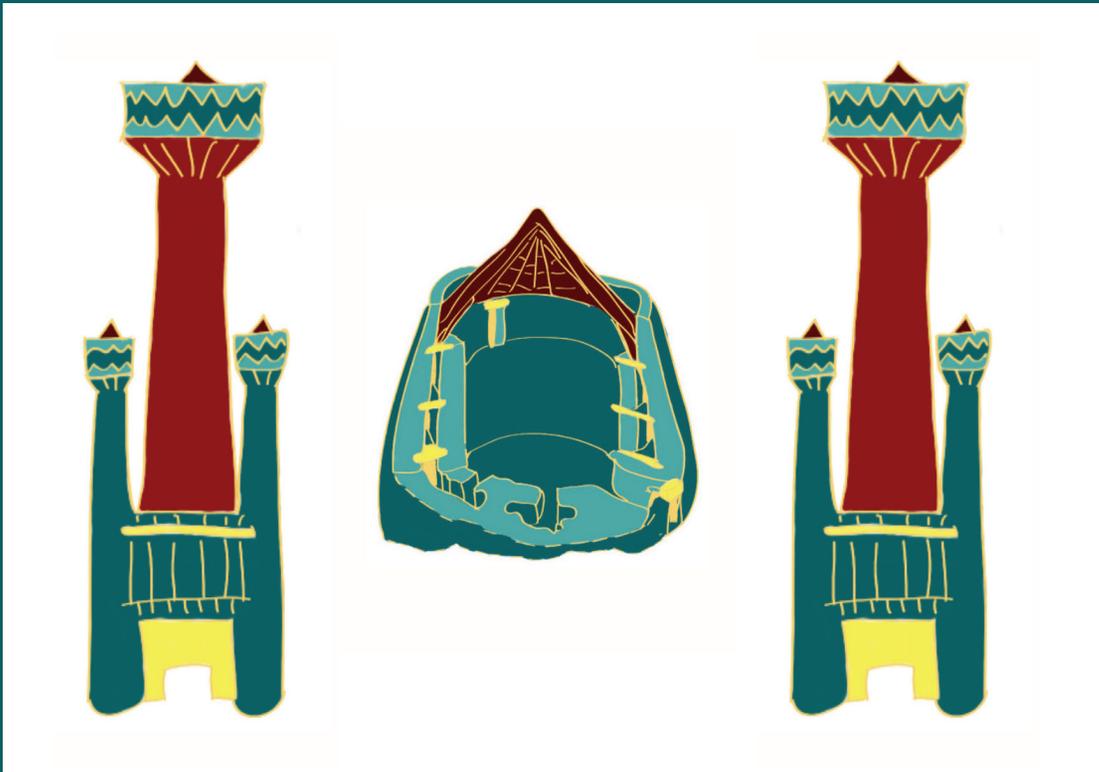




Gardening time

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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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

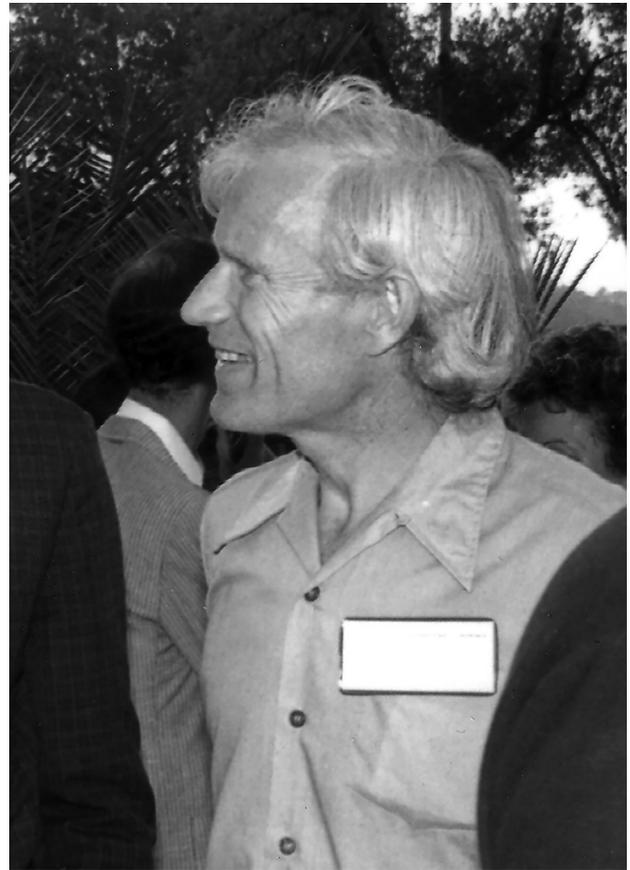


Figure 0.1. *David Trump.*

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 15

Memory and movement in the Bronze Age and Iron Age landscape of central and southeastern Slovenia

Philip Mason

The late second and first millennium BC in central and southeastern Slovenia saw the formation of dynamic landscapes, in which place, memory of place and movement were combined. This chapter seeks to explore the ways in which these were expressed in the Late Bronze Age and how this expression changed in the Early Iron Age.

