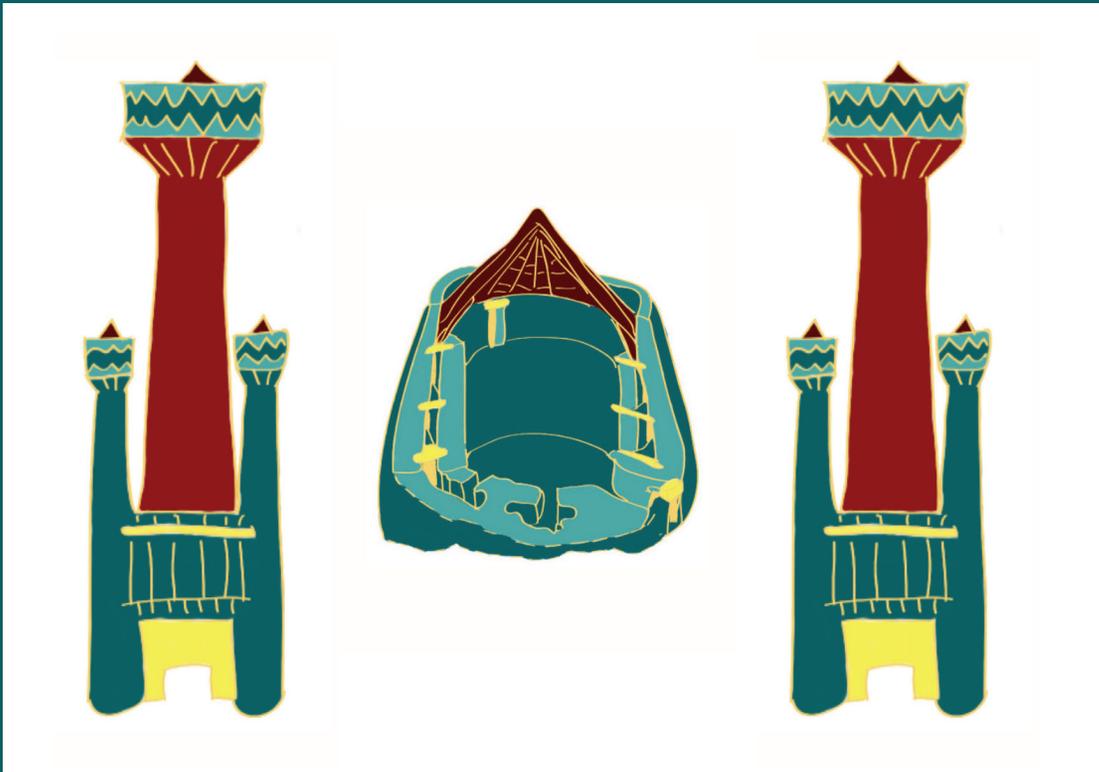




Gardening time

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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with contributions from

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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

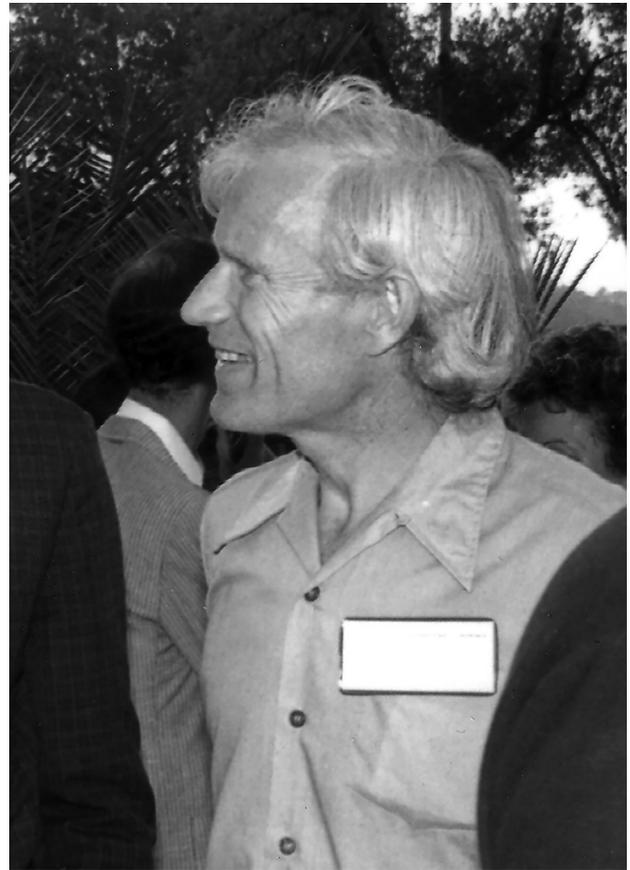


Figure 0.1. *David Trump.*

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 20

morentur in Domino libere et in pace: cultural identity and the remembered past in the medieval Outer Hebrides

John Raven & Mary MacLeod Rivett

The Outer Hebrides are an archipelago of over 100 islands, lying at most 40 km off the western coast of Scotland (Fig. 20.1). Their location on the western coastal sea route, between the Irish Sea, and northern Scotland and Scandinavia, ensured that they were occupied from the Mesolithic onwards (Simpson *et al.* 2006; Gregory *et al.* 2005) and despite a paucity of surviving documentary sources, it is clear that they played an important strategic role in the cultural and political changes of the Late Iron Age through to the Middle Ages which led to the development of the modern country of Scotland.

