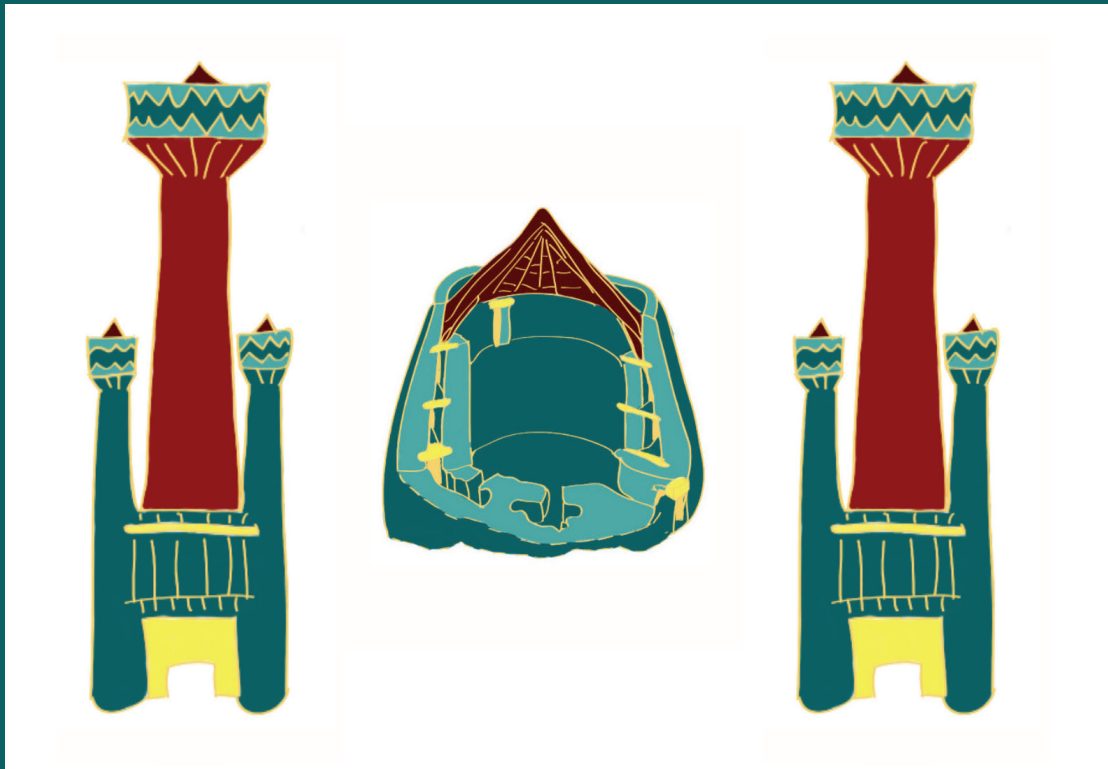




Gardening time

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

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 19

Cultivated and constructed memory at the nineteenth-century cemetery of Cagliari

Hannah Malone

A cemetery is a monument, or rather a collection of monuments, which serves to generate, reinforce, and perpetuate memories. However, that function cannot be easily defined in that it is complex, dynamic, and multifaceted. A cemetery is a vessel for many memories, not only of the recent dead, but also of cities, communities, and cultures. Moreover, the perpetuation of memories is an on-going and evolving process.

The Bonaria cemetery of Cagliari

This chapter represents an attempt to unfold the layers of memory associated with the nineteenth-century cemetery of Bonaria in Cagliari, Sardinia. It explores the construction of memories, and their evolution over time, with an eye to different analytical frameworks pertaining to monuments and memory (mainly: Riegl 1903; Halbwachs 1980; Rossi 1987; Lowenthal 1985; Connerton 1989; Gillis 1994; & Choay 2001).