The area under discussion is dominated by three major rivers, the Sava and its tributary the Krka that flow east-west and served as major arteries of communication, linking the Po plain with the Danubian region and the Balkans in prehistory, the Roman period and later, and the Kolpa which flows southwest-northeast into the Sava at Sisak, forming an artery of communication with the Gulf of Kvarner via the Mala and Velika Kapela uplands. The region is deeply divided by karstic interfluvies with incised river and stream valleys of varying extent. Much of the lowland is characterized by covered karst and karst plateaux, although there are some more extensive areas of lowland river valleys, such as the Krško polje and the Šentjernejsko polje with extensive Pleistocene and Holocene sediments and glacial outwash gravel deposits (Mason 1996a, 1–8; 1999, 143–55; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 44–65).

Memory and movement in the Late Bronze Age

The Late Bronze Age landscape was initially characterized by large extensive open settlements in the river valleys, which were typical of the Br D (Bronze Age D) and Ha A (Hallstatt A) periods, but were still occupied in the Ha B period, that is from 1250 BC to 800 BC (Teržan 1999, 102–4, 107). However the small defended upland settlements that are typical of the Ha B period were also present at least in the Br D (Teržan 1999, 102–4, 107).

The Late Bronze Age lowland settlement complexes were extensive in nature and were located on river terraces beside tributary streams of the major

river. As such they were close to major lines of communication, which were utilized in inter and intra regional exchange. The settlements were large, but extensive, although excavation has been limited on most sites in the area under discussion, e.g. to a total of 70,000 sq. m at Obrežje at the confluence of the Breganščica with the Sava (Mason 2006b, 131–2; 2009b, 12) and to a total of 20,004 sq. m at Velike njive on a tributary of the Sava in the Krško polje (Mason 2006c, 230–1; 2009b, 12, 14–15). The full extent of these settlement complexes has not been fully defined, but they are known to have extended well outside the excavated area. They are similar to contemporary settlements in adjacent areas of Slovenia, such as Rogoza, Pobrežje and Slivnica 2 in the Drava valley and Dragomelj in the Ljubljana basin, which have excavated areas ranging between 5,000 and 30,000 sq. m (Črešnar 2010, 7, 57–71; Djurić 2003b, 273; Strmčnik Gulič 1999, 117, 122; 2005a, 53–4; 2005b, 213–14; 2005c, 240–1; Strmčnik Gulič & Kajzer Cafnik 2007, 133–5; Turk 2000, 110; 2005b, 130–2; Mason 2009b, 12, 14–15). The true extent of such settlements can only be understood by examining field survey data. Thus, surface survey at Dragomelj revealed settlement activity over an area of at least 40,000 sq. m, whilst intensive surface collection at Griblje in the Kolpa valley suggests that the core of the Late Bronze Age activity covers an area of approximately 80,000 sq. m, but evidence of activity extends over an area of approximately 40 ha along the edge of the river terrace and the hinterland behind it (Mason 2001, 24; Mason *et al.* 2006c, 54–5; Mason *et al.* 2006, 55–6; Turk 2005b, 131).

The internal structure of these settlements was characterized by post-framed residential structures loosely grouped in farmsteads and separated from each other by borrow and storage pits (Črešnar 2010, 70–1). However, paths were important elements within settlements, not only forming arteries of movement but also boundaries. Thus at Velike njive, a path formed a