Two crucial changes, for which we have both archaeological and some documentary evidence, happened in this area at the end of the eighth century and in the third quarter of the thirteenth century AD. The first was the arrival of a new political elite from Scandinavia, at the beginning of the Viking Age in the ninth century AD (Sharples 2005b; Sharples & Parker Pearson 1999), bringing with them new artefacts, architecture, languages and genetic material (Wilson *et al.* 2001, 5078–83). Then, about 450 years later, the islands were transferred from the Crown of Norway to that of Scotland, at the Treaty of Perth in 1266.

Around this time, the Hebrideans were increasingly looking to the Gaelic world for social and cultural references, although they were slow to abandon their links to the wider Scandinavian Diaspora. This chapter considers how the abandonment of brochs in the ninth century and their reuse from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may reflect wider social and cultural changes that were taking place in the Outer Hebrides. In turn, this demonstrates significant changes in attitudes to architecture in the landscape.

The background

Documentary sources for the early history of the Outer Hebrides are limited, and of variable historicity

(Jesch 1996); the islands were on the periphery of the Earldom of Orkney, and later of the Kingdom of Man, and are therefore rarely referred to in the Norse literature, for example, *Orkneyingasaga* (Palsson & Edwards 1981). However, the advent of the Vikings was marked in external sources such as the *Annals of Ulster*, which when referring to ‘the devastation of all the islands of Britain by the heathen’ in AD 794, (Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill 1983) can be presumed on the basis of close ecclesiastical links between Ulster and the church of the west of Scotland (Raven 2005, 122–34, 160–87), to have included the Hebrides.

The written records, then, provide us with little detailed knowledge of the years between AD 794 and 1266. However, a number of clear themes can be drawn out of the sources which, when combined with toponymic, linguistic and recent genetic evidence, contribute significantly to our understanding of the social and cultural changes which occurred during these 472 years. The first of these themes is religious change: the incomers were not Christians (Hultgård 2012, 212–18), although the pre-existing Iron Age population were clearly at least partly so (Abrams 2007), based on the monastic annals surviving from Ulster (Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill 1983), on the wide spread of early Norse place names indicating monastic presence (Crawford 2005), and not least on the presence of large numbers of pre-ninth century carved stone crosses (Fisher 2001). However, by the mid-eleventh century, the area was firmly Christian (Crawford 1987, 178–84), and, by AD 1266, it had a parochial system, and was part of the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Nidaros (Trondheim), in Norway (Raven 2005, 122–34; 160–87).

The second significant theme is that of the integration of population. A heated debate amongst archaeologists on the relationship between the incomers and the native population (for example: Ritchie

