramics, or animal remains like turtle carapaces, however, the majority of burials appear to have no grave goods whatsoever. As a result of the overlapping nature of the pits, the remains of older burials were frequently encountered as new burials were added to the space. Through time, the repeated deposition of the deceased created an extensive assemblage of ancestors and objects, commingled in such a way as to integrate the ancient with the recent past within a single depositional field. While the creation of such a cemetery would ultimately inscribe an ancestral memory onto the landscape, the continued use of the burial area served as a performance of that memory.

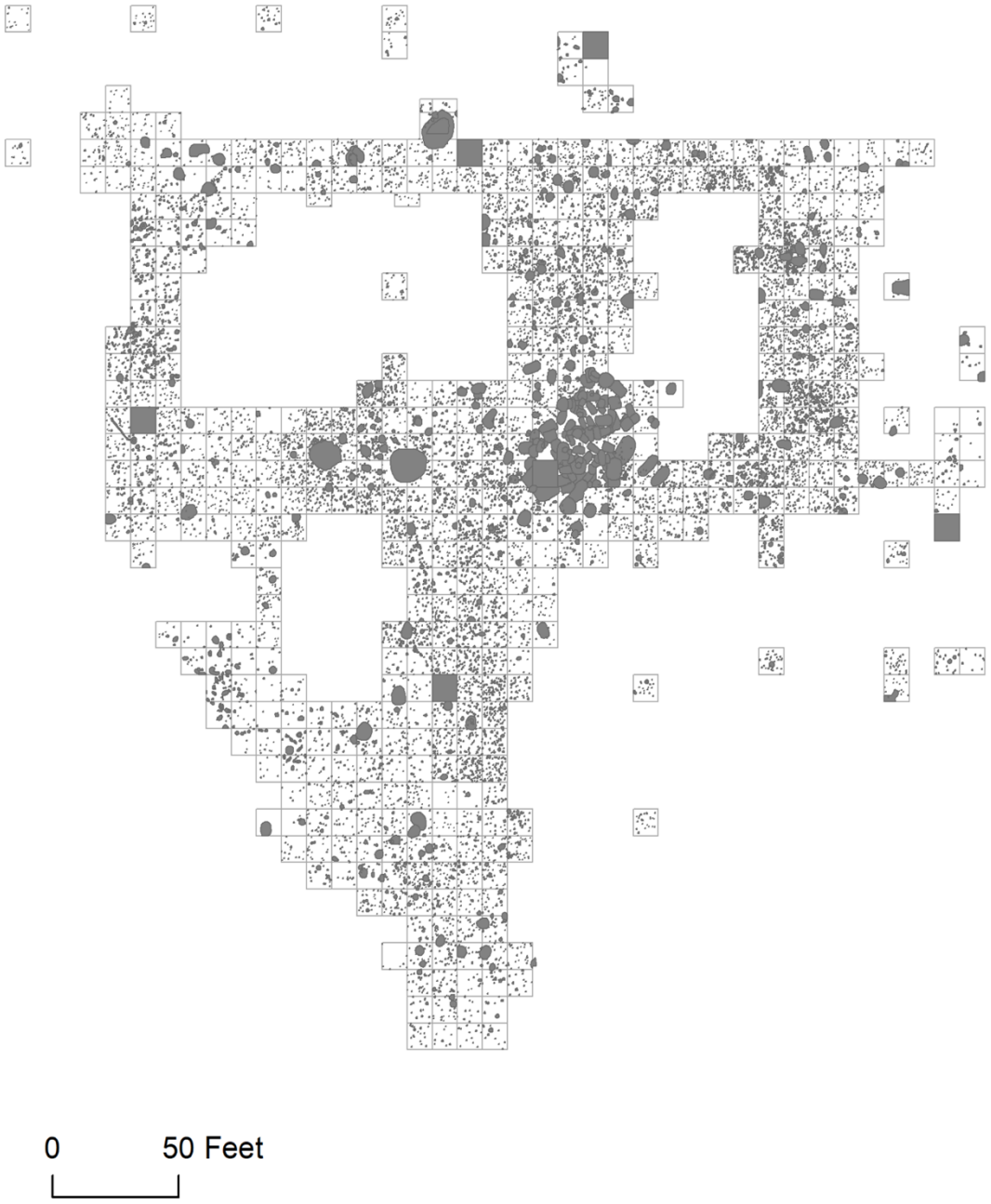


Figure 2. Hand Site Map, features shaded in grey. Excavated units without plan drawings are also shaded. Map oriented N/S.

The burials encountered by archaeologists represent the final stage of what is often a lengthy series of practices meant to appropriately care for the deceased. Throughout the Late Woodland and Mississippian periods, temporary storage or burial were relatively common; mortuary programs could take place over the course of mortuary cycles lasting anywhere from three to twelve years, eventually resulting in more permanent interment (Hutchinson 2002). In cases where individuals appear cremated or are disarticulated and arranged in carefully placed “bundles,” the incidence of a multi-staged practice is implied. Primary burials, as straightforward as they may appear, may very well have been preceded by a series of treatments and events.

