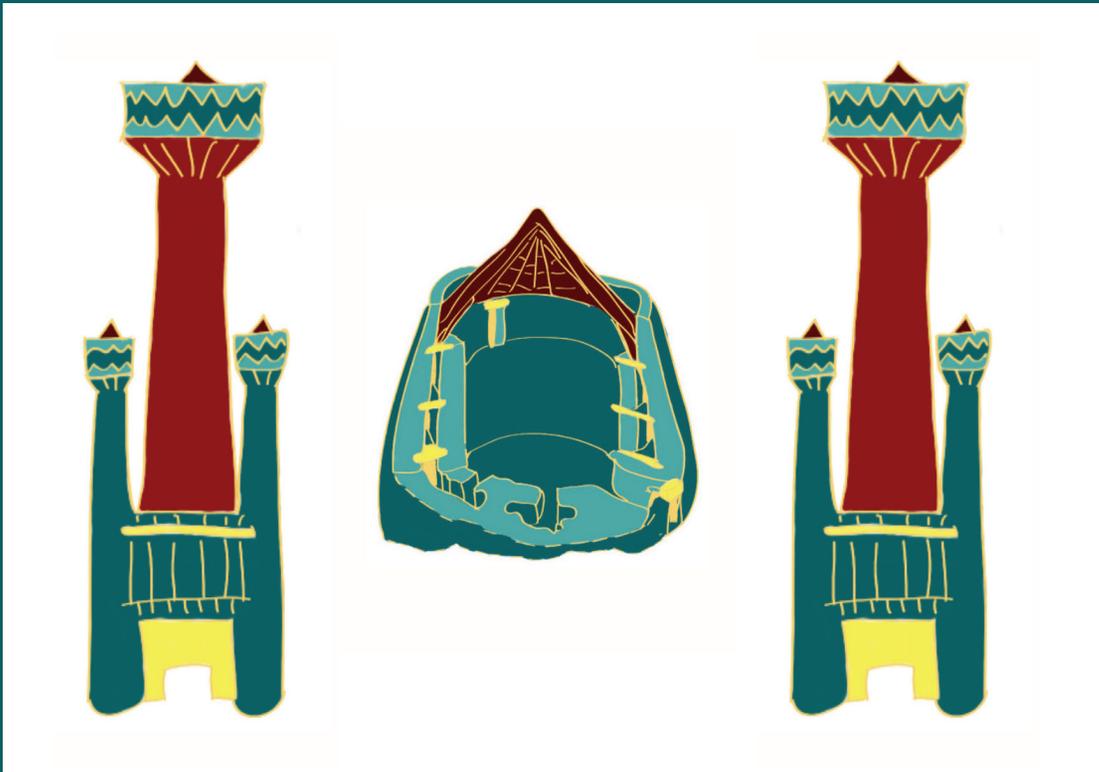




Gardening time

Monuments and landscape from
Sardinia, Scotland and Central Europe
in the very long Iron Age

Edited by Simon Stoddart, Ethan D. Aines
& Caroline Malone



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McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

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& Caroline Malone

with contributions from

Ian Armit, John Barber, Lindsey Büster, Louisa Campbell, Giandaniele Castangia, Graeme Cavers, Anna Depalmas, Matthew Fitzjohn, Mary-Cate Garden, Andy Heald, Luca Lai, Robert Lenfert, Mary MacLeod Rivett, Hannah Malone, Phil Mason, Megan Meredith-Lobay, Mauro Perra, Ian Ralston, John Raven, David Redhouse, Tanja Romankiewicz, Niall Sharples, Alfonso Stiglitz, Dimitris Theodossopoulos, Carlo Tronchetti, Alessandro Usai, Alessandro Vanzetti, Peter Wells & Rebecca Younger

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On the cover: *Cut out reconstruction of a broch flanked by two reconstructed Nuraghi, reconsidered by Lottie Stoddart.*

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CONTENTS

Contributors	xi
Figures	xiii
Tables	xiv
Acknowledgements	xv
A tribute in honour of Giovanni Lilliu (1914–2012)	xvii
Tributes to Dr David Trump, FSA, UOM (1931–2016), and Dr Euan MacKie, FSA (1936–2020)	xxi
<i>Chapter 1</i> Introduction	1
SIMON STODDART, ETHAN D. AINES & CAROLINE MALONE	
Part I Built time	5
<i>Chapter 2</i> Memory in practice and the practice of memory in Caithness, northeast Scotland, and in Sardinia	7
JOHN BARBER, GRAEME CAVERS, ANDY HEALD & DIMITRIS THEODOSSOPOULOS	
Concepts and meanings: architecture and engineering	8
Dry stone building technologies	8
Canonicity and mutability: canonicity	10
Mutability	10
Scales of desired social change and of corresponding physical changes	10
The monuments: brochs	11
<i>Nuraghi</i>	12
Post-construction biographies of brochs	14
Post-construction biographies of <i>Nuraghi</i>	14
Conclusion	14
<i>Chapter 3</i> Monuments and memory in the Iron Age of Caithness	17
GRAEME CAVERS, ANDREW HEALD & JOHN BARBER	
The broch ‘icon’: a creation of archaeological historiography or the reality of Iron Age political geography?	17
Surveying the foundations in Caithness	19
Nybster: a study in Iron Age settlement development	20
The defences	21
Nybster: discussion	21
Thrumster broch	22
The Thrumster sequence	23
Thrumster: discussion	24
Whitegate: a warning	24
Discussion	25
Conclusion: brochs and the architecture of society	25
Monuments and memory: brochs as physical and conceptual raw material	26
<i>Chapter 4</i> Materializing memories: inheritance, performance and practice at Broxmouth hillfort, southeast Scotland	27
LINDSEY BÜSTER & IAN ARMIT	
Broxmouth hillfort	27
The Late Iron Age settlement	29
Household identity	29
Structured deposition	30
House 4: a brief biography	32
Discussion	34
Conclusion	36

<i>Chapter 5</i>	Memories, monumentality and materiality in Iron Age Scotland	37
	LOUISA CAMPBELL	
	Social landscapes and memories	37
	Northern landscapes in the Roman Iron Age	39
	The lowland brochs	39
	Lowland broch depositional trends	41
	Wider settlement depositional trends	43
	Discussion	43
	Conclusion	45
<i>Chapter 6</i>	Rooted in water: the Scottish island-dwelling tradition	47
	ROBERT LENFERT	
	Presence in the landscape	47
	A 'wide-angle view' of islet use in Scotland	48
	Living on water – revisited	49
	Deconstructing defence	49
	Crannogs, prehistoric belief systems: ceramic and metalwork deposition	50
	Island dwellings and the concept of monumentality	52
	Island dwelling use and reuse in the archaeological record	53
	Loch Olabhat, North Uist, Western Isles	53
	Dun an Sticer, North Uist, Western Isles	54
	Eilean na Comhairle, Islay: a prehistoric crannog fit for a medieval king	54
	Buiston	56
	Ederline and Loch Awe	56
	Returning to (un)familiar places	57
<i>Chapter 7</i>	Remembering Nuraghi: memory and domestication of the past in nuragic Sardinia	59
	MAURO PERRA	
	The archaeological data	59
	Models of <i>Nuraghi</i>	60
	Other votives	61
	The votive context	61
	Conclusion	64
<i>Chapter 8</i>	Revisiting Glenelg a century after Alexander O Curle: reconstructing brochs in treeless landscapes	65
	TANJA ROMANKIEWICZ & IAN RALSTON	
	Curle's excavations	65
	The archaeological evidence for post holes within brochs reconsidered	67
	Timber sources in deforested landscapes – the environmental record	70
	Alternative reconstructions	72
	From timber sources to models of social organization	73
<i>Chapter 9</i>	Beyond the <i>Nuraghe</i> : perception and reuse in Punic and Roman Sardinia	75
	ALFONSO STIGLITZ	
	Examples of reuse of <i>Nuraghi</i>	76
	The archaeology of reuse	79
	Who reused the <i>Nuraghi</i> ?	81
	Conclusion	82