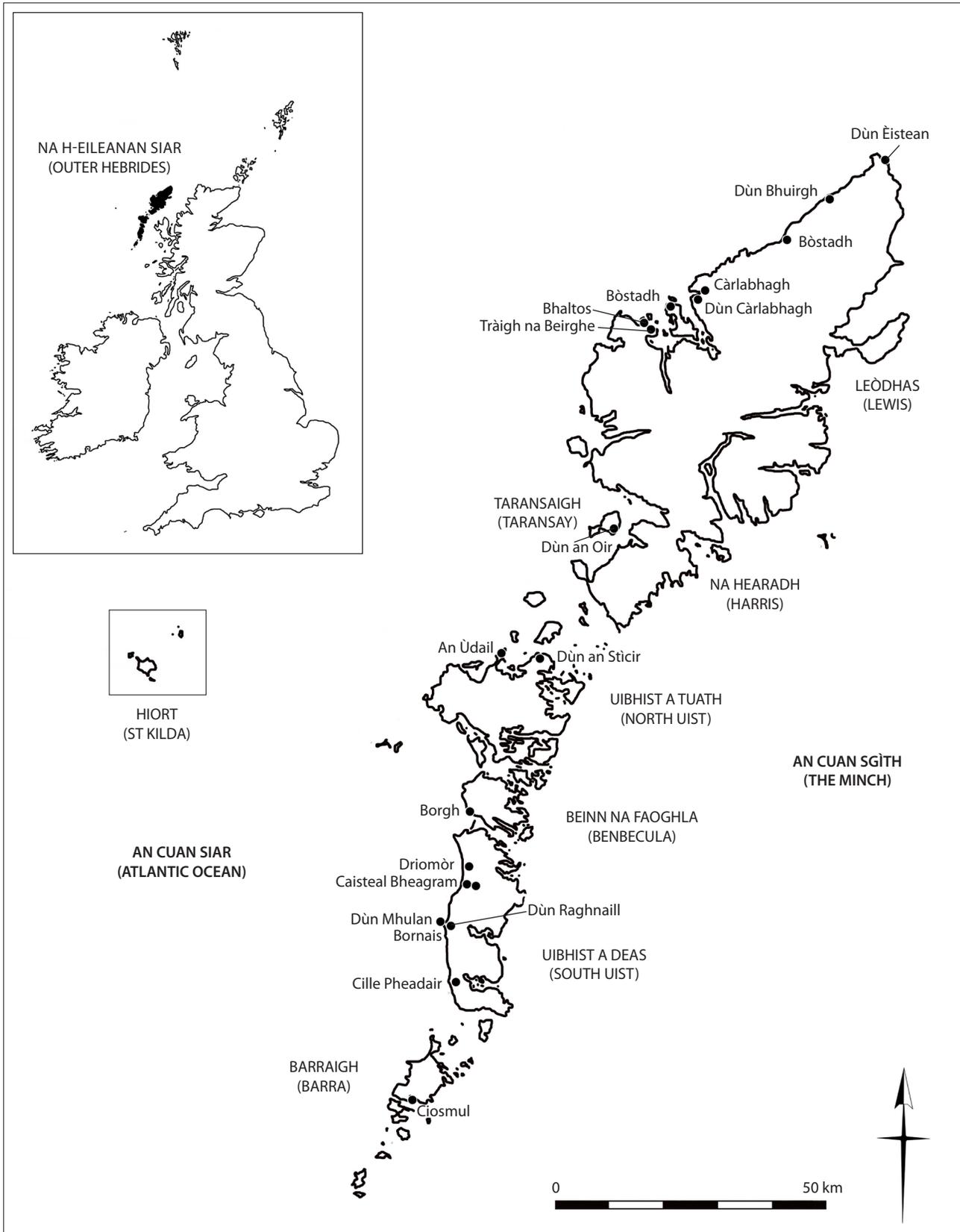


Figure 20.1. Location map.

1974, 1977; I. Crawford 1981; Jennings & Kruse 2005; Smith 2001, 2003) does not change the fact that by the end of this period, in the thirteenth century, the population of the archipelago was of a genetically mixed Gaelic and Norse background (Wilson *et al.* 2001, 5078–83). This was reflected in personal names, for example, Somerled, the founding father of the lineage of the Gaelic MacDonald Lords of the Isles had a Norse name, and sons called Olaf & Ragnail, (MacDonald 1997, 140), as it was in loan words, for example the Gaelic word *airidh*, meaning shieling, which was loaned into Old Norse as *aergi*, and used as an element in place names as far away as the Faroes (Fellows-Jensen 2005, 152).

Importantly, the third theme to emerge from the documents and other written sources is changes in language itself. It is unclear what language was spoken in the Outer Hebrides prior to the arrival of the incoming Scandinavians. There is little surviving evidence for the use of the Pictish language in the islands; Cox notes a couple of place name occurrences in Carloway (Cox 2002, 307–8, 349), but suggests that they are later loan words from mainland Scottish Gaelic (Cox 2002, 107). This could be taken to support the assumption that Gaelic was the local pre-Norse language, as argued by Campbell for Argyll (Campbell 2001, 289–90). However, although there has been some debate as to whether any of the surviving Gaelic place names are pre-Norse or not (Cox 1991; Jennings & Kruse 2005, 284–5), more recently, consensus opinion appears to be that none are provably pre-Norse in date (Cox 2002, 114–18), an argument that has been used to support the proposal that the incoming Scandinavians committed genocide (Jennings & Kruse 2005, 293). As the matter stands at present, the earliest certain linguistic evidence from the islands is the widespread stratum of Old Norse place names, more common in the northern islands of Lewis and Harris, than in Uist and Barra to the south (Crawford 1987, 97).

The Old Norse language, however, regardless of the likelihood that it continued to be the predominant language of law and the aristocracy until the Treaty of Perth, was clearly in the process of augmentation or replacement by Gaelic well before AD 1266 (Cox 2002, 115–18). It would seem likely that the islands were largely bilingual for at least the latter part of the period, and possibly throughout the whole of the 450 years. The shifts of the high status language, the ‘official’ language, from Gaelic or Pictish, to Norse in the ninth century, and then from Norse, to Gaelic or Scots in the thirteenth century, provide us then with two conscious cultural changes. During the latter shift, it is demonstrable, from the documentary record, that, whilst there was some social and geographical mobility

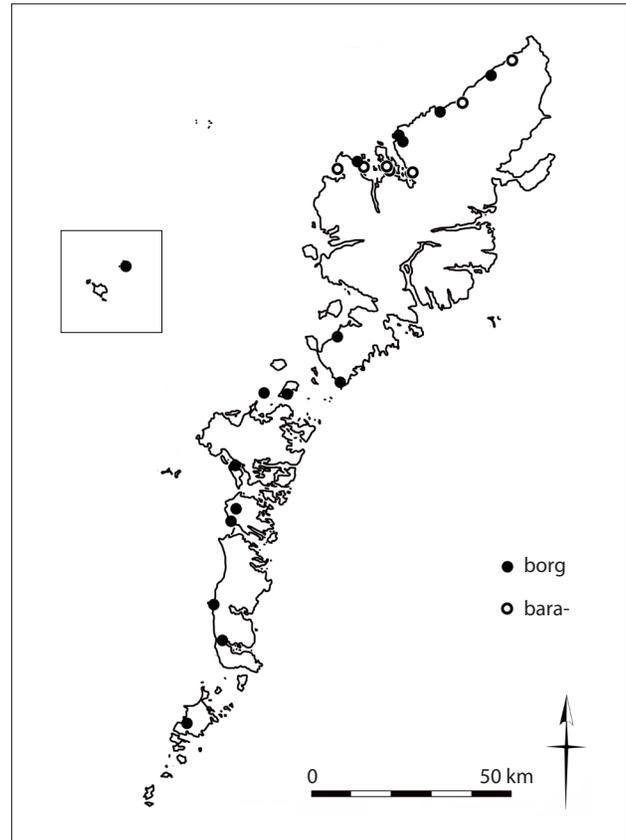


Figure 20.2. ‘Borg’ and ‘bara’ place names.

across the West Coast, this was limited, and there was no large scale change in the aristocratic populations (McDonald 2008, 103–26).