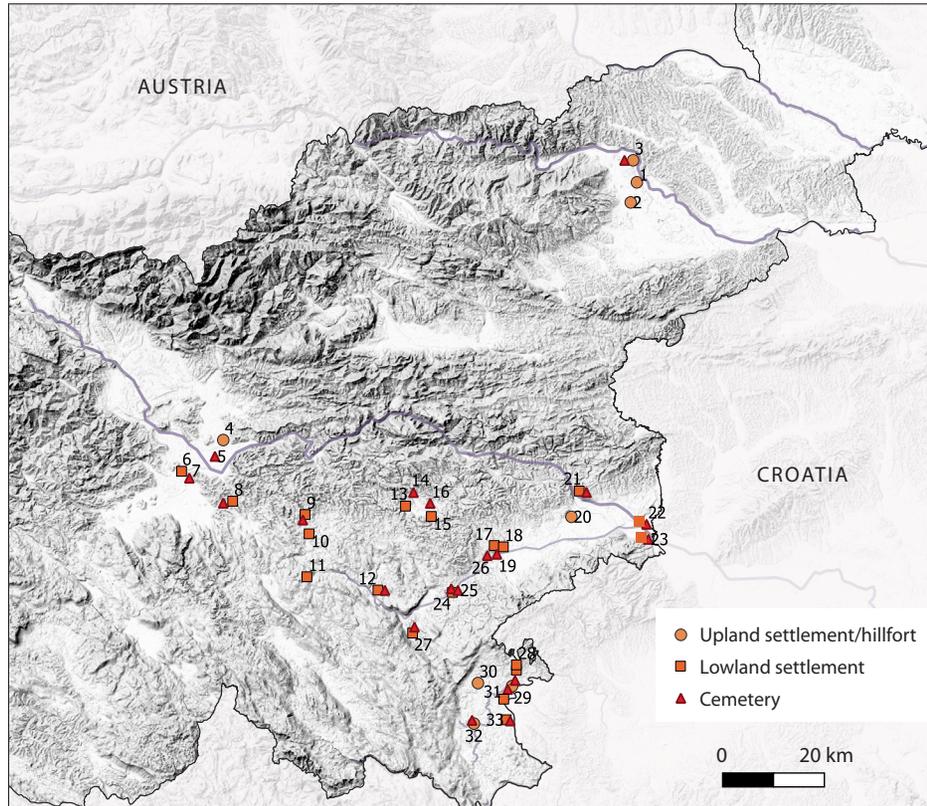


Figure 15.1. The Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age settlements and cemeteries in central Slovenia, mentioned in the text (After Dular 1993, 103, figure 1, with additions from Dular et al. 1995, 90, figure 1; Dular et al. 2000, 120, figure 1; Dular et al. 2003, 160, figure 1; Dular and Tecco Hvala 2007; drawing by Dimitrij Mlekuž Vrhovnik). 1. Rogoza. 2. Slivnica. 3. Pobrežje. 4. Dragomelj. 5. Podgorica. 6. Ljubljana – Grad. 7. Ljubljana – SAZU. 8. Molnik. 9. Gradišče nad Mekinjami. 10. Stična. 11. Korinjski Hrib. 12. Vinkov vrh. 13. Žempoh. 14. Ostrožnik. 15. Križni vrh. 16. Slepšek. 17. Vinji vrh. 18. Vihra. 19. Dolge njive. 20. Velike njive. 21. Libna. 22. Dobova. 23. Obrežje. 24. Novo mesto. 25. Mačkovec. 26. Otočec. 27. Cvinger pri Dolenjskih Toplicah. 28. Metlika. 29. Križevska vas. 30. Semenič. 31. Kučar. 32. Črnomelj. 33. Griblje.

boundary between the settlement zone and an area of storage, which in itself was separated from a watercourse by an extensive cobbled area on the river bank (Mason 2006c, 230–1; 2009b, 12–14, 17–18).

The lowland settlements exhibited further links with marshy zones and watercourses, which are best known for the deposition of metalwork. This is particularly true of the Ljubljanica on the western edge of the area under discussion, but some cases of metalwork deposition are also known in the Sava, such as those from Krško and Drnovo, close to Velike njive (Dular 1974, 14, 19) and the axes from the Kolpa at Metlika (Dular 1985, 90–1). However, the deposition of midden material in palaeo-channels is known at Križevska vas and at Obrežje, whilst at Rogoza it is additionally associated with the deposition of metalwork. The paths at Velike njive were also connected with midden deposits, linking paths and to watercourses and marshy

areas and possibly to movement – all of which have a liminal or transitional meaning (Mason 2009a, 221–3)