<i>Chapter 10</i>	The <i>Nuraghe's</i> life in the Iron Age	83
	CARLO TRONCHETTI	
	The changed use of <i>Nuraghi</i> in the Iron Age	83
	The <i>Nuraghe</i> as a symbol of memory	84
	Conclusion	88
<i>Chapter 11</i>	Monumentality and commemoration at a Late Neolithic henge site in Scotland	89
	REBECCA K. YOUNGER	
	Monuments, memory and archaeology	89
	Henge monuments in Scotland	90
	Commemoration	91
	Forteviot	92
	Heterotopias and imagined landscapes	94
	Conclusion	95
Part II	Landscape time	97
<i>Chapter 12</i>	Walking across the land of the Nuraghi: politics of memory and movement in central-western Sardinia during the Bronze Age	99
	GIANDANIELE CASTANGIA	
	Bronze Age evidence in the Sinis region	99
	GIS analysis	101
	Concluding remarks	105
<i>Chapter 13</i>	Memory as a social force: transformation, innovation and refoundation in protohistoric Sardinia	107
	ANNA DEPALMAS	
	The funerary context	110
	The religious and ceremonial context	113
	Iconographic information	114
	Conclusion	117
<i>Chapter 14</i>	Burial locations, memory and power in Bronze Age Sardinia	119
	LUCA LAI	
	¹⁴ C-based evidence for the use of natural caves for burial	121
	Short outline of Bronze Age burial site types by phase	124
	Power, memory and burial locations	125
	Conclusion	128
<i>Chapter 15</i>	Memory and movement in the Bronze Age and Iron Age landscape of central and southeastern Slovenia	131
	PHILIP MASON	
	Memory and movement in the Late Bronze Age	131
	Memory and movement in the Early Iron Age landscape	134
	Conclusion	136
Part III	Multiple time	139
<i>Chapter 16</i>	The reuse of monuments in Atlantic Scotland: variation between practices in the Hebrides and Orkney	141
	NIAL SHARPLES	
	Twentieth-century encounters with monuments	142
	Landscape in the Western Isles	145
	Northern landscapes	149
	Conclusion	150

<i>Chapter 17</i>	The nuragic adventure: monuments, settlements and landscapes	151
	ALESSANDRO USAI	
	<i>Nuraghi</i> and nuragic societies	152
	<i>Nuraghi</i> and landscapes: colonization, exploitation and the first nuragic crisis	153
	Nuragic settlements and landscapes: reorganization and consumption of resources	155
	Degeneration and dissolution of the nuragic civilization	157
	Conclusion	158
<i>Chapter 18</i>	Changing media in shaping memories: monuments, landscapes and ritual performance in Iron Age Europe	159
	PETER WELLS	
	Memory	159
	Memory, monuments and the performance of ritual	159
	Patterns of change – Early Iron Age burial: ritual performances for individuals and their monuments in the landscape (800–450 BC)	160
	Patterns of change – community rituals and new kinds of memory: Early and Middle La Tène (450–150 BC)	162
	Patterns of change – increasing engagement with the wider world: Late La Tène (150–25 BC)	163
	Interpretation	164
	Conclusion	165
<i>Chapter 19</i>	Cultivated and constructed memory at the nineteenth-century cemetery of Cagliari	167
	HANNAH MALONE	
	The Bonaria cemetery of Cagliari	167
	The collective memory	168
	A stratigraphy of memory	169
	The cemetery as expression of social change	172
	Conclusion	173
<i>Chapter 20</i>	<i>morentur in Domino libere et in pace</i> : cultural identity and the remembered past in the medieval Outer Hebrides	175
	JOHN RAVEN & MARY MACLEOD RIVETT	
	The background	175
	The archaeology	177
	Discussion	180
	Questions	181
	Conclusion	183
<i>Chapter 21</i>	Memory and material representation in the Lismore landscape	185
	SIMON STODDART, CAROLINE MALONE, DAVID REDHOUSE, MARY-CATE GARDEN, MATTHEW FITZJOHN & MEGAN MEREDITH-LOBAY	
	Cycles of time	186
	Interrogating the <i>third</i> cycle	187
	The fourth cycle	188
	The fifth cycle	189
	Conclusion	189
<i>Chapter 22</i>	Nuragic memories: a deep-seated pervasive attitude	191
	ALESSANDRO VANZETTI	
	Gardening time is not without counterpoints	191
	Sardinia seen by a non-Sardinian anthropologist	192
	Sardinian archaeology seen by a non-Sardinian archaeologist	193
	Memory of ancient places of Sardinia: major medieval break	193
	First millennium BC breaks	194
	Modern ‘museification’ and ‘memorification’ of the Sardinian heritage	195
	Conclusion	198

<i>Chapter 23</i> Endnote: gardening time in broader perspective	201
ETHAN D. AINES & SIMON STODDART	
Theoretical approaches to memory	202
The impact of literacy?	203
A hard-wired time depth to memory?	203
The importance of context for memory	203
Memory in archaeological studies	205
The materiality of monuments	206
The afterlife of monuments	207
Conclusion: monuments for memory	207
References	209
Index	239

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Figures

0.1	<i>David Trump.</i>	xxi
0.2	<i>Euan MacKie.</i>	xxii
1.1	<i>The two principal areas covered in the text and the location of the two other articles.</i>	2
2.1	<i>Dry stone building techniques.</i>	9
2.2	<i>Thrumster broch skeletal chronology.</i>	11
2.3	<i>Broch terminology.</i>	13
3.1	<i>Location of Caithness and distribution of broch sites.</i>	18
3.2	<i>Survey of Nybster broch ‘village’.</i>	19
3.3	<i>Aerial view of the broch at Nybster, Auckengill, Caithness.</i>	20
3.4	<i>General view of the cellular building, OB2, at Nybster, during excavation.</i>	21
3.5	<i>General view of the Nybster rampart during excavation.</i>	22
3.6	<i>View of the galleries at Thrumster broch, during excavation.</i>	23
3.7	<i>Excavation of human and animal remains in the Whitegate mural cells.</i>	24
4.1	<i>The Late Iron Age settlement (Phase 6) at Broxmouth.</i>	28
4.2	<i>House 2, showing the (Phase 1) burial adjacent to the northern entrance post hole.</i>	30
4.3	<i>House 4, through its five major structural stages.</i>	31
4.4	<i>Paired artefactual deposits.</i>	33
4.5	<i>The orthostat and slab.</i>	34
5.1	<i>Lowland brochs with Roman material culture.</i>	41
5.2	<i>Querns integrated into Broxmouth hillfort.</i>	44
6.1	<i>The submerged causeway leading to Dun Ban, Grimsay.</i>	50
6.2	<i>Largely intact prehistoric pottery from the lochbed surrounding Hebridean crannogs.</i>	51
6.3	<i>Examples of prominent ‘monumental’ islet architecture.</i>	52
6.4	<i>Dun an Sticer, North Uist.</i>	55
7.1	<i>Alghero, Nuraghe Palmavera.</i>	60
7.2	<i>Sorradile, Su Monte.</i>	60
7.3	<i>Villasor, hoard of Su Scusorgiu.</i>	61
7.4	<i>San Vero Milis, Serra Is Araus: Nuraghe model.</i>	62
7.5	<i>Mont’e Prama, Cabras: warrior.</i>	63
8.1	<i>Map of Scotland showing location of Glenelg.</i>	66
8.2	<i>Stratigraphy of the accumulated ‘mass in the interior’.</i>	68
8.3	<i>Profile of the interior of Dun Troddan.</i>	69
8.4	<i>Curle’s photograph from 1920 compared to the situation as extant in September 2012.</i>	70
8.5	<i>Reconstructions of Culswick, Shetland, and Ness broch, Caithness.</i>	72
9.1	<i>Archaeology of reuse: map of Sardinia.</i>	76
9.2	<i>S’Urachi, San Vero Milis.</i>	78
9.3	<i>S’Urachi, clay statue of Bes.</i>	78
9.3	<i>S’Urachi, clay statue of a black man.</i>	79
10.1	<i>Discovery sites of Nuraghe models.</i>	84
10.2	<i>Nuraghe models.</i>	85
10.3	<i>Nuraghe models.</i>	86
10.4	<i>Nuraghe models.</i>	87
10.5	<i>Reconstruction of the necropolis of Cabras, Mont’e Prama.</i>	88
11.1	<i>Transcription of cropmarks of prehistoric monument complex at Forteviot.</i>	93
11.2	<i>Plan of Forteviot Henge 1.</i>	94
11.3	<i>Schematic diagram showing henge monuments as temporal heterotopias.</i>	95
12.1	<i>Nuraghe Losa of Abbasanta.</i>	100
12.2	<i>Sinis landscape, Sardinia.</i>	100
12.3	<i>Nuragic sites in Sinis.</i>	102
12.4	<i>Cumulative viewshed analysis results.</i>	103
12.5	<i>Cost-path analysis results.</i>	104
13.1	<i>Single tower tholos Nuraghi.</i>	108