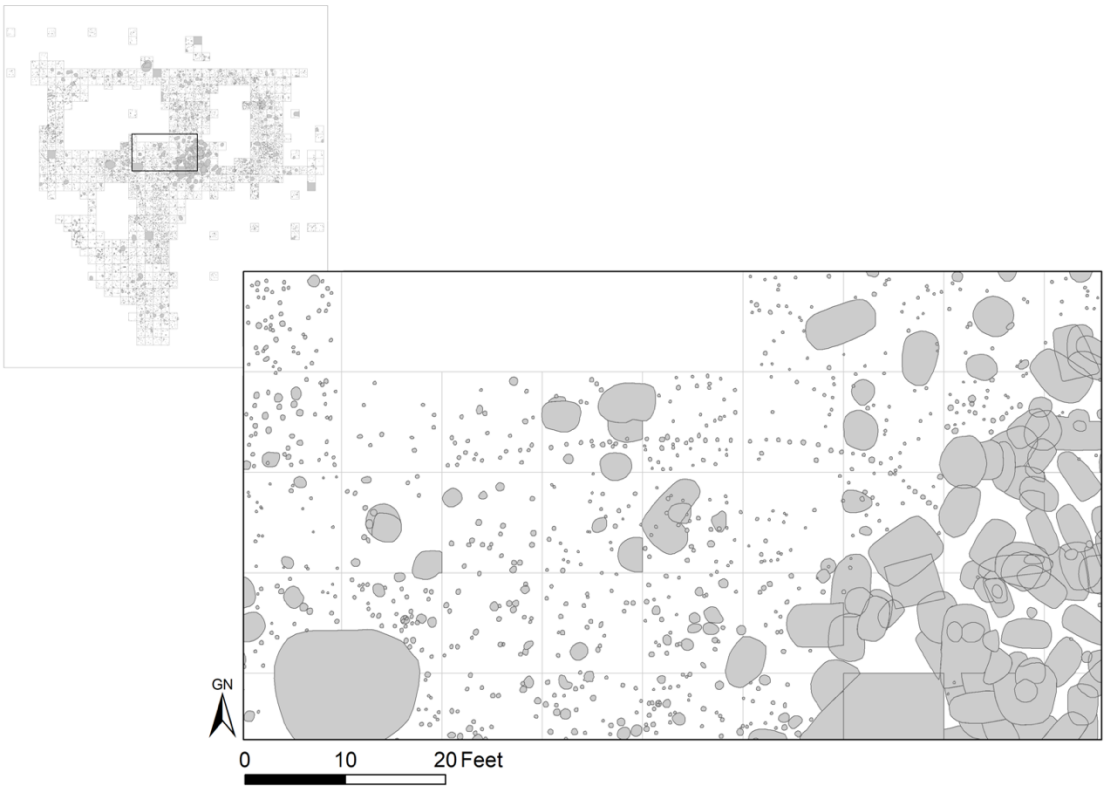
The material traces of these preceding steps are difficult to identify, but the handful of extant ethnohistoric accounts produced by Europeans describing Native American burial practices provide potentialities with which to think. Though an extended discussion of the myriad burial practices evidenced in documentary and archaeological records is beyond the scope of this paper, it helps to keep in mind the various structures that may have come into play. Mortuary buildings known as charnel houses were used to hold the deceased for extended periods throughout much of the Middle Atlantic and Southeast at the arrival of Europeans, though, in some cases, the deceased were placed on open scaffolds (Hutchinson 2002:52). Several Northern Iroquois societies constructed single-use buildings to host mortuary events and built platforms around burial pits for use during the interment process (Curry 1999). Further, interments were in some cases memorialized through posts, piles of brush, and purposefully

maintained clearings (Hutchinson 2002; Bland 1650:9). Such constructions, both temporary and long-standing, are as much a part of mortuary assemblages as grave goods and constitute the landscape in similar ways as more permanent monuments like mounds, shell rings, and ditches.

Using multiple lines of evidence, we can attempt to piece together what the space might have looked like while it was in use. The burial area does include evidence of post molds intruding into and around burial features, as well as the occasional hearth feature. Other large sub-surface features like roasting pits however, do not intrude onto the burial space. Back-fill within these burial features often includes some small amount of fragmented fire-cracked rock, lithic debitage, and pottery, suggesting that the burial area was used for other activities as well. These material signatures resemble public spaces, similar to plazas observed at Mississippian villages like the Town Creek site in North Carolina (Boudreaux 2013). While not a plaza per se (the term plaza conjures a number of related social phenomenon related to particular forms of public life and monumentality Kassabaum 2019; Barrier and Kassabaum 2018), the burial area was likely a purposefully cleared and maintained area. The constellations of small posts likely evidence the construction of temporary structures, like charnel scaffolds, or even the demarcation of particular graves.

A tightly constructed line of posts near the burial area suggests there was a large standing structure at some point in time. At its longest axis, this structure would have extended sixty feet, with a likely width of approximately twenty-five feet, perhaps indicating the structure was a large longhouse (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Detail of Longhouse Structure



Though the post line seems to disappear at the start of the burial area suggesting, at first glance, an older date for the structure, the recorded shallow depth of origin for the structure's posts indicates construction occurred later than many, if not most of the burials. It is possible that the remaining posts were obliterated by plowing activity, or that posts were simply more difficult to identify in the burial area. The particular placement of the structure suggests the builders were directly invoking the otherwise invisible burials, seeking to connect the individuals and activities associated with the longhouse with the extensive repository of ancestors below.