Formal burial areas were rare in the Ha A, but these were also linked in some cases with marshy zones or watercourses, a practice which continued and expanded in the Ha B (Mason 2009a, 228). The Late Bronze Age cemetery at Griblje was located close to a marshy hollow or pool on the Pleistocene terrace of the Kolpa (Dular 1985, 74). The complex of Late Bronze Age cemeteries at Dobova was located on a series of low terraces cut by the marshy valleys of tributary streams on the northern side of the Sava valley (Stare 1975, 13–14; Teržan 1999, 111). These are associated with a contemporary settlement, close to the primary school in the centre of the modern settlement of Dobova (Plestenjak 2016, 46–7). The Late Middle and Late Bronze Age biritual cremation cemetery at Obrežje was associated with an extensive Late Middle and Late Bronze Age

settlement on the Pleistocene terrace of the river Sava and the Early Holocene terrace of the river Bregana. It comprised 375 cremation graves and 6 inhumation graves, which were located on Pleistocene gravel point bars on the slope and within the marshy valley of the Struga stream, a now defunct tributary of the river Sava (Mason 2006b, 131–2). The slopes running down into the marshy areas between the point bars were characterized by discrete spreads of pottery fragments, which were dominated by jar fragments. These deposits were probably connected with feasting as part of the mortuary ritual (Mason 2006b, 131–2; 2009b, 17–18).

The upland settlements appeared in the Ha B period and were generally on prominent isolated hills and on heights on the edges of the upland interfluvies. Thus they occupied sites similar to those used for the deposition of large hoards and single finds of metalwork in the preceding period, although the presence of earlier single finds on such settlements are only known in a few cases, e.g. Veliki Korinj, Črnomelj and Semenič (Dular 1985, 58; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 278; Dular *et al.* 2002, 176, 177). These sites were much smaller than the lowland settlements of the preceding period, but there is little information on their internal layout, beyond the presence of post-framed houses on terraces. There is no evidence for substantial defences,

with the exception of a timber framed rampart at Cvinger near Dolenjske Toplice (Dular & Križ 2004, 215–24, 230–2). However it is these sites, which in some cases developed into the later hillforts of the Early Iron Age, whilst the large undefended settlements were abandoned by the end of the Late Bronze Age and in many cases at the beginning of the Ha B period.

Prominent heights and hill slopes below them were also favoured as cemetery locations (Mason 2008, 97). In some cases this mirrored the locations of upland settlements as at Metlika, where the Borštek cemetery was located on a low hill, close, but subordinate to the Late Bronze Age settlement in the medieval town centre (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 186). Other cemeteries were now located on the approaches to some settlements, as is the case at Črnomelj (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 189–90; Mason 2007, 364), Mokronog (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 141, 142, 174–5) or in Novo mesto (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 177–9; Križ 1995, 8–12; 1997, 21–9) (Fig. 15.2). The location of these Late Bronze Age flat cemeteries may conceivably have marked the beginnings of more formalized prescribed lines of movement towards settlements, heralding the changes of the Early Iron Age.

The large flat cremation cemeteries close to watercourses and in marshy zones continued in use and increased in size, whilst new sites appeared, including

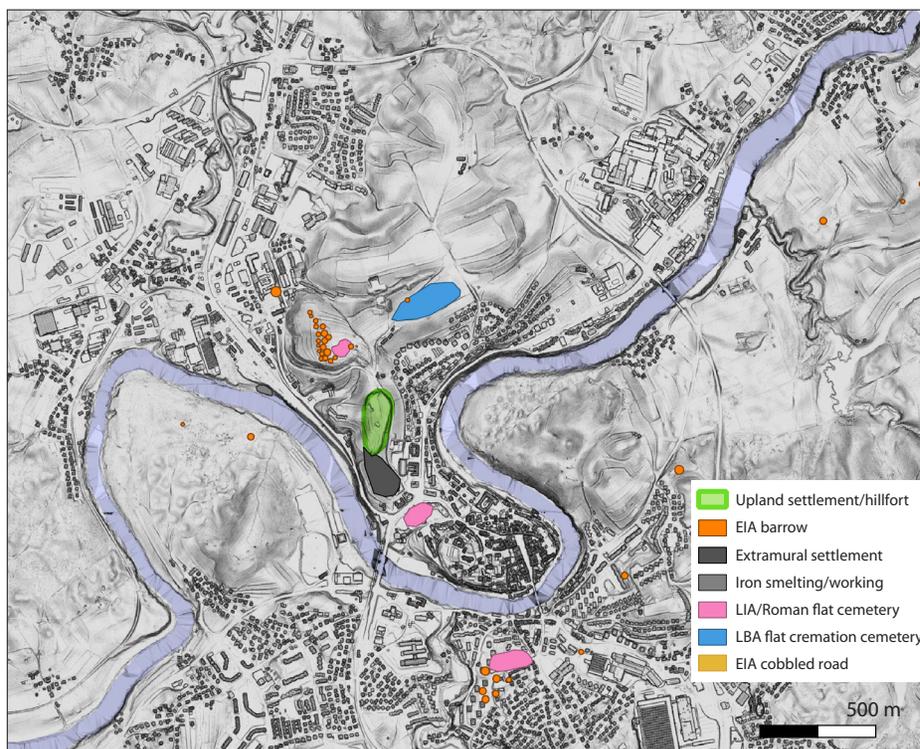


Figure 15.2. The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age centre at Novo mesto (Source: Agencija za okolje RS; adapted from Križ 1997, 21; 2012, 64; drawing by Dimitrij Mlekuž Vrhovnik).