13.2	<i>Plan of Su Nuraxi di Barumini, and the Nuragic village huts of Serra Orrios-Dorgali.</i>	109
13.3	<i>Nuragic tombs.</i>	111
13.4	<i>Nuragic springs, wells and models.</i>	112
13.5	<i>Nuragic statuary and models.</i>	115
14.1	<i>Map of natural caves in Sardinia yielding MBA-EIA AMS dates.</i>	122
14.2	<i>Chart of calibrated range of dates for Sardinian MBA-EIA cave burial contexts.</i>	123
15.1	<i>Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age settlements and cemeteries in central Slovenia.</i>	132
15.2	<i>The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age centre at Novo mesto.</i>	133
15.3	<i>The Iron Age centre at Vinji vrh.</i>	134
15.4	<i>The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age centre at Kučar near Podzemelj.</i>	135
16.1	<i>Chambered tomb and monumental roundhouse at Pierowall Quarry, Westray, Orkney.</i>	142
16.2	<i>Chambered tomb at Skelpick, Strathnaver, Sutherland.</i>	143
16.3	<i>Plan of the The Howe.</i>	144
16.4	<i>Chambered tomb and wheelhouse at Clettraval, North Uist.</i>	145
16.5	<i>Chambered tomb at Unival, North Uist.</i>	146
16.6	<i>Chambered tomb at Loch a' Bharp, South Uist.</i>	147
16.7	<i>A view of Loch Olibhat, North Uist.</i>	147
16.8	<i>The location of brochs and settlements on South Uist.</i>	149
17.1	<i>A simple Nuraghe: Zuras (Abbasanta).</i>	152
17.2	<i>A complex Nuraghe: Orolo (Bortigali).</i>	153
17.3	<i>An unfinished Nuraghe: Codina 'e s'Ispreddosu (Norbello).</i>	154
17.4	<i>A compact nuragic settlement with the Nuraghe in the middle: Pìdighi (Solarussa).</i>	156
17.5	<i>A nuragic settlement made up of isolated blocks with the Nuraghe on its edge: Bruncu Màduli (Gèsturi).</i>	157
18.1	<i>Map of principal sites mentioned in the text.</i>	160
18.2	<i>Schematic plan of the Hochdorf burial chamber.</i>	161
18.3	<i>Schematic sketches of sites of memory-generating performances.</i>	163
19.1	<i>Cagliari, Bonaria cemetery, monument to Antonietta Todde Pera.</i>	167
19.2	<i>Map of Cagliari marking the location of ancient tombs.</i>	169
19.3	<i>Cagliari, Bonaria cemetery, main chapel.</i>	170
19.4	<i>Cagliari, Bonaria cemetery, monument to Enrico Serpieri.</i>	171
19.5	<i>Cagliari, Bonaria cemetery, monument to Giuseppe Todde.</i>	172
20.1	<i>Location map.</i>	176
20.2	<i>'Borg' and 'bara' place names..</i>	177
20.3	<i>Dun Mhulan and Loch na Beirghe.</i>	178
20.4	<i>Dun Carlabhagh (Carloway).</i>	179
20.5	<i>Reconstruction of Dun an Sticer.</i>	180
21.1	<i>Lismore: viewsheds from Neolithic cairns.</i>	185
21.2	<i>Aerial view of Tirefuir (Tirefour) under excavation.</i>	186
21.3	<i>Lismore: views from brochs.</i>	187
21.4	<i>Lismore: location of medieval castles.</i>	187
21.5	<i>Lismore: modern identity and monuments.</i>	189
22.1	<i>Trends in number of visitors of the main archaeological museums and sites in Sardinia.</i>	196
22.2	<i>Demographic trend Sardinia compared to Sassari, Macomer and the Valle dei Nuraghi municipalities.</i>	196
22.3	<i>Average GDP per person of Sardinia and of selected Italian regions.</i>	197
22.4	<i>Sardinia: municipalities with the highest and lowest average income per person.</i>	198

Tables

5.1	<i>Southern brochs and souterrains – depositional contexts.</i>	42
12.1	<i>Cumulative viewshed analysis results.</i>	101
12.2	<i>Cost-path analysis results.</i>	105
14.1	<i>AMS dates from Sardinian MBA-EIA cave burial contexts.</i>	120
14.2	<i>Chronological table comparing Perra (1997) and Tykot (1994) schemes.</i>	121

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Simon Stoddart

A tribute in honour of Giovanni Lilliu (1914–2012)

Anna Depalmas

Remembering Giovanni Lilliu may seem an easy task. One might think that it is only necessary to list his rich scientific bibliography and to describe his great work over the course of nearly a century, as a university professor and archaeologist. However, a simple listing of his achievements would not transmit the true importance of his work. He not only illuminated the prehistoric archaeology of Sardinia, but also used it to establish the idea of a Sardinian epic which he connected to the modern world.

Prehistory was the choice of his field of study – rather than the predominant exaltation of the Roman era and classicism of the time –, and this had its origins in his study under Ugo Rellini at Rome. He graduated in 1938 and worked as Rellini's assistant until 1942, when he returned to Sardinia to take up the position of Professor of Historical Archaeology and Geography at the University of Cagliari. From 1942 to 1958, he taught various subjects – Paleoethnology, Geography and the History of Religion – and in the latter year became a Full Professor and was appointed to the Chair of Sardinian Antiquity at the University of Cagliari. From 1944 to 1955 he also worked for the Superintendency of Sardinian Antiquity.

He held many posts in his long academic career. He was for a long time, and on various occasions, dean of the Faculty of Letters, Director of the Institute of Archaeology and Arts, Director of the School of Specialization in Sardinian Studies and Editor of the Journal carrying the same name (*Studi Sardi*), and, in 1990, he was elected a fellow of the Academy of Lincei of Rome. In his later years, he remained a very active Professor Emeritus at Cagliari University.

In 1936, while he was still a student, he published his first work on Su Nuraxi di Barumini. This was his birthplace, and throughout his life he maintained a close and almost embodied connection with the village. This also led him to carry out his most important

archaeological work in the landscape of his birth. Indeed, between 1951 and 1956, he worked on excavating an artificial hill there, which was found to cover the nuragic complex of Su Nuraxi di Barumini. This was the first excavation conducted in Sardinia using a stratigraphic methodology to establish a time-line for the nuragic period, and it became a benchmark for later investigations and chronological research. His work at Barumini formed the basis for a series of fundamental papers on Sardinian proto-history, from *I nuraghi. Torri preistoriche di Sardegna* (The Nuraghi, prehistoric towers of Sardinia) in 1962 to *Civiltà nuragica* (Nuragic civilization) in 1982.