These patterns suggest that those returning to the Hand site had knowledge of the particular location of the burial area, either through oral histories, the interpretation of material signatures, or some combination thereof. The continued use of the area as a mortuary space suggests a continuity of practice, in which the construction of a collective and expanding repository was vital part of ancestor-making.

Other burials and burial related features, like dog burials and emptied grave shafts, do occur throughout the site though they are in fewer in number. As discussed earlier, the two primary burials containing objects of European origin are located in the NE quadrant of the site. The placement of the two known contact period burials away from the central burial area not only suggests they were not contemporaneous with the vast majority of the burial features, but also points to shifting mortuary sensibilities and positionalities with regards to the past. If the Hand site was no longer a residential space by the early colonial period, burial within the understood boundaries of the site, rather than the burial area per se, may have been enough to serve as a general reference to the Hand site's extended history.

The presence of excavated grave shafts makes it clear that the inhabitants of the Hand site were, at some point, engaged in a multi-staged mortuary program that utilized subsurface pits for processing in lieu of, or in tandem with, mortuary structures like charnel houses. Emptied graves are morphologically similar to their counter parts containing human remains, having wide and deep basin-like shapes, as well as clay-packed bottoms or stepped sides. Occasionally small

human remnants, like finger or rib bones, or grave goods such as turtle carapaces, shell beads, or effigies, were also identified— potentially left behind after disinterment. The grave shafts at the Hand site were apparently filled with all manner of materials after disinterment. Dense deposits of charred shell and nutshells are common, as are mixed deposits of animal remains, pottery, and lithic materials. At this juncture, it is impossible to say what percentage of fully articulated primary burials were intended for an exhumation which never occurred.

While there is a major cluster of burials and burial related features at the center of the excavation area, nearly all other features are widely dispersed. Visual inspection does not reveal distinct clusters of hearths, smudge pits, refuse pits, or storage pits, and there are no clearly discernible palisades or stockades. Posts are very common throughout the excavated area. Utilizing density analysis functions reveals otherwise obscured patterns of association (Figure 4). The densest cluster of posts stretches parallel to the river's edge along the northern and eastern edges of the excavated area, and also hosts an abundance of mussel shell laden pits, some of which date to the terminal Middle Woodland. The high volume of posts and pits in this case may be a result of intensive use of the river's edge across the site's extended history.

A second band of posts appears to arc across the southwestern corner of the excavation area. While no discreet structures have been identified in this stretch of posts, they may represent a dense, overlapping series of houses that once formed a village ring. The radiocarbon dates procured from this area of the site