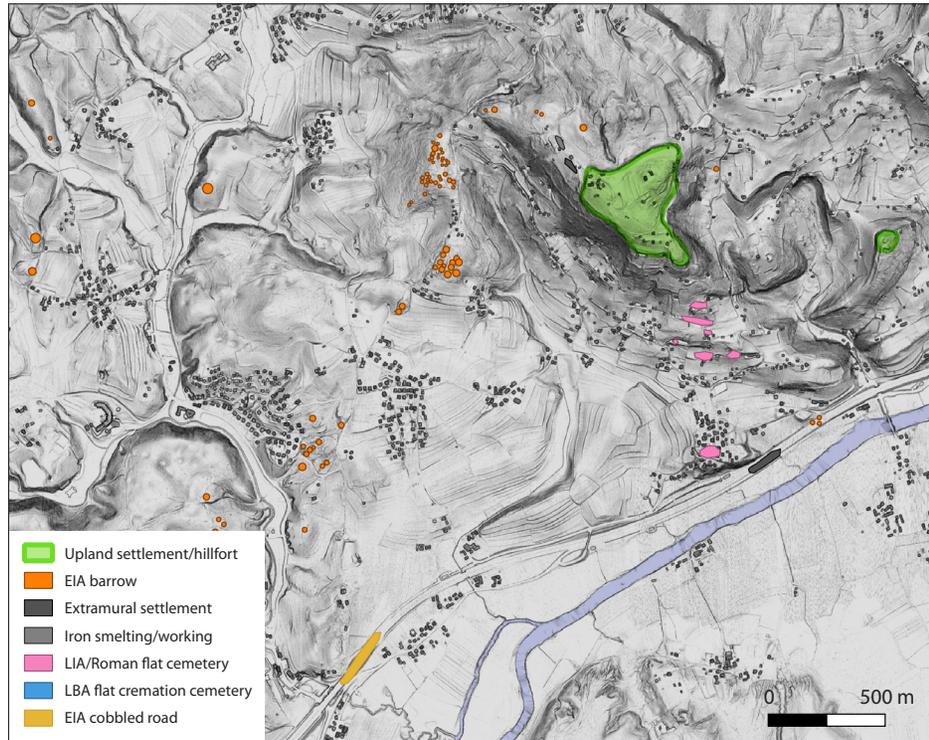


Figure 15.3. *The Iron Age centre at Vinji vrh (Source: Agencija za okolje RS Adapted from Dular, A. 1991, fig. 3; with addition of recent data; drawing by Dimitrij Mlekuž Vrhočnik).*

the large Ha B Ljubljana cemetery, located a low gravel terrace close to the Ljubljana, connected with both settlement on the Castle Hill and on the upper terrace to the south of the river (Mason 1996a, 55; Puš 1971; Puš 1982; Stare 1954).

There is also evidence for the connection between lowland settlements with mortuary areas being marked by formal paths, e.g. at Pobrežje in the Drava valley was connected with a large cremation cemetery by a cobbled path. The use of paths in the landscape in conjunction with mortuary practice and memory in marginal wet areas can be particularly well illustrated by the Late Bronze Age phase at Dolge njive (Mason 2005, 123–5; 2006a, 8–9) (Fig. 15.3). The site was located beside a palaeo-channel on the edge of the first terrace of the river Krka floodplain and was subject to seasonally flooding in the Late Bronze Age. It produced evidence of three stone platforms connected by a cobbled path or hollow way, the margins of which were further defined by boulders. Charcoal and burnt human bone were associated with the path and two of the platforms, which were subject to repeated resurfacing. These structures are interpreted as a mortuary complex, possibly linked to an as yet undiscovered cremation cemetery, or to deposition of mortuary remains in the river. The nearest known Late

Bronze Age settlements in the area are those at upland settlement at Vihra and the putative settlement in the northwestern part of the Vinji vrh hillfort (Dular *et al.* 2000, 122–4, 134–9; Mason & Merc 2010, 257–8), and the paths on the site indicate connections with either or both of these settlements. A similar group of three stone mortuary platforms associated with Early Iron Age cremation graves, was on the edge of a palaeo-channel also found at Podgorica, 360 m south of the lowland settlement at Dragomelj (Novšak 2005, 223–5).