The place names that the incoming Scandinavians gave to the landscape that they encountered provide us with a glimpse of its character, and their attitude towards it. They fossilize memory, allowing us, for once, to be aware of some of the thoughts involved. One of the most striking aspects of the toponymic evidence is the use of the Old Norse word *borg*, meaning ‘fort’. It was used as a place name to identify many of the Iron Age fortifications on the islands (Fig. 20.2), and was adopted into Gaelic as the loan word *broch*.

The archaeology

The later part of the Long Iron Age (c. 800 BC–AD 800) in the Hebrides was marked by the continued occupation of brochs, as a focus of high status settlement. Only two major modern broch excavations have taken place in the Outer Hebrides, at Dun Mhulan (Dun Vulcan – Parker Pearson *et al.* 1999) and Traigh na Beirgh (Harding & Gilmour 2000), with recent

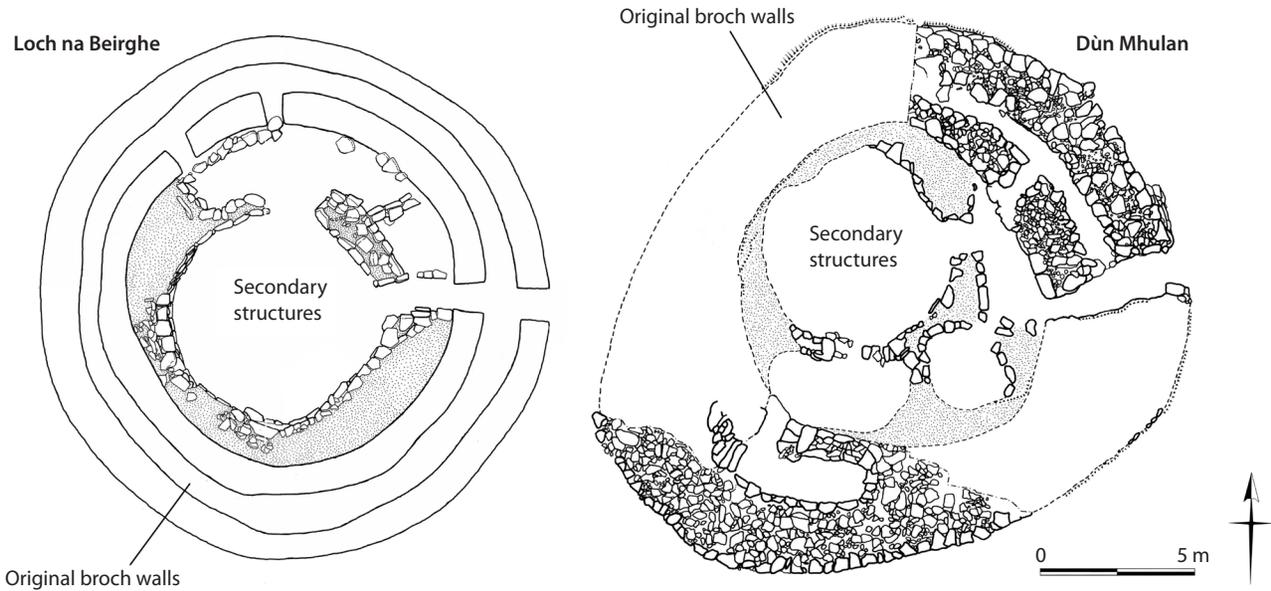


Figure 20.3. *Dun Mhulan and Loch na Beirghe.*

sampling of a third (Colls 2012, 17–20), but both major sites showed the same pattern of occupation, where the circular wall of the broch enclosed an inserted, later, curvilinear, cellular structure occupied until at least the beginning of the ninth century, as demonstrated by the associated Late Iron Age material culture (Fig. 20.3). In both these cases the site was abandoned in the early ninth century, and contained no archaeological evidence of a Scandinavian character (Parker Pearson 1999, 196; Harding & Gilmour 2000, 14). A similar pattern of late Iron Age occupation, with a curvilinear structure inside the broch, and subsequent abandonment, appears also to be visible on some unexcavated sites, for example Dun Bhuirgh in Lewis (Dun Borve).