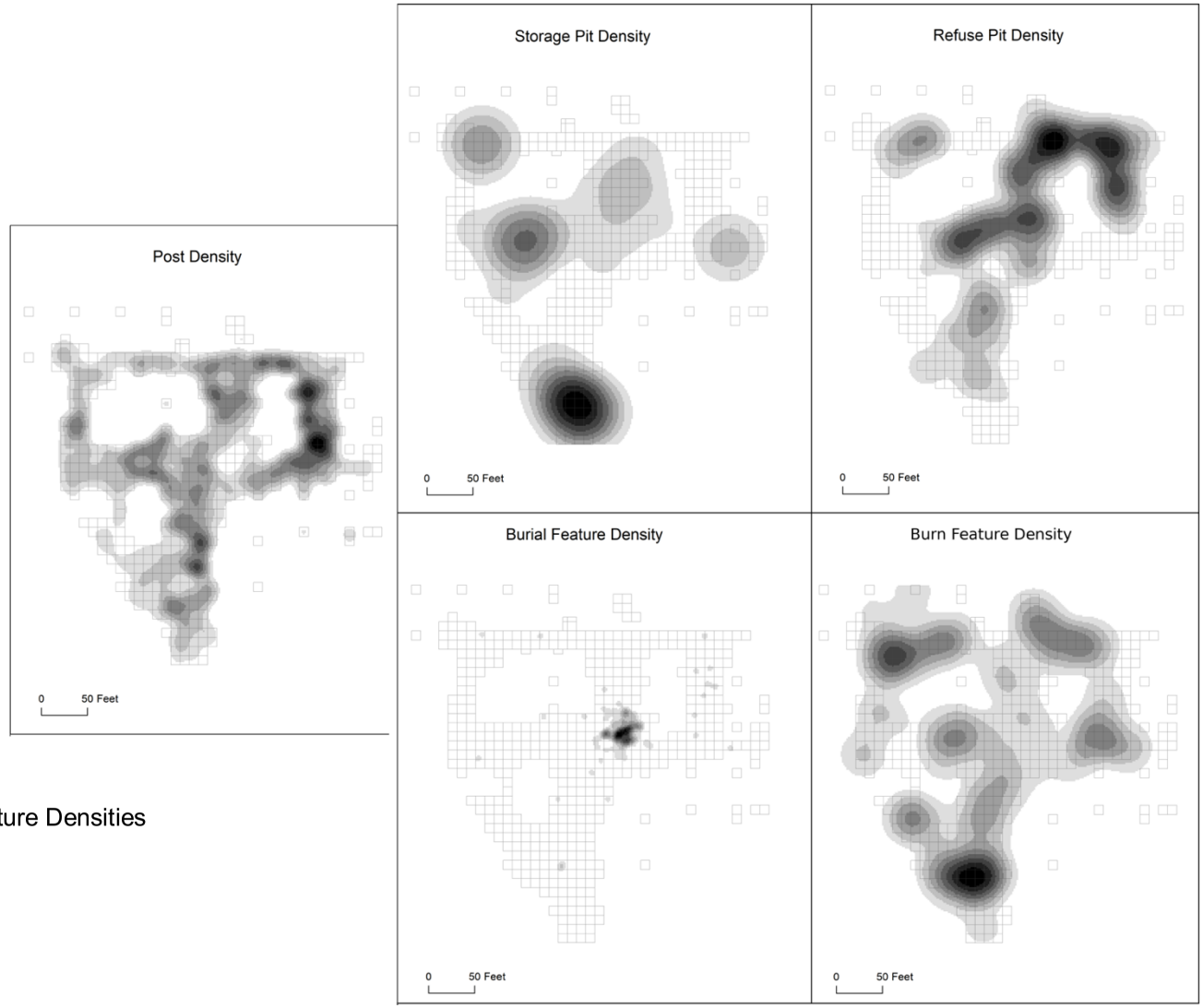


Figure 4. Feature Densities

predominantly date to the 1200s, suggesting the area was intensively use by thirteenth-century inhabitants.

Ring villages were relatively common throughout the region in the thirteenth-century, and as will be discussed later, similar spatial patterns have been identified at sites across the coastal plain and piedmont. If we accept that these posts represent the establishment of a village ring, it would indicate that the Hand site inhabitants oriented their living space in such a way as to be adjacent to the burial area, without intruding upon it. Certainly, the use of the burial space during the process of interment necessitated an explicit acknowledgment of the space's history. However, the purposeful maintenance of the burial space throughout the year also extended into the minutia of everyday life, influencing where refuse was deposited, where houses are built, how particular activities like potting or cooking were executed. In this way, social memory was simultaneously inscribed upon the landscape in the form of an extensive cemetery, while also becoming habituated at the level of everyday practice.

Ancestral Places and Social Memory: A New Framework

Native people lived at the Hand site certainly as early as the Late Archaic period (3000-1200 BC) and maintained an archaeologically visible presence at this specific locale until at least the Protohistoric period (AD 1500-AD1700). Within the thirteenth century, a dramatic shift took place; Native people returned to the Hand site with renewed vigor – an act potentially invoking the historicity and power of a place with obviously deep ties to the past. The extended history

of the Hand site allows us to consider processes of placemaking within the Middle Atlantic, as well as the ways social memory was enacted and interpreted through time across southern Algonquian and Iroquoian landscapes.

Materials like soapstone vessels and soapstone tempered pottery indicate that the Hand site was occupied at least as early as the Late Archaic or Early Woodland. This occupation is difficult to define, but the presence of these materials suggests inhabitation of the site began at least by 1200BC. Radiocarbon dates indicate that Terminal Middle Woodland residents used the Hand site for burial, as well as riverine-focused activities keyed to mussel beds and sturgeon runs. The burials currently hypothesized to date to the Middle Woodland are mostly primary burials, with interment events involving fires. Otherwise, the relative paucity of clearly Middle Woodland ceramics and features suggest that the Hand site was only visited sporadically. More broadly, eastern Middle Woodland societies are conceptualized as seasonally mobile, with groups of individuals migrating to satellite locales in the spring and summer, while returning to a singular, larger settlement by winter (Dent 1995:240-242); though the Hand site may have fit within a larger circuit concerned with seasonally available resources, it's also possible that the Hand site was a specialized locale, serving as an anchor point for regular mortuary events. The central location of the site along the Nottoway, between the piedmont and the outer coastal plain, as well as its mediating position between the Chesapeake Bay and Albermarle Sound, may have even provided a common ground for the regular aggregation of multiple socio-political groups engaged in region-wide interaction networks.

Though many centuries may have separated these Middle Woodland occupations from those occurring in the thirteenth-century, the site's deep past was likely influential in subsequent decisions to engage with this locale. The location of the burial area, first established in the Middle Woodland, seems to have been readily known by later occupants of the Hand site; likely Late Woodland burials seem to cluster there as well, and more recent, non-burial features do not obviously intrude upon the space. The presence of a large long-house structure directly above the western half of the burial area suggests an intentional reference to the burials below. The shallow stratigraphic origins of these posts suggest that the structure was built much later than the burial area, though just how much later is unclear.

The thirteenth-century component apparently lacks the sort of formalized village organization that is visible at many other contemporary sites – or, at the very least, the thick accumulation of features across the space prohibits the identification of such a configuration. Post density analysis does reveal a possible village ring in the southeastern quarter of the site, though, despite best efforts, no clear house outlines or palisades resembling those at other thirteenth-century sites have been identified. Radiocarbon dates calibrated to the Late Woodland appear to loosely correlate with this band of posts; however, the high prevalence of maize-filled features like hearths and refuse pits across the excavated area suggests the Late Woodland occupants made archaeologically-visible use of nearly the entire excavated space. Even if the ring of posts does

represent a village plan, thirteenth-century peoples did not restrict daily activities to that immediate space.