The Bonaria cemetery in Cagliari is a rewarding case study partly because it accommodates a range of private and public monuments and their associated meanings. Whereas, on the one hand, a funerary monument is intended to commemorate an individual or a family, it also embodies memories regarding the social and political structures that bound the dead into a particular culture, and into alliances based on power and class. In that a tomb is a measure of the economic and socio-political status of the deceased, it carries meanings that relate both to individual remembrance and to the social, or collective, memory (Halbwachs 1980, Chapter 1). In short, a cemetery preserves memories that are both individual and collective, or that relate to the dead, the community, and society. However, the meanings, or memories, carried by cemeteries and funerary monuments are both reinterpreted, and overlaid, by subsequent generations.



Figure 19.1. Cagliari, Bonaria cemetery, monument to Antonietta Todde Pera (Ambrogio Celi 1879).

These memories are evident, for example, in the case of a monument at the Bonaria cemetery in Cagliari that was created by Ambrogio Celi in 1879 (Fig. 19.1, Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. I, 88–90). That monument was originally erected to the memory of a

young mother, Antonietta Todde Pera, who died aged twenty-five, leaving three children. Thus, its main purpose was to commemorate an individual. It may also be seen as a monument to an aspiring wealthy bourgeoisie, as reflected in the detailed and realistic depiction of Antonietta's modern and fashionable dress. The sculpture is also a testament to Christian beliefs that are expressed by the presence of an angel. However, as the mother's face carries an expression of mute sorrow rather than the certainty of salvation, this might be taken to suggest the impact of Romanticism, and the attention awarded to private and individual sentiments within nineteenth-century culture (Ariès 1974, 55–84; Ariès 1981, 409–558; Laqueur 2015, 271–312; Malone 2017b, 834–5). Seen in this light, the tomb is a celebration of the virtues of motherhood and the importance of the family in middle-class life. It also records a moment in art history and, more precisely, the period in the latter half of the 1800s when a new style emerged in Italian funerary sculpture. Termed 'bourgeois realism' for its reliance on middle-class patronage, that style was characterized by a shift from the representation of allegorical figures in classical dress, which were typically toga-clad personifications of faith or charity, to the portrayal of real-life characters in contemporary clothes – most often representing the dead and their relatives (Sborgi 1988, 355–62; Berresford 2004, 60–5; Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. I, 79; Malone 2017a, 66–80). In this instance, there is also potential evidence of associations with the development of photography in the frozen poses adopted by the figures, which create the appearance of a *tableau vivant* (Sborgi 1988, 388).

Given that the immediate descendants of Antonietta Todde Pera are now also deceased, the monument's original meanings, which were both personal and related to the commemoration of a known individual, have been lost. In effect, it might be assumed that the monument no longer performs its initial function in terms of commemoration and mourning. However, each succeeding generation may reinterpret that monument, adding new memories, and investing it with new meanings that overlay, and eventually replace, those that were tied to its original commemorative purpose. Individual memories might be forgotten, but broader social, historical, and human meanings persist. Thus, a tomb that was once invested with personal memories associated with an individual develops into a monument that may adopt a succession of meanings within the collective memory – meanings that represent an evolving culture and society. In this respect, a tomb also becomes, over the course of time, a historical monument. That expression is used in the definition coined by the Austrian art historian Alois Riegl (1858–1905) in his seminal essay of 1903 entitled, 'Der moderne Denkmalkultus: sein Wesen und seine

Entstehung', which translates as 'The modern cult of monuments: its character and origins' (Riegl 1903, 72; also, Choay 2001). The distinction is that the message of a monument is dictated by its original creators, but the meaning and value of a historical monument are established by later viewers. This implies that, whereas the monument has a deliberate intent, the historical monument is unintentional, or rather it describes the state in which the tomb's original purpose has been superseded by the superimposition of additional, or posthumous, meanings.