However, despite the relative lack of detailed excavated evidence, there is quite a lot of stray find evidence from eroding broch sites in the islands. At least 37 brochs or probable broch sites are known in the Western Isles (Western Isles SMR), and with the exception of a sherd of pottery from the excavation of an intra-mural cell at Dun Charlabhagh (Tabraham 1977, 156–67; Lane 2007, 12), these sites have not produced distinctively Viking Age or Norse finds. This is in marked contrast to the pattern in the Northern Isles, for example at Scatness in Shetland (Dockerill *et al.* 2010), and elsewhere (Raven 2005, 196). Indeed, the six excavated Viking – Norse period settlement sites in the islands, Bornais (Sharples 2005), Kilpheder (Parker Pearson *et al.* 2004, 137–44), An Udail (Crawford & Switsur 1977, 124–36; Crawford 1981, 259–69), Bostadh (Neighbour & Burgess 1996, 113–14), Barabhas (Cowie

& MacLeod Rivett 2010), and Drimore (MacLaren 1974), at least two of which, Bornais and An Udail, were arguably high status local foci in the Viking and Norse periods, are all on either green-field sites, or the sites of earlier, non-monumental Late Iron Age settlements. The advent of Scandinavian (Viking/Norse) influence at these sites is clearly marked by a shift to rectilinear architecture, in some cases directly on top of the remains of the circular and sub-circular structures of the Iron Age. So the situation is not one of lack of continuity of settlement over the period of the beginning of the Viking Age, but appears rather to involve the conscious abandonment of high status Late Iron Age settlements, apparently in the first century of the Viking Age. This point has been vigorously demonstrated (Raven 2005, 190–2) for South Uist, and is equally applicable throughout the Outer Hebrides.

It is important to emphasize, at this point, that the abandonment of brochs as centres of occupation did not equate to removal of the structures. The survival of broch walls until the present day demonstrates this fact, and indeed many of the brochs which have been dismantled would appear from local oral traditions to have survived until the post-Reformation period, or later yet, until the twentieth century. An example of this is the local story, recorded in the nineteenth century, of the partial destruction of Dun Charlabhagh (Dun Carlaway – Fig. 20.4) as the result of a sixteenth-century clan skirmish relating to a cattle raid (Thomas 1890, 387–8) – references to the use of mortar in the walls (Thomas 1890, 385) may verify that there was historic occupation, and that this was relatively permanent

(Raven 2005,194). So the landscape of the islands, throughout the 450 years of Scandinavian sovereignty, was visually dominated by the monumental, unused, empty remains of the Iron Age elite housing, continually referred to in the place names and vocabulary of everyday speech.

Under these circumstances, it is interesting to note that there is evidence for large Norse buildings relatively nearby both of the two excavated broch sites of Dun Mhulan and Beirgh. In the case of Dun Mhulan, the excavated site of Bornais is 1500 m to the northeast, whilst, in the case of Beirgh, aerial photographs and walk-over survey (Armit 1992b, 63) have located the remains of at least two 20 m long rectangular buildings, with bowed long walls, 200 m east of the broch, the size and form of which conforms to what is known of high-status Norse buildings, rather than to later architecture.

Although the broch at Dun Mhulan is no longer visible from Bornais today, as it is dismantled and concealed behind sand dunes, it would have been clearly visible in its upstanding state, the most prominent object on the flat machair land surrounding it.

Importantly, it would also have formed a distinctive and necessary sea marker for shipping, dominating the best landing place along the west coast of South Uist. The name of the township, i.e. the whole area of the surrounding land, Bornais, describes the headland where the broch is located: Old Norse *borgnes* – headland of the fort. The broch at Beirgh would also have dominated the immediate landscape and shoreline of the rich agricultural land of the Bhaltois Peninsula, and the Scandinavian settlement there. In both cases, apparently high status, culturally Norse, sites are located well within visual range of the abandoned monumental Iron Age remains.

The shift of language towards the end of the Norse period was also marked by a change in the use of brochs. In this case, the dating of the shift is ambiguous, and therefore its meaning is perhaps less transparent. The broch at Dun Mhulan was reoccupied at some point in the Middle Ages, initially thought to be c. AD 1300 (Parker Pearson *et al.* 2004, 90), but now thought to be somewhat later, possibly in the sixteenth century (N. Sharples, pers. comm.). A rectangular building was constructed on the outside wall of the



Figure 20.4. Dun Carlabhagh (Carloway).



Figure 20.5. *Reconstruction of Dun an Sticer, artist David Simon, © Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (used with permission).*

broch; any corresponding internal structures may have been destroyed by the twentieth-century reuse of the interior (Parker Pearson *et al.* 2004, 90).

This development is paralleled in a large number of other broch sites throughout the islands, one of the best-known of which is the site of Dun an Sticer in North Uist (SMR 2497, NMRS NF87NE1, NGR NF 8972 7768) (Fig. 20.5). This is an island broch, in a freshwater loch, which was reoccupied at the latest in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and is associated with strong local oral traditions about one Hugh Macdonald (a' Chleirich) at that time. A rectilinear structure was inserted into the interior of the broch, with further buildings built onto the outside (Beveridge 1911, 139, also see Raven 2005, 234, 314). A very similar structure is visible in the remains of Dun an Oir (SMR 1358, NMRS NG09NW3, NGR NG 0358 9961), on the island of Taransay. This broch or dun is incorporated into a later, probably medieval head dyke, enclosing the township of Paible, and has an inserted rectilinear structure inside it, with the remains of other rectilinear structures outside the wall.