The thirteenth-century Middle Atlantic is consistently characterized as a time of political turmoil and social reformulation. Emplacement, and its interrelated process, displacement (Cobb 2005) manifests in these contexts through the materially traceable movement of peoples and their aggregation into new village forms. In some cases, this entailed the consolidation of dispersed farmsteads into ring-shaped palisaded villages (Jeffries 2018), as well as increasingly nucleated settlements anchored on prominent river drainages (Gallivan 2003; Gallivan et al 2018; Ward and Davis 2001:127). It is important to contextualize these macro-scale changes within localized histories and sensibilities. As Cobb (2018) reminds us, village life provides an answer to a suite of social problems, and in turn, opens a new array of tensions to negotiate. Establishing a village on this historied flood plain overlooking the Nottoway river may have been a direct invocation of earlier eras, intended to ameliorate social tensions by emphasizing a shared common past or legitimizing social hierarchies.

The Hand site remained a significant place of ancestral memory well into the protohistoric period. There is very little clearly protohistoric material, suggesting the Hand site was no longer intensively occupied by the turn of the sixteenth century. The presence of at least three individuals interred during the early colonial period however suggests the Hand site retained its social potency, albeit as a place reserved for the creation of ancestors rather than a place for daily life.

These glimpses of later occupations may be signaling the nearby location of terminal Late Woodland or Protohistoric villages. At the Potomac Creek site, located in northern Virginia, numerous protohistoric ossuary burials have been identified among an otherwise fourteenth-century village; these protohistoric interments are likely associated with the nearby Indian Point site, the archaeological remains of the Patawomeck village described by John Smith (Blanton 1999). In this case, the earlier and adjacent Potomac Creek site appears to have reserved by the Patawomeck as a place for burial. A similar process might be underway at Hand, as numerous Native American sites have been identified in nearby plowed fields but were never investigated further (Smith 1971).

These archaeologically visible episodes were likely punctuated rather than continuous; reoccupation and abandonment of the space seems to have occurred for different reasons through time, but each episode fits within a longer history of emplacement facilitated by social memory. Understanding how place is remembered and understood across time, then, becomes an important part of the Hand site story. Certainly, oral history and place names would play a pivotal role in indigenous understandings of place and past, as might material indicators of long past events. As Silliman (2009) argues, social memory works along several temporal scales. Practices like oral history can operate across the *longue durée* while memories of an individual and their proximate relatives are accrued and mobilized along the shorter scales of human life. Individual, physical encounters with objects may have influenced proximate understandings of past,

but may have been interpreted through more collective, long-term means of memory-making.

In the regular course of farming, digging pits, and everything else life entails, Hand site residents seem to have regularly encountered the materials of generations past. The soapstone vessels identified in Late Woodland features may indirectly index an Early Woodland practice. However, for a Late Woodland resident, soapstone fragments and other ancient objects have been meaningful, and potentially animate, parts of the landscape. It would be almost impossible to know exactly what these moments of encounter might have inspired, but at the very least, we can imagine regular engagements with ancient materials may have informed some understanding of pastness (Dawdy 2017:25-26), that contributed to, conflicted within, or reinforced a collectively negotiated social memory. As discussed in earlier sections, ethnohistoric accounts indicate that interments across the Eastern Woodlands were sometimes memorialized through posts, piles of brush, and purposefully maintained clearings. While archaeologically difficult to identify, the use of these markers to demarcate burials may have facilitated repeated identification of cemetery spaces at Hand across time. Such ephemeral monuments would have produced a potentially stark landscape, meant to signal the presence of ancestors.

Untangling these nuances will require future work that begins with an acknowledgement of the Hand site's extended history; by recognizing the traces of processes like emplacement and displacement across time, the site can be properly contextualized within its spatial and temporal milieu. This will not only

lead to a fuller biography of place, important in its own right, but stand as a testimony to the complexity and depth of indigenous history in a region largely overlooked by archaeologists.

Conclusion:

Social memory is a powerful process, through which the past is constructed, contested, and manifested. Archaeologists have long acknowledged the ways place is integral to the articulation of social memory, as the archaeological record is particularly poised to speak to the relationships between landscape, practice, materiality, and remembrance. In homing in on social memory, we are able to consider more carefully how past and place were constructed by indigenous peoples at the Hand site, a place simultaneously situated at the interface of traditionally understood Algonquian and Iroquoian territories, as well as the archaeologically defined Middle Atlantic and Southeast.

Since its reporting in the late 1960s, the Hand site has been characterized as a protohistoric place, a locus of colonial encounter at the turn of the seventeenth century; this reassessment has demonstrated that the peoples who lived at the Hand site in the early colonial period were likely a part of a much longer history of emplacement beginning as early as the Late Archaic. Attention to depositional practices enables us to identify how social memory may have been brought to bear throughout this extended history. I have argued that the construction of an extensive cemetery space at the Hand site produced a tangible and powerful link to the past that persisted beyond its establishment in the Middle Woodland

approximately 1200 years ago. The arrangement of village space in the thirteenth century demonstrates that social memory structured not only mortuary events, but the habituated practices that make up the fabric of everyday life. Though the Hand site was no longer a residential space by the Protohistoric period, it retained its influence as a potent place; indigenous peoples continued to bury their deceased at the site after Europeans arrived on the continent.