He was the first to study many of the themes that he investigated in depth during his long scientific career and many of these were only studied for the first time in the first half of the twentieth century. The chronology of proto-Sardinian civilization was one key field that he developed, modified and changed in the course of his long academic career. At the same time, Lilliu published a brief essay in which he attempted to identify certain constant factors in the history of Sardinian art, and this was developed in the catalogue for the exhibition of Sardinian bronzes in Venice in 1949. Following the theories of Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli on how to classify the art of the ancient world, Lilliu assessed the coexistence of the 'anti-naturalistic' art of the barbarian world and the 'naturalistic' art of the classical world within which he inserted Sardinia as a 'land of pure expression', and defined as anti-classical and barbaric. This line of thought became the nucleus of a theme which he studied from various angles and which helped him to define key concepts in his field of study.

At the beginning of the 1960s, he published his wide-ranging synthesis of Sardinia, *La civiltà dei Sardi dal Neolitico all'età dei nuraghi* (1963) (Sardinian Civilization from the Neolithic period to the nuragic

era). This work was later reprinted, expanded and revised in various editions until 1988. Apart from incorporating the results of later research, the later editions also allowed him to reassess some of his earlier observations with a critical eye, which was always one of his great strengths as a researcher and academic. The book proposed that a single unifying thread ran through Sardinian prehistory from the Neolithic period, even starting in the Palaeolithic period, until the Phoenician conquest. It established elements of the historiography of the island using data obtained from his work as an archaeologist. Many of the principal Sardinian monuments were described in an elegant style which alternated with detailed, creative and lyrical descriptions. The book was aimed at not only archaeologists and students, but also at a wider public, and indeed the book was dedicated to 'the shepherds of Barbagia'. Generations of archaeologists have studied the manual and found themselves cited in later editions, in agreement with Lilliu's global historiographical approach which aimed to unite past archaeological research with his experience of teaching Sardinian Antiquity in a university context. This book also gave birth to a national and popular history of prehistoric Sardinia, and expanded the work of archaeologists and their research from being only something studied in university lecture rooms and solely of interest to academics to its status as part of the common heritage of all Sardinians.

This social dimension, this impact, can be clearly seen from Giovanni Lilliu's popularity, which came from having shone a light on the national history of Sardinia and giving life to a Sardinian historiographical tradition, i.e. one with a strong sense of identity. His fame led to him being consulted, even in the later years of his life, on current events in Sardinia not necessarily related to culture or archaeology and being seen as a kind of prophet or even as the 'father of his country'. One of the many lessons that he taught us, and in which he himself was an expert, was the importance of intellectuals being able to discuss, communicate and talk about complex historical themes in a way which was both comprehensible and of interest to laymen.

He showed a total but clear love for his land by taking on civic responsibilities, which he fulfilled in a way which was never dull but rather vigilant and acute, despite his soft tone. As a cultured man, he worked for the Regional Council of Sardinia, drafting the Special Statute of Autonomy. He was also involved in politics, first as a member of the Christian Democrats and later as a supporter of initiatives which promoted the independence of Sardinia and of progressive positions which were

close to the Centre-Left. In practice, he was active in actions which were designed to give greater value to Sardinian identity and culture.

The ideological basis for these activities were elaborated by Giovanni Lilliu at the start of his intellectual life, and were made completely clear in the 1970s when he developed the concept of 'constant Sardinian resistance'. At the beginning of the first prehistoric phase, the Sardinians were characterized by their resistance to foreign invaders and any attempts at acculturation. This characteristic did not disappear in ancient times, but has been a constant theme of Sardinian history and ethnicity, and is still present today. In this sense, Sardinian culture is not a fossil, but rather displays an extraordinary historical continuity with the past. This is an analysis which never became an idealization of aspects of Sardinian society and behaviour, but rather provided a clear and realistic picture through also identifying its negative aspects and its limitations. Nuragic civilization in particular became a symbol of a polycentric society, always in conflict with itself, the land and foreign invaders.

However, it is certainly limiting to supply a rigid definition of what Lilliu meant by nuragic civilization, given that he saw it as a dialectical relationship between its various dimensions, and worked on a reconstruction of it that was complex and multifaceted. He proposed an interpretation of nuragic civilization that saw it not as local but Mediterranean. In this, he was greatly influenced by his direct experience of excavations in the village of Ses Paisses in Majorca, where he found ethnic roots which were common to all the large islands of the West Mediterranean, the Balearics and Corsica, although there were also differences connected to the independent developments drawing on their insularity.

The fact that he found writing easy as can be seen from his some 330 publications. The last of these was in 2010, and was a detailed description of the excavation of the Giant's Tomb of Bidistili in Fonni. It is worth saying that many of the present arguments about certain elements and problems of prehistoric and proto-historic Sardinia were originally raised by him.

I would like to end this brief and partial memorial to Giovanni Lilliu by mentioning his work as a university professor of prehistoric and proto-historic Sardinia (and not only those subjects – with great versatility he also taught Geography and Christian archaeology). What I will personally remember is his little figure in jacket and pullover (he seldom, if ever, wore a tie), typewritten sheets in hand, and always punctual. He never postponed a lesson and was never

absent. As an examiner he was always courteous and understanding. But you had to be very well prepared for his exams. The end of the course every year was the moment that we all waited for. Then there were the one or two day excursions that he led us on to various parts of Sardinia. We students would present

our explanations of the monuments and he would listen with great attention as if it were his first visit, and then sometimes add some of his own memories, making it ever more clear how he was the creator of our view of prehistoric Sardinia.

He really was the memory of Sardinian history.

Tributes to Dr David Trump, FSA, UOM (1931–2016), and Dr Euan MacKie, FSA (1936–2020)

Caroline Malone & Simon Stoddart

David Trump was best known for his important work on the islands of Malta (Malone 2020), but his contribution to the prehistory of Sardinia is also worthy of record in the context of this volume.

David Hilary Trump took his first class BA in Arch and Anth at Pembroke College, Cambridge in 1955, and was a scholar of both the British School at Jerusalem, where he dug with Kathleen Kenyon, and the British School at Rome, where he excavated the key site of La Starza.

After Malta, Trump held the post of Staff Tutor in Archaeology at the University's Board of Extra-Mural Studies until retirement in 1997, when he was succeeded by Caroline Malone. He not only contributed to the teaching of Mediterranean Prehistory in the Department of Archaeology, but also had a large following in the wider, continuing education community, engaging mature students in all aspects of Archaeology in the region and beyond. It was during this period that he made a major contribution to the archaeology of Sardinia, uncovering once again unsuspected phases of prehistory at Grotta Filiestru (Trump 1983) and completing the survey of Bonu Ighinu. At Grotta Filiestru, he characteristically invested all the resources he could muster into constructing an effective chronology (Switsur & Trump 1983) and some of the first faunal studies undertaken in Sardinia (Levine 1983). This work was, in its way, as equally pioneering as his work on the island of Malta. The Grotta Filiestru produced a new scientifically dated sequence of Sardinian prehistory, identifying the fifth-millennium BC Filiestru Neolithic phase for the first time. In earlier fieldwork he also excavated the cave site of Sa 'ucca de su Tintirriòlu (Loria & Trump 1978). His work around Bonu Ighinu (Trump 1990) is, however, closest to the

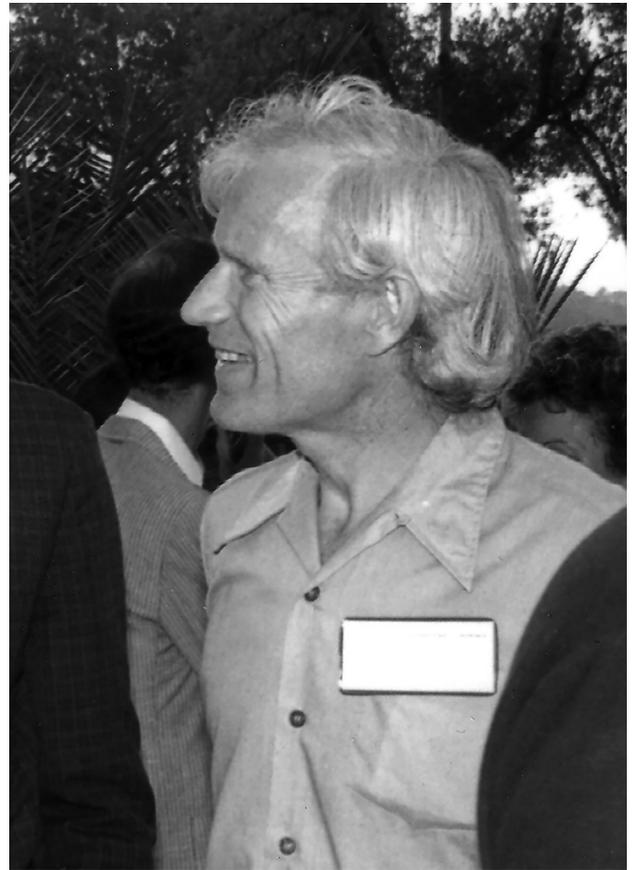


Figure 0.1. *David Trump.*

theme of this volume since, in typical energetic style, Trump also provided one of the earliest studies of a nuragic landscape, once again demonstrating a pioneering role, now followed by many others.