Although not every broch or dun was reoccupied in the Middle Ages, this pattern is widely visible. Extensive survey of the medieval landscape of South Uist has identified reoccupation of Iron Age fortifications at many sites throughout the Middle Ages. Oral history and analogy with medieval reoccupation of brochs and other high status Iron Age sites in Argyll and elsewhere on the Western Seaboard suggests that this trend had its origins in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, but it continued and increased through to the early 1600s. This study emphasized the difference between castles, and these reoccupied, medieval duns, suggesting that the former represented areas of contact

between the islands and the outside world, whilst the latter related to internal, clan concerns (Raven 2005, 188–245, 307–61; 2012, 134–59).

In Lewis, the distribution of broch sites is overwhelmingly western, predominantly focussed around, though not on, areas of machair and their associated settlements and pastoral resources. Some, though not all, of these brochs were reoccupied in the Middle Ages. This western distribution is in marked contrast to a string of medieval east coast promontory sites (McHardy *et al.* 2009, 63–6, 71–81), which appear to have been built on previously unoccupied sites, for example Dun Eistean (Barrowman 2015).

Discussion

Clearly many brochs were neither suitable nor needed for reoccupation. However, setting aside practical considerations such as varying water tables and loch levels, which may have been particularly relevant issues for island duns and brochs in an environment of slowly subsiding land and rising sea levels (Ritchie 1985; Dawson 2003), the abandonment and subsequent reoccupation of such high status sites is fascinating.

Brochs in the modern landscape provide a focus of oral tradition and storytelling. Their remains are so monumental as to be unavoidable, and the place names indicate that this was even more the case in the years between AD 800 and 1266, when they clearly formed dominant land and sea marks in continual reference. Interestingly, this period, of just over 450 years, corresponds to the suggested duration of an historically valid oral tradition (Büster & Armit, this volume), so it is reasonable to suggest that the abandonment or conquest of these landmarks would have been either

a theme or a taboo in the storytelling of the Hebridean Scandinavian communities. The monuments, and the events and people associated with them, are unlikely to have been ignored; their status apart from the Norse settlement pattern would have identified them as something different, and other, and potentially, it would only be towards the end of the period that the associated traditions shifted away from history towards myth.

The abandonment of these sites is more firmly dated, and more fully archaeologically recorded, than their reoccupation. A shift away from curvilinear to rectilinear architecture provides a very clear marker of Scandinavian influence, and is a useful *terminus post quem* for unexcavated structures, with the possible exception of some transhumance sites. In the excavated cases, the cellular structures within the walls of the brochs have not provided evidence of Scandinavian influence, or of occupation later than the ninth century. Abandonment was therefore not casual or gradual, but conscious, deliberate, and probably rapid, though without any obvious evidence of destruction.

Dating the reoccupation of such sites is more difficult; the dearth of well-dated evidence from the medieval Western Isles leaves us dependent upon excavations of sites in the Inner Hebrides and Western Mainland (Raven 2005, 194), many of which are also not closely dateable. The published ceramic dates for Dun Mhulan (Parker Pearson *et al.* 2004, 90) are, as mentioned, in the process of revision, based on emerging finds sequences from the contemporary, nearby, settlement site at Bornais (N. Sharples, pers. comm.). One of the few sites with relatively firm dates is that of Finlaggan, on Islay, in the Inner Hebrides (Caldwell 2010). This site was the *caput* of the post-Norse, medieval Lordship of the Isles, the political and legal focus for the whole of the Inner and Outer Hebrides, from before the thirteenth century. The settlement consisted of two islands in a freshwater loch, the inner of which was at least a partial crannog, with a broch or massive circular dun on it in the late, pre-Norse Iron Age. On top of this was a thirteenth century castle, which itself was soon replaced by a hall. There was no evidence of occupation of the site between the ninth and thirteenth centuries.

The existence of such a site at the centre of the Lordship of the Isles fits a template for the creation of similar sites elsewhere in the Lordship, and indeed, the similarity between Finlaggan and island sites in the Outer Hebrides such as Dun an Sticer is very marked. The MacSomhairle Kings of the Isles (ancestors of the MacDonald Lords of the Isles) held their island lordship under the Norwegian Crown, and later, following the Treaty of Perth, under the Scottish Crown, a position

that created divided loyalties and complex political ties (McDonald 1997, 103–26), and their Gaelic-Norse cultural identity was marked in a variety of personal names and marriage ties linking Scotland, Ireland and Norway (McDonald 1997, 103–26). In this context, it is clearly feasible that the reoccupation of the Late Iron Age site at Finlaggan was an expression of an increasingly Gaelic cultural orientation, a concrete reference to a remembered past beginning to merge into myth, and a reinforcement of rights to, and connections with, the land of their Lordship. This argument can be equally well applied to the lineages and descendants of Somerled (Somhairle), such as the MacDonalds and Clanranalds, and their clients of the Western Isles, in an equally ambiguous cultural and political situation. Excavations at Bornais and Cille Pheadair (Kilpheder) in South Uist, for example, revealed different assemblages of finds on two contemporary Norse settlement sites (Parker Pearson *et al.* 2004, 144), with stronger Scandinavian cultural and trade links at Bornais, the larger and probably higher status settlement, and trade links to the West of England at the smaller farmstead of Cille Pheadair. This reinforces the suggestion that, for the upper social stratum of thirteenth century Uist, material culture including probably architecture, was a conscious expression of political, and with it cultural, allegiance.