While considerations of “the past in the past” may themselves be interesting ends, these discussions must also acknowledge that the complex interplay of social memory, place-making, and politics continues to unfold in the present – often in ways that are contested and messy. Resituating the Hand site within a deep history of emplacement provides an important narrative counterweight to scholarship that privileges Middle Atlantic indigenous histories that may be tied to early colonial narratives, and can be placed within a broader trend in Middle Atlantic archaeology towards postcolonial approaches that recognize archaeologists’ own positionality as producers of history. Further, memory of the Hand site remains at the fore as Native American nations in Virginia and North Carolina navigate complex recognition policies, NAGPRA regulations, and multifaceted identity politics. Though the Hand site is now a quiet pine tree farm, narratives (and counter-narratives) of who lived there and what events occured are still boisterous and alive, subject to continual renewal as the present unfolds before us.

References Cited:

Barrier, Casey R. and Megan C. Kassabaum

2018 Gathering in the Late Woodland: Plazas and Gathering Places as Everyday Space. In Investigating the Ordinary: Everyday Matters in Southeast Archaeology edited by Sarah E. Price and Philip J. Carr. Pp. 164-184.

Beaudry, Mary C.

2006 *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing*, Yale University Press: New Haven and London.

Bender, Barbara

1992 Theorising Landscapes, and the Prehistoric Landscapes of Stonehenge. *Man* 27(4):735-755.

Binford, Lewis R.

1967 Smudge Pits and Hide Smoking: The Use of Analogy in Archaeological Reasoning. *American Antiquity.* 32(1):1-12.

Bland, Edward

1650 Discovery of New Brittaine. New York: J. Sabin and Sons, 1873

Blanton, Dennis, Stevan C. Pullins, Veronica L. Deitrick

1999 *The Potomac Creek Site (44ST2) Revisited*. William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, VA. Submitted to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Blessing, Meggan E.

2015 Pits for the Ancestors. In *The Archaeology of Events: Cultural Change and Continuity in the Pre-Columbian Southeast*, edited by Zackary I. Gilmore and Jason M. O'Donoughue, pp. 78-92. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscon.

Bonacchi, Chiara, Mark Altaweel and Marta Kryzanska

2018 The Heritage of Brexit: Roles of the Past in the Construction of Political Identities Through Social Media. *Journal of Social Archaeology,* 18(2) 174-192.

Boudreaux III, Edmond A.

2013 Community and Ritual Within the Mississippian Center at Town Creek. *American Antiquity,* 78(3):483-501.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice* Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.

Bronk Ramsey, Christopher
2009 Bayesian Analysis of Radiocarbon Dates. *Radiocarbon,* 51(1):337-360.
2017 Methods for Summarizing Radiocarbon Datasets. *Radiocarbon*, 59(2):1809-1833.

Cobb, Charles R.
2005 Archaeology and the "Savage Slot": Displacement and Emplacement in the Premodern World. *American Anthropologist* (107)4:563-574.
2018 It Took a Childe to Raze the Village. In *The Archaeology of Villages in Eastern North America,* edited by Jennifer Birch and Victor D. Thompson, University Press of Florida, pp 192-204.

Crowell, Elizabeth A.
2000 Walking in the Shadows of Archaeologists Past: Researching Museum Collections and Associated Records to Elucidate Past Lifeways. *North American Archaeologist,* 21(2) 97-106

Curry, Dennis C.
1999 Feast of the Dead: Aboriginal Ossuaries in Maryland. The Maryland Historical Trust Press, Crownsville, Maryland.

Dawdy, Shannon Lee
2017 Patina: A Profane Archaeology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

De Lucia, Kristin
2018 Style, Memory, and the Production of History: Aztec Pottery and the Materialization of a Toltec Legacy. *Current Anthropology* (59)6:741-764.

Dent, Richard J. (junior?)
1995 *Chesapeake Prehistory: Old Traditions, New Directions*. Plenum Press: New York.

Egloff, Keith T. And Stephen R. Potter
1982 Indian Ceramics from Coastal Plain Virginia. *Archaeology of Eastern North America,* 10(Fall):95-117

Evans, Clifford
1955 *A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archeology*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 160

Fewster, Kathryn J.
2007 The role of Agency and Material Culture in Remembering and Forgetting: An Ethnoarchaeological Case Study from Central Spain. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 20.1:89-114.

Frence, Brigittine M.
2010 Maya Ethnolinguistic Identity: Violence, Cultural Rights, and Modernity in Highland Guatemala. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Gallivan, Martin D.
2003 James River Chiefdoms: The Rise of Social Inequality in the Chesapeake. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London.
2011 The Archaeology of Native Societies in the Chesapeake: New Investigations and Interpretations. *Journal of Archaeological Research,* 19:281-325.
2016 *The Powhatan Landscape: An Archaeological History of the Algonquian Chesapeake.* University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Gallivan, Martin D., Christopher J. Shephard, and Jessica A. Jenkins
2018 The Power of Powhatan Towns: Socializing Manitou in the Algonquian Chesapeake. In *The Archaeology of Villages in Eastern North America*, edited by Jennifer Birch and Victor D. Thompson, pp. 160-173. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

Gallivan, Martin D. and Danielle Moretti-Langholtz
2007 Civic Engagement at Werowocomoco: Reasserting Native Narratives from a Powhatan Place of Power*. In Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement,* edited by Barbara J. Little and Shackel, Paul A.