Memory and movement in the Early Iron Age landscape

The development of hillforts and the rise of visible elite burial in the Early Iron Age, that is from the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth century BC onwards, led to an increasingly visible formalization of the lines of approach to hillfort centres and of movement through the landscape (Mason 1996b, 274–82; 2008, 102–4; 2012; 2013, 271–6). Many Late Bronze Age upland settlements were abandoned or did not become hillforts, but equally many hillforts and settlements were demonstrably based on Late Bronze Age settlements (Mason 2008, 97). There is evidence of earlier occupation at Cvinger (Dular & Križ 2004, 211),

Novo mesto (Križ 1997, 21–9), Vrhtrebnje (Dular *et al.* 1991, 69–76), Črnomelj (Mason 2007, 363, 364), Metlika (Breščak 1992, 255–6; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 186, 347), Stična (Gabrovec 1994, 34) and Vinji vrh (Križ pers. comm.; Mason & Merc 2010, 258). However the extent and nature of this occupation is uncertain, given the larger area of Early Iron Age hillforts and the limited extent of excavation. Where evidence from the limited excavation in the interiors/edges is lacking, there is often evidence of Late Bronze Age ritual/mortuary activity in the immediate vicinity as at Kučar (Dular *et al.* 1995, 9; Mason *et al.* 2006a, 118; Mason *et al.* 2006b, 148–9) (Fig. 15.4). However it is unclear if this site should be considered as a ‘new’ Early Iron Age foundation, appropriating a Late Bronze Age ‘upland’ ritual site, continuous occupation from an earlier period or the reoccupation of a Late Bronze Age settlement.

The enclosure of hillfort settlements with drystone ramparts created highly visible places that were centres of reference or nodal points in the landscape. The elites and putative descent groups that were connected with the hillfort centres were interred in earthen barrows that clustered around the hillfort (Mason 1996a, 78–83; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 237–8, 247–50). The barrows in themselves might reflect the bounded nature of the

hillfort or the putative descent group that they represented through the placement of a stone kerb around the edge of the barrow. The placement of the barrows increasingly defined and formalized the approaches to these hillforts (Mason 2008, 99–104).

The appropriation and reinterpretation of a Late Bronze Age mortuary area is even more apparent in Novo mesto, where the Late Bronze Age flat cemetery on Kapiteljska njiva was chosen as the site for a large Early Iron Age barrow cemetery (Fig. 15.2). This would not seem to be a case of the reuse of an abandoned site, but the development of a Ha B cemetery into an Early Iron Age barrow cemetery. Here we find examples of early barrow forms that were also current in the wider southeastern Alpine region. The barrows extended over the entire Early Iron Age and marked a route towards the northern side of the Marof hillfort. However the earlier barrows at the northern end of the route mirrored to some extent the Late Bronze Age hollow way that ascended from the Krka valley via the northwestern slopes of the hill. A further access point probably ran through the deeply incised valley between the Late Bronze Age flat cremation cemetery, the Early Iron Age barrow cemetery on Kapiteljska njiva and the Late Bronze Age flat cremation cemetery