Euan MacKie was a central figure in the study of brochs, as is shown by the very high level of citation in this volume (Mackie 1965 ... 2008). In several ways the contribution of David Trump and Euan MacKie run in parallel, one journeying south, the other journeying north also from Cambridge beginnings, both Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London, engaged in seminal fieldwork, on a shoe string generally with volunteers, providing the first chronological foundations for monuments in the landscape and addressing synthesis of the results. Both were pioneers of their generation who retained their own intellectual independence in museums (both) and in continuing education (Trump), rather than a department of archaeology or a heritage organization.

MacKie graduated in Archaeology and Anthropology from St. John's Cambridge in 1959 and took his PhD from the University of Glasgow in 1973, becoming, after a brief period at the British Museum, Keeper and Deputy Director (1986) of the University Hunterian Museum. As a graduate he took part in an expedition to British Honduras, directing the excavation of the Maya site of Xunantunich, leading to an interest in Mesoamerican archaeology throughout his life.

His excavation of brochs such as Dun Mor Vaul on Tiree, published in 1975, Dun Ardtreck on Skye published in 2000 and Leckie in Stirlingshire published in 2008, were fundamental in uncovering the sequence, material culture and chronology of these monuments. He gathered information for his important three-volume compendium on brochs from his own excavations and the investigations of others, undertaking research well into retirement (1998), publishing the final volume in 2007. These volumes are landmarks of data on the subject, a resource which provides a platform for all broch studies. His achievements were also celebrated in his Festschrift, *In the Shadow of the Brochs* (2002), showing the respect shown to him by younger generations.

He ventured far and wide in his more interpretative work. Some of his interpretations of broch builders and their monuments are no longer widely held and the chronologies are currently being reconsidered, but his stimulating approach to ideas endures. He



Figure 0.2. Euan MacKie on Mousa broch in the Shetlands in 2000 at the Tall Stories conference.

was passionate about many other subjects including his seminal work in prehistoric metrology and archaeoastronomy. The volume *Science and Society in Prehistoric Britain* (1977) was a central work for Glyn Daniel's teaching in Cambridge, and he made the valid point that the sophistication of prehistory is not to be underestimated. His interest in ethnography, no doubt drawing on his Arch and Anth undergraduate career at Cambridge, gave him a great respect for other ways of thinking and for the architectural and political achievements of prehistoric Britain, most notably for the builders of the brochs themselves in the Iron Age.

Chapter 11

Monumentality and commemoration at a Late Neolithic henge site in Scotland

Rebecca K. Younger

It seems that archaeologists sometimes implicitly assume monuments are memorials. The word ‘monument’, as Richard Bradley notes (1993, 2), comes from the Latin *monere*, ‘to remind’. Interpretations of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in Britain have traditionally been dominated by an interest in monuments, sometimes to the detriment of other aspects of Neolithic life, as some have pointed out, because of the high visibility of monuments in the archaeological record (Garrow 2006, 3; Pollard 1999, 90). Large earthwork or stone monuments can also remain highly visible parts of today’s landscape, and therefore we understand them to be enduring parts of the landscape, testament to the past; and there seems to be a tacit acceptance amongst archaeologists that monuments therefore have an abstract mnemonic quality because of their existence as ‘old things’ in the landscape. The perceived longevity of monuments means they are often understood to be places in the landscape which make tangible reference to the past (e.g. Tilley 1994). Since this is how we understand monuments, there is a tendency to assume that this is what they were intended for and how they were understood in the past.

We cannot be certain that this was the case however, and therefore in this chapter, it is suggested that a slightly different approach to understanding the memorial aspects of monuments might be fruitful. Rather than assuming monuments to have been intended as permanent reminders of the past, here it is suggested that greater consideration should be given to the particular ways in which people used monuments to remember – for example, the use of monuments as places of commemoration. This is discussed in relation to henge monuments, earthwork monuments of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in Britain, but the concepts of commemoration explored in the chapter will have relevance to other times and places. First, however, it will be useful to outline some of the pitfalls

of assuming prehistoric monuments to be memorials as we understand them in a contemporary context.

Monuments, memory and archaeology

Considering monuments to be mnemonic, because we think of them as permanent references to the past implies that understandings of memory, the past and the meaning of monuments have always been similar to our own contemporary Western perspective. It also assumes that monuments are static entities, unchanging representations of the past in the landscape. This is not the case however, and a growing body of research into monuments has demonstrated that they were commonly ‘reused’: remodelled and rebuilt at different times, used for different purposes and interpreted in different ways throughout their histories (Bradley 2002; Driscoll 1998; Hingley 1996; Holtorf 1998). Monuments were not always preserved unchanged – or necessarily seen as things of ‘the past’, but were reused in the present. In fact, the very concept of ‘the past’ might have been different to our own. The perception and concept of time is not a constant between different cultures (Gell 1992), and a person living during the Neolithic or Early Bronze Age would have conceptualized their past very differently from us. The same distinctions between history and myth may not have existed (Gosden and Lock 1998), and so the ways in which existing monuments were interpreted would have been different. Indeed, it is possible that they might not have been interpreted as humanly made constructions, and the distinction between culture and nature, if a distinction was made, would likely have been drawn along very different lines to our own (see Tilley 1996, and Bradley 1998a). People may therefore have interpreted and remembered the past differently from our own concept of memory.

Traditional concepts of memory used in archaeology also tend to treat memory in abstract terms.

Seeing monuments as memorials implies that they possess a mnemonic quality which would function in the same way regardless of human interaction with, and interpretation of, the monument. Alasdair Whittle has pointed out that, while memory has been something of a fashionable topic in archaeology in recent years, human agency has not always had a major role in these debates (Whittle 2010, 35), meaning that the significance of the active *creation* of memory in the past has sometimes been overlooked.

Perhaps this is partly because of the fact that many discussions of memory and monuments in archaeology have focused on the monument after it is finished, and sometimes only after it has gone out of use. Despite it being considered that the purpose of monuments is memorial, this is often linked with later reuses of the monument rather than its original use – what Bradley (1993) terms the ‘afterlife’ of monuments. Dušan Borić has suggested that archaeologists have used ‘memory’ as an ‘umbrella term’ for thinking about ‘the past in the past’ (Borić 2010, 3). If we are to consider how and whether monuments functioned as memorials, it is necessary to think about their construction and use, rather than only thinking about the finished monument as a memorial. Bradley has suggested that the ‘project’ of constructing monuments may have been more significant than the finished monument (Bradley 1993, 1998b). While sites such as henges might have been memorials because they were places where the past was monumentalized, the ways in which people deliberately altered existing monuments could also be significant. Memory cannot be seen as an inherent or self-evident quality of a monument, but something that has to be created. Ruth Van Dyke and Susan Alcock describe the creation of memory, and particularly of social memory, as an ‘active and ongoing process’, constructed as people choose what to remember or forget (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003, 3). The act of forgetting may be as significant as remembering, and suggests a deliberate interest in reinterpreting the past. If we are to consider any of these aspects of memory, we need to move beyond a traditional concept of monuments being static memorials to the past, and to think instead about how monuments might have been used to engage actively with, and renegotiate, alternative concepts of the past. One way of doing so might be to consider the construction and use of monuments as a commemorative practice.