Gamble, Lynn H.
2017 Feasting, Ritual Practices, Social Memory, and Persistent Places: New Interpretations of Shell Mounds in Southern California. *American Antiquity* 82(3):427-451.

Gavin, D. G.
2001 Estimation of inbuilt age in radiocarbon ages of soil charcoal for fire history studies. *Radiocarbon* 43(1):27–44.

Hall, Martin
2001 Social Archaeology and the Theatres of Memory. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1(1):50-61.

Hantman, Jeffrey L.
2018 *Monacan Millenium: A Collaborative Archaeology and History of a Virginia Indian People*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

Hantman, Jeffrey L. and Debra L. Gold
2002 The Woodland in the Middle Atlantic: Ranking and Dynamic Political Stability, in *The Woodland Southeast*, edited by David G. Anderson and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., pp. 270-291. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Hayes, Katherine Howlett
2013 *Slavery Before Race: Europeans, Africans, and Indians at Long Island's Sylvester Manor Plantation, 1651-1884*. New York University Press.

Herbert, Joseph M.
2011 Recent Woodland Archaeology of Coastal North Carolina. In *The Archaeology of North Carolina: Three Archaeological Symposia*, edited by Charles R. Ewen, Thomas, R. Whyte, and R.P. Stephen Davis Jr. North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication (30).
2009 *Woodland Potters and Archaeological Ceramics of the North Carolina Coast*. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Hodder, Ian and Craig Cessford
2004 Daily Practice and Social Memory and Çatalhöyük. *American Antiquity* 69(1):17-40.

Horning, Audrey
2013 *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Hutchinson, Dale T.
2002 *Foraging, Farming, and Coastal Biocultural Adaptation in the Late Prehistoric North Carolina*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Ingold, Tim
1993 The Temporality of the Landscape. *World Archaeology* (25)2:152-174.

Jeffries, Richard W.
2018 Population Aggregation and the Emergence of Circular Villages in Southwest Virginia. In *The Archaeology of Villages in Eastern North America,* edited by

Jennifer Birch and Victor D. Thompson, pp. 140-159. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.

Joyce, Rosemary A.
2003 Concrete Memories: Fragments of the Past in the Classic Maya Present (500-1000AD). In *Archaeologies of Memory*, edited by Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock, Blackwell Publishing: Malden, MA. Pp. 104-125.
2001 Practice in and As Deposition.. In *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*, edited by Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe. Pp. 25-40.

Kassabaum, Megan C.
2019 Early Platforms, Early Plazas: Exploring the Precursors to Mississippian Mound-and-Plaza Centers. *Journal of Archaeological Research,* 27:187-247.

Kennett, Douglas J.
2002 Differences in ^{14}C Age Between Stratigraphically Associated Charcoal and Marine Shell from the Archaic Period Site of Kilometer 4, Southern Peru: Old Wood or Old Water? *Radiocarbon,* 44(1)53-58.

Killgrove, Kristina
2009 Rethinking Taxonomies: Skeletal Variation on the North Carolina Coastal Plain. *Southeastern Archaeology,* 28(1):87-100.

Klein, Michael J.
1997 The Transition from Soapstone Bowls to Marcey Creek Ceramics in the Middle Atlantic Region: Vessel Technology, Ethnographic Data, and Regional Exchange, *Archaeology of Eastern North America* (25):143-158.

Liebmann, Matthew
2012 The Rest is History: Devaluing the Recent Past in the Archaeology of the Pueblo Southwest. In *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology*, edited by Maxine Oland, Siobhan M. Hart, and Liam Frink. University of Arizona Press, Tuscon.

Lederer, John.
1672 *The Discoveries of John Lederer, In Three Several Marches from Virginia to the West of Carolina, And Other Parts of the Continent, Begun in March 1669 and Ended in September 1670 Together With a General Map of the Whole Territory Which He Traversed.* William Talbot, trans. London: Samuel Heyrick.

Loftfield, Thomas C.
1990 Ossuary Interments and Algonquian Expansion on the North Carolina Coast. *Southeastern Archaeology* 9(2): 116–23.

McAnany, Patricia A. and Ian Hodder
2009 Thinking About Stratigraphic Sequence in Social Terms. *Archaeological Dialogues* 16(1):1-22.

Mills, Barbara J.
2001 Remembering While Forgetting. In *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*, edited by Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe. Pp. 81-108.

Mills, Barbara J. and William H. Walker
2001 Introduction: Memory, Materiality, and Depositional Practice. In *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*, edited by Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe. Pp. 3-23.

Moore, Christopher R. and Victor D. Thompson
2012 Animism and Green River Persistent Places: A Dwelling Perspective of Shell Mound Archaic. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 12(2):264-284.

Mudar, Karen M., Erica Bubniak Jones, and John W. Verano
1998 Cultural Identity and Mortuary Behavior: An Examination of the Hand Site Cemetery (44SN22) Southampton county, Virginia. *Archaeology of Eastern North America*, 16:133-162.

Nora, Pierre
1989 Between Memory and history: Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations: Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory* 26(Spring):7-24.

Olick, Jeffrey K. and Joyce Robbins
1998 Social Memory Studies: From “Collective Memory” to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:105-140.

Osborne, James F.
2017 Counter-Monumentality and the Vulnerability of Memory. *Journal of Social Archaeology,* 17(2)-163-187.