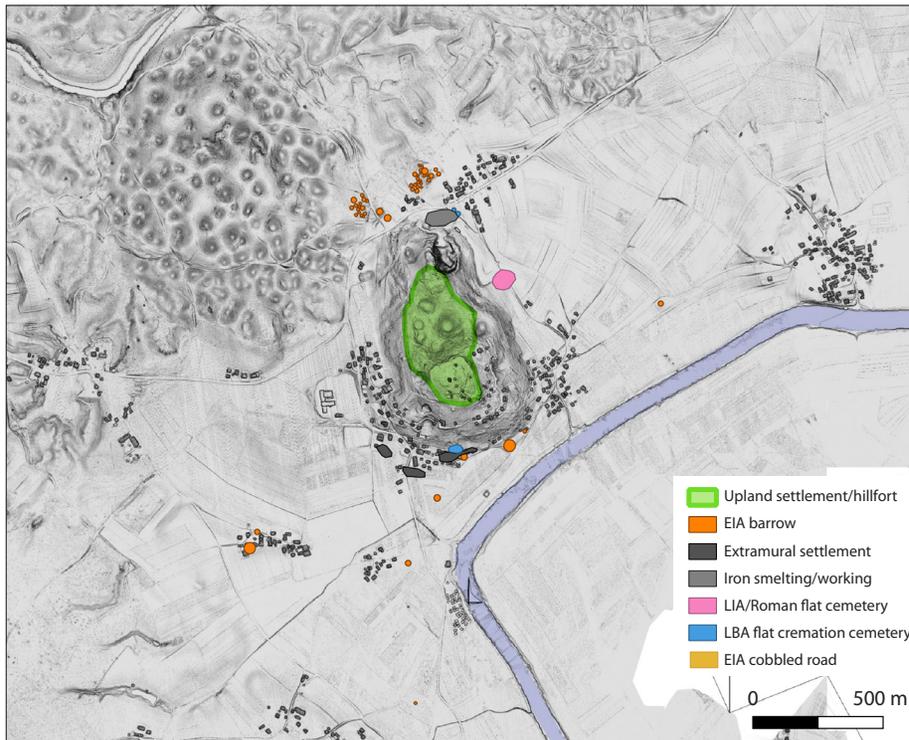


Figure 15.4. The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age centre at Kučar near Podzemelj (Source: Agencija za okolje RS Adapted from Dular, J., Ciglencečki, and Dular, A. 1995, 8, fig. 2; with the addition of recent data; drawing by Dimitrij Mlekuž Vrhovnik).

on Mestne njive (Križ pers. comm.). The importance of this route was emphasized by elaboration of what later became the northern end of the above mentioned barrow cemetery with a stone row or enclosure during the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age interface. The memory of such activity would also help to explain the presence of archaic Late Bronze Age symbols on a bronze vessel from an Early Iron Age inhumation burial in the Malenšek barrow in Novo mesto (Križ 2012, 101). It would suggest that Late Bronze Age symbols still had sufficient meaning for them to be employed in a visible context within the new Early Iron Age elite prestige systems in some parts of the region.

The use of barrows to elaborate and define approaches was present on all Early Iron Age hillfort centres in the region to a greater or lesser extent, whether lining the entire route, defining points along it or defining access points. This is illustrated by the elaboration of routes and approaches to the hillfort centre at Vinji vrh (Fig. 15.3) (Mason & Mlekuž 2016). The barrow cemeteries that lined and defined the main approach to the hillfort were largely eighth and seventh century BC in date; the Vinji vrh hillfort was occupied throughout the Early Iron Age, but the barrow cemeteries around Vinji vrh largely dated to the period between the eighth and sixth centuries BC. The continued maintenance of the rampart on the north-western approach throughout this period and in the late Iron Age suggest that this monumental approach continued to be of importance, without the need for further elaboration on the route itself, although the stone road at Požarnica may represent a later elaboration of this approach (Tica 2005, 233–5). The former Late Bronze Age approach that was marked by paths and stone platforms, was perhaps subordinate to this route, but was emphasized by the placement of three early Iron Age barrows directly on the platforms at Dolge njive and the construction of an Early Iron Age cobbled surface on the bank of the river Krka, a possible river landing (Križ 2005, 97–8; Mason 2005, 123–5). Further elaboration of entrance ways with embanked roadways leading directly into hillforts is only known from Cvinger near Dolenjske Toplice and Vinkov vrh (Dular & Križ 2004, 212–14; Dular *et al.* 1995, 111; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 183–4, 184–6).

A similar situation may be observed at other hillfort centres such as Molnik and Kučar, where barrows lined routes or defined access points in conjunction with earlier Late Bronze Age mortuary activity (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 161, 186–9; Puš 1984, 134–62). The memory of earlier settlements was also enshrined in the landscape and the paths through the landscape beyond the hillfort centre. The large barrows on the southern side of the Kučar hillfort marked points of