Henge monuments in Scotland

The construction and use of henge monuments might be one such example of a commemorative practice, and of monuments which might have been used to

engage with the past. Henges are circular earthwork monuments, usually comprising an external bank and internal ditch, with one or two narrow breaks in the earthworks forming ‘entrances’ into the interior space defined by the earthworks. Henges are found throughout much of the British Mainland and Orkney, and are traditionally dated to the Late Neolithic – Early Bronze Age, c. 3000–2000 BC (Harding 2003). Over 80 henges are known in Scotland, many of which have been discovered as cropmarks through aerial survey (Barclay 2005, 84).

Although generally defined in the terms outlined above, henges form a somewhat heterogeneous monument type, and vary in size, date and form. The henge category includes sites which range from small ‘mini-henges’ or ‘hengiforms’, as small as 5–6 m in diameter, to large ‘henge enclosures’ such as Avebury and Durrington Walls in the south of England (Harding 2003). In Scotland, the largest henges are about 100 m in diameter, although most are smaller, about 30 m in diameter (Barclay 2005, 84). Recent research by Richard Bradley has also extended the chronology of henge monuments in some regions, dating the construction of some mini-henges in the northeast of Scotland into the mid-second millennium BC (c. 1600–1400 BC) (Bradley 2011). Henges have traditionally been associated with Grooved Ware pottery, a style of Late Neolithic decorated pottery which, like henges, supposedly originated in Orkney around 3000 BC (Harding 2003). Henges have therefore often in the past been characterized as archetypal Late Neolithic monuments – a ‘hallmark of their age’, as Harding and Lee (1987, 66) described them. Henges are usually interpreted as ritual or ceremonial monuments.

When excavated, henges are usually found to be multi-phase monuments. Although the term ‘henge’ describes the bank and ditch, henge sites are often associated with a range of other features, including timber or stone settings, and burials. In the past, this has led to attempts to classify henges on the basis of morphology and internal features (e.g. Burl 1969; Catherall 1971; Wainwright 1969; Clare 1986, 1987). The interest in understanding the architecture of henges has been such that at times, other aspects such as the use and purposes of henges, or their relation to the landscape, have been overlooked, as Aaron Watson (2004) has argued. The interest in defining and classifying henges – and other monuments – has also perhaps meant that we overlook the extent to which such monuments have been reused and reworked over time. The henge earthworks are often only one phase in the use of a site, and not necessarily the first or last monument to be constructed in a particular location (Barclay 2005, 92–3; Thomas 2001, 132–3). The other

monuments and features found at henge sites are often found to pre- or post-date the henge earthworks, sometimes by hundreds of years. Pre-henge activity is often characterized by deposition (e.g. of pottery), pit-digging, burial, or the construction of timber circles. Where timber circles are found in association with henges for example, the timber monument is always found to pre-date the henge earthworks (Gibson 2005). Post-henge activity often involves burial, sometimes in large cists, or cairns. Similar trajectories of use have been demonstrated at several excavated henge sites, such as North Mains in Perth and Kinross (Barclay 1983), and Cairnpapple, West Lothian (Piggott 1948; Barclay 1999). Some 27 henge sites have been excavated in Scotland, and all of these have been found to be multi-phase sites, where the henge earthworks were neither the first nor last element to be constructed on site. Henge sites were often used (perhaps sporadically) over millennia.

Given the multi-phase nature of henge sites as places which are reused, henges are interesting sites for considering memory. They were sites which were returned to repeatedly over many generations, but were not preserved unchanged. Most henge sites were significantly remodelled at some point in their 'life', and change and innovation were evidently important at henges, as well as memory and tradition. Henge sites were places where the project of monumentality was reimagined in new ways at different times. Change was played out over centuries and while the same site was returned to repeatedly over generations, these were also places where innovation was the norm. So while henges may have been 'memorial' in that they did refer to the past, they were not places where the past was memorialized in unchanging, static form (Younger 2016).

Can this understanding of henges as places which changed over time be reconciled with our concept of monuments as memorials? Henge sites were different things at different times. This is somewhat at odds with a traditional understanding of monuments being permanent, unchanging memorials. It is this relationship between memory and change, and what insights it might lend us into memory in the past, which will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

Commemoration

The use of monuments such as henges over generations may be more than simply a memorial to the past, but this does not mean that memory was unimportant at these places. Our contemporary concepts of memory as an abstract quality of monuments which endure unchanged in the landscape might be faulty when

applied to the past, and indeed do little to explain why monuments would be used again and rebuilt long after their initial construction. (Re)using such places, redolent of the past, was, however, clearly important to people in the past, even if they were not used in accordance with our contemporary ideas of memorialization. Perhaps such practices can be better understood as commemorative rather than memorial.

The use of the term 'commemoration' is not intended simply as an alternative word for memory, but rather refers to a distinct practice, and to a specific kind of remembering. While archaeologists may tend to think about memory in abstract, a focus on commemoration may allow greater consideration of past human experiences of remembering, and of the role played by monument construction (and not only finished monuments) in the active interpretation and negotiation of memory. The definition of commemoration adopted in this chapter is based on philosopher Edward Casey's (1987) phenomenological account of remembering. The significant aspects of the practice of commemoration as described by Casey include that it is communal, relying on collective engagement with the past (Casey 1987, 235–6). Commemoration can therefore be a way of remembering events in the distant past, rather than memories based on personal experience (Casey 1987, 216–18). Commemoration might also be ritualized, and might be tied to a particular place (Casey 1987, 218–19, 221, 245–6). These features of commemoration make it relevant for thinking about the use of monuments such as henges – 'ritual' monuments, probably built and used by large groups of people, and used over a long time period, beyond the span of an individual's memory.

Commemoration is also useful for thinking about the memorial aspect of monuments because Casey argues that by referring to the past, in a particular location, commemoration makes the past 'present' in a certain place (Casey 1987, 218–19). Commemoration does not only refer to the past however, but also to the future, being a way of actively preserving and 'passing on' the past to future generations (Casey 1987, 256). While commemoration might revolve around a particular place or monument, the monument itself is not the agent of memory. Rather, the key aspect of commemoration as a way of referring to the past, 'presencing' the past and passing it on, is that it is enacted by people. Commemoration also allows for the active (re)negotiation of the past; it is not the existence of finished monuments, but the *construction* and *use* of monuments, which are important in making them places of memory.

It is particularly this emphasis on the construction and use of monuments which is helpful in understanding henges as commemorative places. The repeated

construction of monuments in the same location – a location which had a long history of use and of monument construction, as is the case at most henge sites – would require people to engage with their past. In building monuments which by their location refer to the past, but would endure into the future, henge sites might have been places where the past could be actively reinterpreted. People's understanding of, and relationship to, the past could be renegotiated by building a new monument on the site of an existing structure. By doing so, they make a statement in the present, but also for the future. Henge sites, as places of commemoration, may therefore have been places where time and 'history' could be reinterpreted in ways which were not necessarily possible in everyday life.

In bringing together references to the past, present and future in one location, henge sites may even have been places where time could be considered to 'flow' in a different way. This is an idea which will be explored further below. A traditional concept of memory would not necessarily help to explain the significance of why henge sites were repeatedly changed and reused. If it is understood as a process of commemoration however, then it is possible to reinterpret this tradition of rebuilding monuments on the same site as an effort to actively engage with, and renegotiate, the past. The rest of this chapter will discuss how this commemorative process might have played out at one particular site, Forteviot in Perth and Kinross.

Forteviot

Forteviot is the site of a remarkable complex of monuments, revealed as crop marks during aerial survey in the 1970s (St Joseph 1976, 1978). The crop marks represent a group of ritual monuments dating from the Late Neolithic to the early medieval period, roughly the third millennium BC to the first millennium AD (Fig. 11.1). The main group of monuments is situated on a terrace above a tributary of the River Earn, to the south of the modern village of Forteviot. The Gask Ridge lies to the north of the site, and the terrace is overlooked by the Ochill Hills to the south. This chapter will focus on the prehistoric monument complex.