Pauketat, Timothy
2001 Founders’ Cults and the Archaeology of Wa-kan-da. In *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*, edited by Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe. Pp. 61-79.

Pauketat, Timothy R. and Susan M. Alt
2003 Mounds, Memory, and Contested Mississippian History. In *Archaeologies of Memory*, edited by Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock, Blackwell Publishing: Malden, MA. Pp. 152-179.

Phelps, David Sutton
1983 Archaeology of the North Carolina Coast and Coastal Plain: Problems and Hypotheses. In *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An Archaeological Symposium* edited by Mark A. Mathis and Jeffrey J. Crow, pp. 1-51. University Graphics, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Pollard, Joshua
2001 Deposition and Material Agency in the Early Neolithic of Southern Britain. In *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*, edited by Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe. Pp. 41-60.

Reimer, Paula J., Bard, E., Bayliss, A., Beck, J. W., Blackwell, P. G., Bronk Ramsey, C., Grootes, P. M., Guilderson, T. P., Haflidason, H., Hajdas, I., HattŽ, C., Heaton, T. J., Hoffmann, D. L., Hogg, A. G., Hughen, K. A., Kaiser, K. F., Kromer, B., Manning, S. W., Niu, M., Reimer, R. W., Richards, D. A., Scott, E. M., Southon, J. R., Staff, R. A., Turney, C. S. M., & van der Plicht, J.
2013 IntCal13 and Marine13 Radiocarbon Age Calibration Curves 0-50,000 Years cal BP. *Radiocarbon*, 55(4):1869-1887.

Rubertone, Patricia E.
2008 Engaging Monuments, Memories, and Archaeology. In *Archaeologies of Placemaking: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America,* edited by Patricia E. Rubertone. Pp. 13-33.

Sassaman, Kenneth E.
1999 A Southeastern Perspective on Soapstone Vessel Technology in the Northeast. In *The Archaeological Northeast*, edited by Mary Ann Levine, Kenneth E. Sassaman, and Michael S. Nassaney, pp. 75-96.

Schmidt, Peter R. and Stephen A. Mrozowski (eds)
2013 *The Death of Prehistory*. Oxford University Press.

Schiffer, Michael B.
1986 Radiocarbon dating and the “old wood” problem: The case of the Hohokam chronology. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 13(1): 13-30.

Schlanger, Sarah H.

1992 Recognizing Persistent Places in Anaszi. In *Space, Time, and Archaeological Landscapes,* edited by Jacqueline Rossignol and LuAnn Wandsnider. Pp. 91-113. Plenum Press, New York.

Siliman, Stephen W.
2009 Change and Continuity, Practice and Memory: Native American Persistence in Colonial New England 74(2):211-230.

Smith, Gerald P.
1971 Protohistoric Sociopolitical Organization of the Nottoway in the Chesapeake Bay-North Carolina Sounds Region. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.
1984 *The Hand site in Southampton County, Virginia*. Archaeological Society of Virginia Special Publication, Richmond, Virginia.

Stockett, Miranda K.
2010 Sites of Memory in the Making: Political Strategizing in the Construction and Deconstruction of Place in Late to Terminal Classic Southeastern Mesoamerica. *Ancient Mesoamerica,* 21(2):315-330

Strickland, Scott M., Julia A. King, G. Anne Richardson, Martha McCartney, Virginia Busby
2016 *Defining the Rappahannock Indigenous Cultural Landscape*. St. Mary's College of Maryland, St. Mary's City. Submitted to National Park Service Chesapeake Bay, The Chesapeake Conservancy, and the Rappahannock Tribe of Virginia.

U.S. Geological Survey
1920 *Boykins Quadrangle, Virginia-North Carolina*. 1:62500. United States Department of the Interior, USGS, War Department, and State of Virginia.

Van Dyke, Ruth M.
2004 Memory, Meaning, and Masonry: The Late Bonito Chacoan Landscape. *American Antiquity* 69(3):413-431.

Van Dyke, Ruth M. and Susan E. Alcock
2003 Archaeologies of Memory: An Introduction. In *Archaeologies of Memory*, edited by Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock, Blackwell Publishing: Malden, MA. Pp. 1-13.

Vest, Jay Hansford C.
2003 From Nansemond to Monacan: The Legacy of the Pochick-Nansemond among the Bear Mountain Monacan. *American Indian Quarterly,* 27(3):781-806.

Ward, H. Trawick and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr.

1993 *Indian Communities on the North Carolina Piedmont A.D. 1000 to 1700.* Research Laboratory of Anthropology, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. *Monograph No. 2.

1999 *Time Before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina*. The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill and London.

2001 Tribes and Traders on the North Carolina Piedmont, A.D. 1000-1710. In *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A.D. 1400-1700,* edited by David S. Prose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort Jr., pp. 125-141. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

Wallis, Neill J.

2008 Networks of History and Memory: Creating a nexus of social identities in Woodland Period Mounds on the Lower St. John River, Florida. *Journal of Social Anthropology* 8(2):236-271.

Wells, Tom

1998 Nail Chronology: The Use of Technologically Derived Features, *Historical Archaeology* (32)2:78-99.

Wilson, Gregory D.

2010 Community, Identity, and Social Memory at Moundville. *American Antiquity* 75(1):3-18.