access to the hillfort and also lined a river route (Fig. 15.4). However, they are visible from the site of the Late Bronze Age settlement at Griblje, which was itself marked by a single Early Iron Age barrow (Dular 1985, 73; Mason 2001, 24). In some cases isolated barrows on routes through the landscape were also connected with Late Bronze Age settlement and mortuary sites as at Grofove njive, where a barrow was located beside a path, apparently running north towards the Libna hillfort, close to the point where it runs directly past the edge of the Late Bronze Age settlement at Velike njive (Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 294; Pavlovič 2014, 491–504). Outside the study area, a similar situation may be observed at Rogoza, where four Early Iron Age barrows respected the edge of the former site of the Late Bronze Age settlement (Strmčnik Gulič 2001, 125; Črešnar 2010, 69). The isolated barrows and barrow groups in the landscape were not always directly associated with earlier activity as was the case at Otočec (Križ 1989, 213–14; Dular & Tecco Hvala 2007, 323). However, where excavation of a wider area has taken place, it has become clear that such barrows may well be associated with earlier settlement. This was the case at Mačkovec, where the two excavated barrows that overlooked a route into the Krka valley were closely associated earlier Middle/Late Bronze Age settlement, but would have been visible on the skyline from the route way below (Mason 2012, 153–4; Udovč 2009, 5, 6). These isolated barrows marked lines of movement and travel through this landscape, which were demonstrably in use in earlier periods. The placement of barrows beside or on earlier settlement and existing routes served to incorporate them into the ancestral space of a community. Thus these barrows represent the monumentalization of memory either as a symbol of dominance of elites over or the legitimization of elites by association with ancestral places and so with ancestors. The presence of Early Iron Age activity, the material residue of acts of commemoration, and continued burial at these isolated barrows indicated a strategy for their incorporation and with them of routes through the landscape into the communal space/area of control of communities, either locally or at specific hillfort centres.

Conclusion

The memory of these places in the Late Bronze Age landscape was transformed in the Early Iron Age landscape. This marked a change in the role of memory in the landscape from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in the region. Formalized paths continued to mark boundaries and represent lines of movement, but in the Late Bronze Age they marked boundaries within

settlements and between settlements and 'outside', connecting the places of the living with the places of the dead, often in areas that were less visible, liminal, but repeatedly visited. In the Early Iron Age some places, such as settlements, cemeteries and prominent features in the landscape, were incorporated into or embellished with new structures, such as hillforts and barrow cemeteries, which enshrined and reinterpreted their memory and function in the landscape, whilst others were apparently abandoned, later to re-emerge in the Late Iron Age. Movement through this landscape

was enshrined in memory through the marking of paths and the elaboration of approaches to hillforts with funerary monuments, which monumentalized and supplanted the memory of earlier places, thus the line of movement was liminal in itself, where mortuary zones were no longer a destination, but became a zone of transition.

The attention of readers is drawn to coverage of complementary and broadly similar material published in the years since the original conference (Mason 2004, 2013).

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.

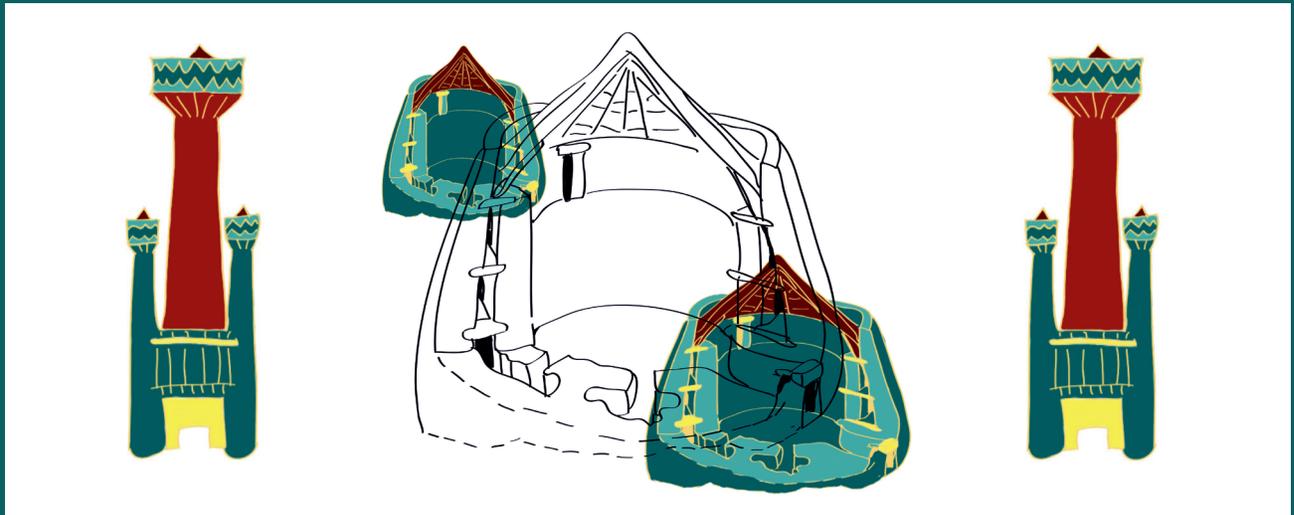
This collection of twenty-one papers addresses the theme of memory anchored to the enduring presence of monuments, mainly from Scotland and Sardinia, but also from Central Europe and the Balkans.

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