The prehistoric monument complex at Forteviot comprises an enormous palisaded enclosure. This large timber enclosure has been radiocarbon dated to 2926–2467 cal. BC (95 per cent confidence) (Noble & Brophy 2011, 793), and encloses an area of about 6 hectares (Gibson 2002, 18). The palisaded enclosure surrounds several other monuments, not all of which are contemporary. These include a henge; a small 'hengiform' monument; and timber circles. The palisaded enclosure had a narrow entrance avenue, and

was made of timber posts, probably oak (Noble & Brophy 2011, 791–3). Outside the timber enclosure were more monuments, including another two henges, and a circular enclosure with a double palisade, with an internal triple cist burial (Fig. 11.1) (Noble & Brophy 2011). The Strathearn Environs and Royal Forteviot project (SERF), led by Glasgow and Aberdeen universities and largely funded by Historic Scotland, carried out excavations at Forteviot from 2006–10. The discussion in this chapter focuses on Henge 1 (Fig. 11.2), inside the palisaded enclosure, which was excavated over two seasons in 2008–9. Like other henges excavated in Scotland, Henge 1 at Forteviot had a long and complex 'life history', and although the same site was repeatedly returned to, it was used in innovative ways, and changed greatly over the time it was used.

Amongst the earliest activity on the site of Forteviot Henge 1 was a Late Neolithic cremation cemetery, dating to 3090–2638 cal. BC (95 per cent confidence) (Noble & Brophy 2011, 790). 9 cremation deposits were discovered (some representing more than one individual), within the area which would later be enclosed by the henge earthworks (Noble & Brophy 2011, 790). The cremation cemetery may have been marked by a standing stone or stone setting, although this was later destroyed (Noble & Brophy 2011, 790). The site of the cremation cemetery was transformed, possibly soon after the cemetery went out of use, and the emphasis of the site changed from deposition to enclosure. The first element of this was the huge palisaded enclosure. The posts of the enclosure may have been as tall as 6 m above the ground (Noble & Brophy 2011, 793). Constructed during the same period as the palisaded enclosure, a smaller timber circle was built inside it, enclosing the immediate area around the cremation cemetery. Although smaller than the palisade, the timber circle was still a substantial construction, also made of large oak posts, forming a circle roughly 45 m in diameter (Noble & Brophy 2011, 795).

After the construction of the timber enclosures, the cremation cemetery was enclosed by a henge. The ditch of the henge was built inside, and concentric to, the timber circle, while the outer bank may have incorporated the earlier timbers. The lowest fills of the henge ditch have been radiocarbon dated to 2468–1938 cal. BC (95 per cent confidence) (Noble & Brophy 2011, 795), giving an approximate date for the construction of the henge earthworks. Although these earthworks were substantial – the ditch was as much as 10 m wide in places – the area enclosed was relatively small, approximately 22 m in diameter, with only one entrance (Brophy & Noble 2012, 26). Around 2199–1977 cal. BC, the way in which the site was used changed again. A stone cist with a dagger burial was



Figure 11.1. Transcription of cropmarks of prehistoric monument complex at Forteviot. SERF project.

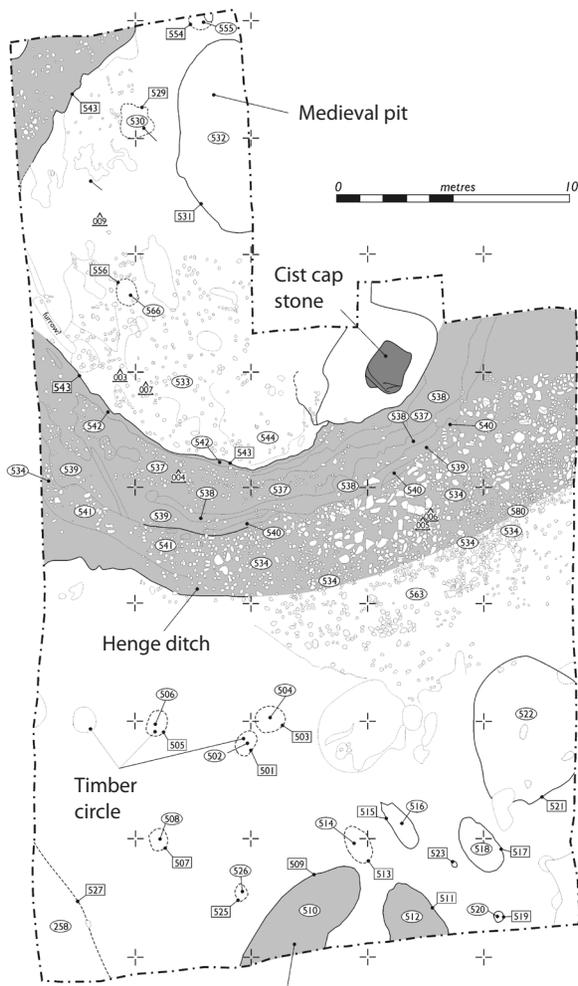


Figure 11.2. Plan of Forteviot Henge 1. SERF project.

constructed in the southeast of Henge 1, overlying the henge ditch. By the time the cist was built, the henge ditch had partially silted up. Gordon Noble and Kenneth Brophy have suggested that the cist was probably sealed under a cairn, as the stony upper fill of the henge ditch may represent cairn material, perhaps ruined at a later date (Noble & Brophy 2011, 798). Henge 1 continued to be reworked during later prehistory and the early medieval period, during which time parts of the earthwork may have been levelled. The site may have been used for metal- and glass-working, before a large pit was dug in the centre during the early medieval period (Brophy & Noble 2012, 26).

Heterotopias and imagined landscapes

Henge 1 at Forteviot, like other henges, was far from being a 'permanent', unchanging monument. It was a place which underwent a long process of change from the third millennium BC onwards – a process

which spanned a millennium or more. It was a place where the 'project' of monumentality (Bradley 1993, 1998b) was reimagined, and played out in different ways at different times. A diversity of activities and architectures manifested in this one location suggest that the tension of continuity and change, of tradition and innovation, and of permanence and transience, were significant aspects of the ways the site was used and understood throughout prehistory.

Change was visibly important at Forteviot over centuries. Forteviot was transformed from an open cemetery site, to a place enclosed by a succession of massive timber and earth structures. Movement and visibility were reduced, or rather increasingly controlled, over time. Brophy and Noble have suggested that parts of the Forteviot complex may have been blocked or mounded over at some times, sealing off parts of the site, and making access in and out of these parts of the site difficult (Brophy & Noble 2012, 32). References to the past were thus made physically manifest in the way each successive monument used the space occupied by its predecessors, but were not necessarily easily accessible; and each new kind of monument also changed and transformed the site. Perhaps it was this transience and innovation which made the site commemorative; it would be as much in the construction of a monument, as in visiting a complete monument, that people might engage with their past. It was therefore the act of *transforming* a place, rather than lithifying memory in a physical monumental form, which is commemorative. Transforming the site would have involved engaging with the past, renegotiating it, and making links between the present place and the past; a new generation reimagining their past by building a new monument.

The reasons for, and outcomes of, this commemoration might also have changed over time. At Forteviot, as at other henge sites, the enclosure of space becomes an increasingly prominent aspect of how these sites are defined over time. Henges have a distinctive architecture with an external bank and internal ditch. Warner (2000) has suggested that Iron Age hengiform monuments in Ireland, which share this arrangement, may have been intended to contain, and defend against, places which were considered magical, dangerous or 'otherworldly'. Gordon Barclay (2005, 89ff.) has suggested that henges might therefore also have been intended to contain a threat. Similarly, this has led Alex Gibson to put forward the idea that henges might have functioned as 'ghost traps', and that, by enclosing sites of earlier activity, henges were intended not only to enclose, but also to *contain* (Gibson 2008).