Questions

One of the major unresolved questions that has bedevilled the writing of this chapter is whether or not the pattern of abandonment and reoccupation of brochs conforms to the same dates and processes on the Islands as it does on the Mainland of Scotland. Much of the dated excavated evidence comes from sites in the Inner Hebrides, Argyll and the Western Seaboard, where a complex pattern of broch and fort reoccupation from the twelfth century onwards becomes more widely established in the course of the Middle Ages (Raven 2005, 193–5). However, most of the medieval deposits at these sites have been poorly excavated, since they were secondary to the prehistoric research aims of their excavators. Much of the excavated and securely datable evidence from these sites is from the earlier end of this date range (e.g. Kildonan, Kintyre (Fairhurst 1939, 20–10)). Other excavated evidence, such as pottery recovered from the tower inserted into Dun Cuier in Barra (Young 1956, 294–6), may be later, but often the phasing cannot be securely dated. The pattern itself is undeniable, but whether it was consistent throughout the whole area, or whether it reflected local variations in the dates at which Norse political control or influence waned remains moot.

Leading on from this question, a further complication may be emerging within the Hebrides themselves, where differences in the post-Norse historical trajectory of the islands, both under the Lordship of the Isles, and following the fifteenth-century forfeiture of the Lordship to the Crown of Scotland, may be reflected in the reoccupation of brochs and other Iron Age fortifications. It might be possible to argue, for example, that the reoccupation of broch and dun sites on this model in the Isle of Lewis marks the political disruptions and uncertainties of the sixteenth century, rather than the cultural changes of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

South Uist's arable land, and main area of settlement, is predominantly sited on the west coast, where the east coast is rocky moorland rising to a high hill range, before dropping steeply into the Minch. There, the sites chosen for reoccupation in the Middle Ages were located on the western side of the island, but mostly inland between the arable and pastoral zones of land use, and often on routes into the hills and summer upland pastures. This geographical relationship is perhaps best shown at a pair of sites, Dun Raoiill and Caisteal Bheagram, both of which are lordly sites on artificial islands. Although there is no specific evidence for a broch at either site, the islands on which they are placed betray prehistoric origins, and considered together, they are well placed to inform our understanding of the forces driving the reoccupation of such sites in the Middle Ages. Both are situated within what appears to be a single lordly demesne, or estate containing extensive upland pastures and hunting grounds. According to oral history, Dun Raoiill may have a longer history of use; it is an artificial island surmounted by a drystone rectangular tower and extends over a nearby natural island containing more conventional buildings. Caisteal Bheagram, on the other hand, is mentioned in documents from the end of the 1400s through to the 1700s, when the local magnates, the Clanranald family were being eclipsed by the wider Clan Donald lineages more closely related to the Lords of the Isles. It is an island containing a mortared castellated tower and a number of other drystone rectangular buildings. It is west of Dun Raoiill, and more closely associated with the arable/settlement zone. The two sites are linked by a series of causeways, marking out a direct route. Whilst occupation of these two sites may be later and reflect higher status concerns than other reoccupied broch sites the location and relationship between them suggests that there may be a form of peripatetic and seasonal occupation, and that the relationship with the pastoral zone and routes between the coastal and moorland zones established in the Iron Age continued (Raven 2005, 341–50).

In Lewis, arable land is more dispersed, on the eastern as well as the western coastline, and there is a much broader spread of moor and pasture. Here, there are similar examples of reoccupied sites on the transition to, and routes up to, the pastures, such as Loch an Duin, Steinacleit. However, much of the evidence for reoccupation of the western coastal broch sites stands in contrast to a string of Late Medieval, or Early Modern fortifications on the east coast, as mentioned above. These east coast sites are built on previously unoccupied sites, but whether they are analogous to the castles of Uist & Barra (Raven 2005, 158) elsewhere is unclear. Excavation (Barrowman, R. 2015) and survey (McHardy *et al.* 2009, 63–6, 71–81) indicate that these sites were largely of drystone construction, using vernacular styles of architecture. The excavations at Dun Eistean (Barrowman, R. 2015) indicated that this site was probably built during the mid-fifteenth century, and occupied in two phases, the later of which was dated as late as the third quarter of the seventeenth century (Barrowman, R. 2015). These dates conform to periods of extreme local political instability, the earlier of which coincided with, and resulted at least in part from, the end of the Lordship of the Isles. These late medieval fortifications in Lewis are often on sea stacks and on the eastern, Minch coastline, providing visibility over the seaways and the harbours of the east coast.

It has to be noted here that broch reoccupation should be seen against the backdrop of castle building. Hebridean lords were certainly capable of building castles when they felt the desire to, as reflected by those at Borgh in Benbecula, Stornoway and Ciosmul in Barra. However, these reflect entirely different concerns. With the possible exception of Borgh, they do not appear to be concerned with dominating the immediate landscape. Instead, unlike the late medieval fortifications discussed above, they are almost entirely coastal and reflect a concern with exploiting safe harbourages and fishing. As lords could and did feel the need to castellate in certain circumstances, the reoccupation of brochs and use of non-castellated sites can only be seen as a deliberate choice and one which conveyed a different message. One difference may be that brochs allowed for lords to relate more directly with pastoral resources, highly important in a cattle economy, and create a visual discourse with their clansmen as they moved through the landscape. In this environment, they clearly did not feel the need to demonstrate their day to day authority through the exploitation of feudal, European, castellated architecture (Raven 2005, 264–306).