Whether henge earthworks could have kept such dangerous forces at bay or not, they would have

served as an unambiguous demarcation of the space inside. In this sense, the aspect of commemoration or memory is also important. As Julian Thomas (2010, 11) writes, 'The digging of henge ditches did not so much erase their contents as establish a distance between them and the lived landscape'. Commemorating these places by building new monuments was therefore a way to remember, and to control and contain, a powerful place. This might not have been so much a desire to establish a physical distance, rather henges might have been intended to separate things from the present-day: to create a temporal distance between the lived-in world, and the things enclosed by the henge. As places which built on and referred to the past, which reused already 'ancient' sites, these monuments were places which referred to timescales other than those of the day-to-day rhythms and routines of life. They keyed into timescales beyond the quotidian and even seasonal, to recall the activities of other generations and even of times beyond individual memory. Henges were places where *other* time(scales) were referred to: 'temporal heterotopias'. Just as Michel Foucault describes heterotopias as places which are liminal and removed from the everyday world (Foucault 1986), so henge sites might have been places which were *temporally* liminal, outside the normal flow of time. This could be understood as an outcome of their use as commemorative places, since commemoration, in making simultaneous reference

to the past, present and future, could have made these very potent places. They were powerful places, and removed from the everyday, because time and the past could be revisited and transformed. The desire to enclose and separate these sites may have been a way of controlling this power of reinterpreting the past, and of adding an aspect of mystery to it. Controlling access transforms henge sites into 'imagined landscapes' (Fig. 11.3). This is a phrase used by Laura McAtackney (2007) to describe Long Kesh/Maze prison in Northern Ireland. Although often depicted in murals, and an important part of people's consciousness, relatively few people actually had access to the prison or first-hand experience of it. This 'imagined quality', as McAtackney describes it, was an important part of the experience and perception of the prison (McAtackney 2007, 44–5). Perhaps the long-term use of a site for enclosure (by timber circles and by henges) was a way of transforming a site into an 'imagined landscape': a place where the past was contained, only to be controlled and accessed by certain people. The monument itself was highly visible and prominent in people's consciousness; the 'imagined' interior, not personally experienced or understood, kept out of sight (but certainly not out of mind) for the uninitiated.

Conclusion

At Forteviot, and perhaps also at other henges and other monuments, commemoration involved revisiting the past and engaging with ancient places; but it also involved reimagining these places, controlling and containing them, and building new monuments. Engaging with the past at henge sites was perhaps a more dynamic kind of remembering than we might readily associate with monuments as 'memorials'. Commemorating the past through the project of building monuments was perhaps also a volatile, powerful act. It involved carefully considered strategies, ways by which people marked and drew attention to the traces or sites of earlier events or monuments; or concealed and controlled access to places associated with their past. Monuments might be memorials to the past, but the past is not stable or monolithic; and neither are monuments, as people return to them and rebuild them over centuries.

Perhaps the significance of monuments such as henges lies not in the fact that they were timeless memorials to the past; but rather in their use as places of commemoration; places where deliberate effort was made not to conserve the past, but to recreate it and remember it in different ways. Such monuments were places where this reinterpretation, and

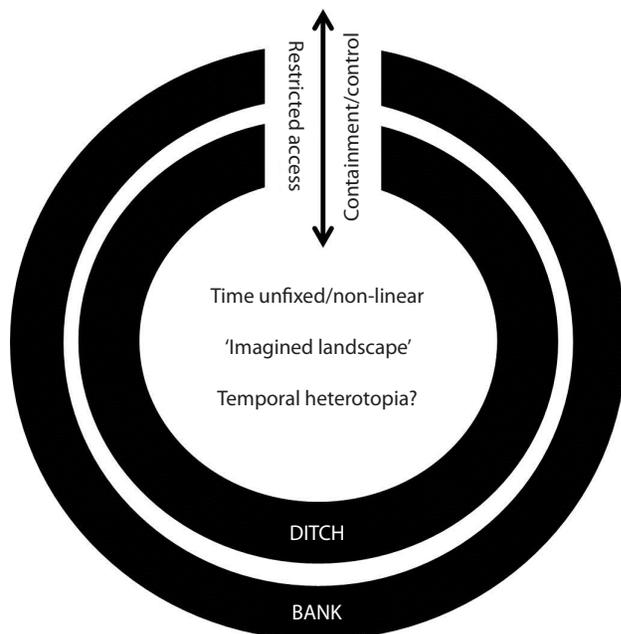


Figure 11.3. Schematic diagram showing henge monuments as temporal heterotopias.

the transformative renegotiation of memory, was contained and controlled. Memory, however, is not only rooted in place and architecture, but in lived experience, mediated through the body and the senses. Rebuilding monuments would be an important way of creating memories because the construction process would itself be memorable. Lesley McFadyen (2006) has vividly described how some Neolithic building practices would be very visceral, creating relationships both between people, and between people and materials. McFadyen (2006, 132) suggests that these relationships were memorable, and a means by which people 'actively chang[ed] their worlds'. The commemorative process of monument construction makes henges landscapes of imagination, but also landscapes of the reimagination of the past. Commemoration can be seen as a creative strategy by which certain people

or versions of events are remembered, while others are forgotten; the creation of monuments is one facet of this, and a means by which we can consider the mutability and contingency of interpretations of the past, in Neolithic Scotland and beyond.

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Gardening time

Gardening may seem worlds away from *Nuraghi* and brochs, but tending a garden is a long process involving patience, accretion and memory. Scholars argue that memories are also cultured, developed and regained. The monuments in Scotland and Sardinia are testament to the importance of memory and its role in maintaining social relations.

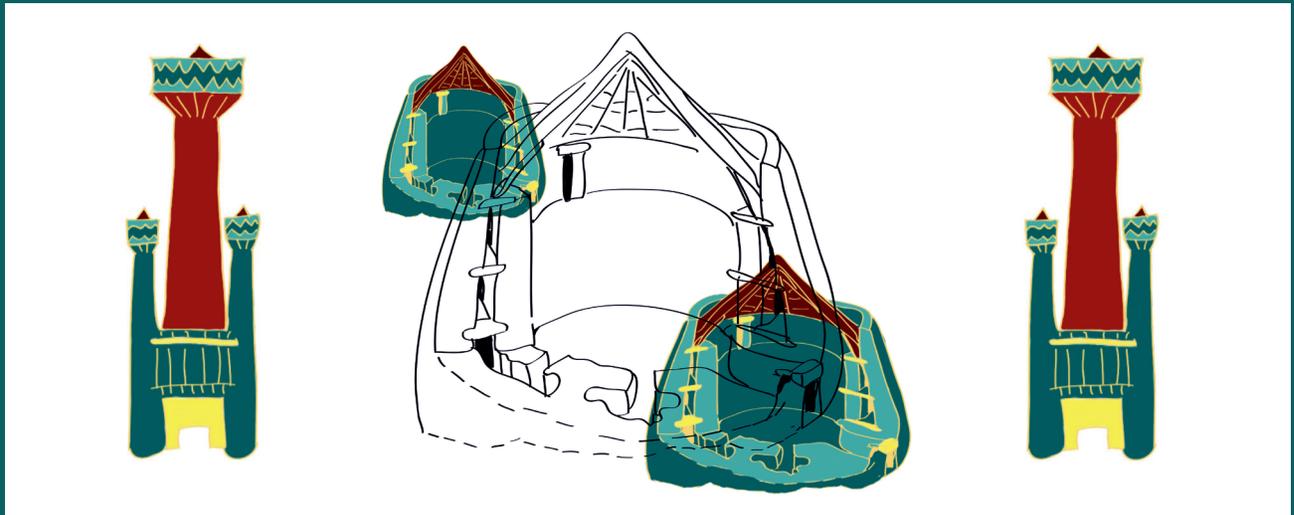
This collection of twenty-one papers addresses the theme of memory anchored to the enduring presence of monuments, mainly from Scotland and Sardinia, but also from Central Europe and the Balkans.

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