Whilst the specific circumstances surrounding broch reoccupation must certainly have varied, it

would seem likely that the changing political context provided an important impetus to express and assert a changing ethnicity. With the shift away from Norway towards a more southern, Gaelic outlook, Hebridean lords were often keen to rewrite their family histories, in the case of the MacNeils, for example, they denied their Scandinavian origins and adopted a genealogy that tied them to Ireland and the centre of the *Geadhealtachtd*; this helped them assert that their claim to Barra pre-dated the interruption of the Vikings. The MacLeods were perhaps happier to express their individuality and retain some Norse associations, but they focussed no less on adopting a Gaelic identity (see discussion in Raven 2005, 144–5). The reoccupation of monuments that clearly belonged to a pre-Norse age can be seen as a strategy for emphasizing the naturalized and Gaelic roots of land-holding families, at a time when a shifting political climate could have seen existing authority challenged and new lords transplanted to the Isles. The use of brochs as the conceptual ancestral seat of the Hebridean lordships is evident elsewhere on the Western Seaboard, perhaps verifying this possibility.

In our discussions of these questions, we are prone to refer to the Norse of the Outer Hebrides, but the families and kinship groups in power in the islands in the thirteenth century, the MacRuairidhs, Clanranald, MacDonalds, MacLeods, Morrisons, MacNeills, and MacAulays, had genealogies including individuals with both Gaelic and Norse names, and nearly half a millennium of Hebridean life behind them by the time that the islands became a part of Scotland. For these people, then, we must assume that identity and allegiance in a given situation were to a large

extent a matter of choice, and often multiple. Some of the MacDonald kinship left the islands following the Treaty, while others remained (McDonald 2008, 103–26); similar, but unrecorded, choices must have been made by other individuals and families as well. In the changed political reality that faced the upper classes of the Outer Hebrides in AD 1266, expressing Gaelic aspects of their identities, and manipulating their surroundings and material culture to emphasize those aspects, would have strengthened their links to the land they controlled, and to the new cultural environment.

Conclusion

The late thirteenth-century change between Norwegian and Scottish control in the Outer Hebrides, and its impact upon the culture and archaeology of the islands remains under-researched and poorly understood. However, in looking particularly at the reuse of earlier, pre-Norse, high status buildings, we can do little better than to quote the Dun Mhulan report:

The very act of construction of a new building within the ruins of a by then ancient broch must have been a clear statement of identity with place, succession and authority' (Parker Pearson *et al.* 1999, 92)

This comment was about a later Iron Age (Pictish) building built within a broch, but how much more does it resonate with the introduction of a new architectural form, a new type of building altogether, into the context of buildings abandoned for nearly 500 years.

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.

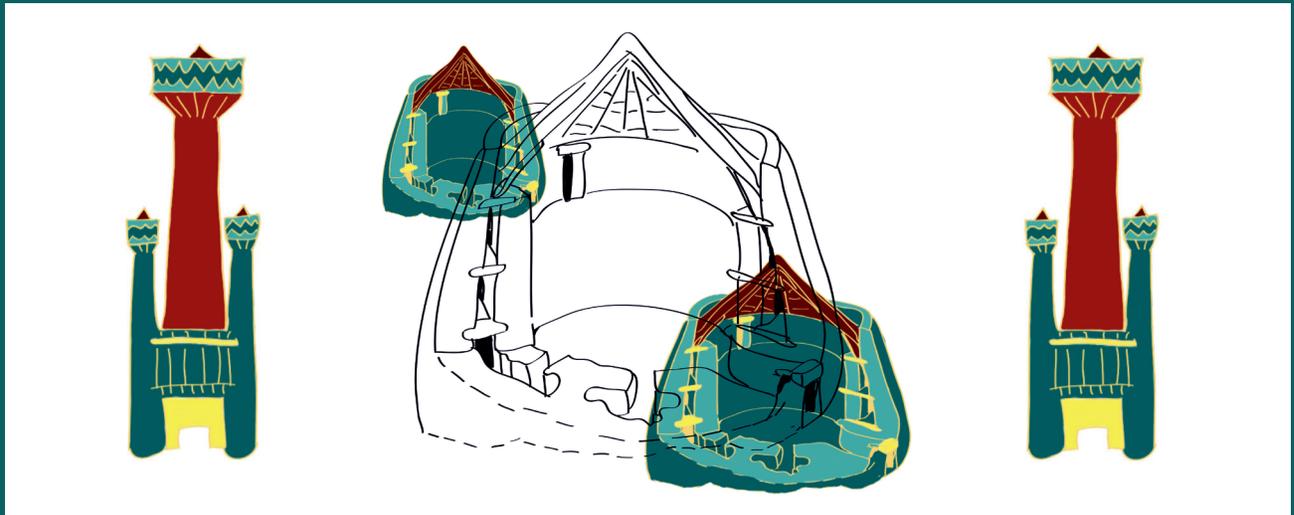
This collection of twenty-one papers addresses the theme of memory anchored to the enduring presence of monuments, mainly from Scotland and Sardinia, but also from Central Europe and the Balkans.

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