The collective memory

The definition of private and collective memory, which can be applied to a single monument, may be extended to cemeteries as a whole. As a commemorative site, which aids the process of remembrance, the cemetery 'objectifies' memories, or facilitates the association of memories with objects and places. The French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945) noted that the collective memory of a group can be sited within a material space that is common to that group, and which yields spatial images that aid recollection (Halbwachs 1980, Chapter 4). Similarly, in 1966, while drawing on Walter Benjamin's observations on the capacity of architecture to retain memories, the Italian architectural theorist Aldo Rossi (1931–1997) identified that 'the city is the collective memory of its people' (Rossi 1987, 191).¹ In that respect, it might be argued that the cemetery, as a space whose primary function is the preservation of memories, may serve the collective memory in a manner that is more direct, or more efficient, than the city – largely because of the singularity of its purpose, and the condensed nature of its monuments and the architectural framework within which they are embedded.

The cemetery of Bonaria in Cagliari was particularly suited to act as a monument to the collective memory because of its physical context and historical background. It was established on the southeastern outskirts of Cagliari in 1827. The site was convenient in that it was relatively flat and undeveloped (Spano 1869, 4). However, it was also historically significant in that the area had, albeit intermittently, been used to accommodate the dead over a period of approximately 22 centuries. The Punic, ancient Romans, and early Christians buried their dead within the same ground. Thus, the site was layered with the memories and bones of numerous generations. The nineteenth-century cemetery was built in the area known as Bonaria Hill, which had been the location of a Punic necropolis from around the fourth century BC (Pesce 2000, 89, 159–60; Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. I, 21). Excavation

has revealed chamber tombs dating from that period that were essentially deep niches, dug into the rock, with well-like openings. Subsequently, between the first and third century AD, the ancient Romans buried their dead within the same area (Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. I, 22–3). The Roman tombs that survive range from simple, carved-out graves to subterranean chambers, which house graves, *columbaria* for the placement of urns, and *arcosolia* (or arched niches) for sarcophagi. Other Roman remains include cinerary urns and related stone supports. In some cases, the tombs were surmounted by *cupae*, or semi-cylindrical coverings that functioned to accommodate the ancient ritual of the *refrigerium*, a commemorative banquet held by the relatives of the dead (Dadea 2001, 282–3). Moreover, there is evidence that a number of the tombs were lavishly decorated with frescoes, mosaics, and stucco work. Early Christian tombs dating up to the sixth century were also found on the same site, some with extensive decoration (Vivanet 1892; Pinza 1901; Pani Ermini 1968). Those tombs show that early Christians also placed their dead in graves or *arcosolia*, set within cave-like niches dug into the hill.

A stratigraphy of memory

A map of Cagliari, which shows the location of Punic, Roman, and early Christian tombs, demonstrates how the nineteenth-century cemetery of Bonaria was set on an ancient place of burial (Fig. 19.2). The foundation of the new cemetery, which re-established a tradition that had been dormant since the sixth century, followed

from fundamental changes in funerary customs across Europe (Laqueur 2015, 215–38; Malone 2017a, 9–31). In Cagliari, as in most European cities, the ancients and the early Christians buried their dead outside the city walls. This was both a tradition and a legal requirement connected with hygiene. However, that tendency to separate the dead from the living was abandoned in the early middle ages when the Christian Church took control of burial practices. Religious customs encouraged interment within a church, or an adjoining churchyard, as the proximity of the corpse to relics was thought to increase the individual's chance of salvation. Hence, the dead were frequently retained within urban boundaries – a shift which may be dated to the period after the sixth century, when the last, surviving, early Christian tombs were created at Bonaria Hill. However, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a revolution in funerary practices across Europe was engendered, in part, by hygienic concerns and expanding urban populations, but also by cultural changes tied to the Enlightenment, and in particular to changing attitudes to death, a renewed interest in the dignity of man, anticlericalism, and an emergent egalitarianism. The result was the prohibition of interment within the city in favour of new suburban cemeteries, and the transfer of responsibility for the dead from the Church to the municipality. This, in the case of Cagliari, meant that burials were removed to the outskirts, and to land that was once the site of an ancient necropolis and which, in the early nineteenth century, was split between the archbishopric, the convent of Bonaria, and the Boy family.

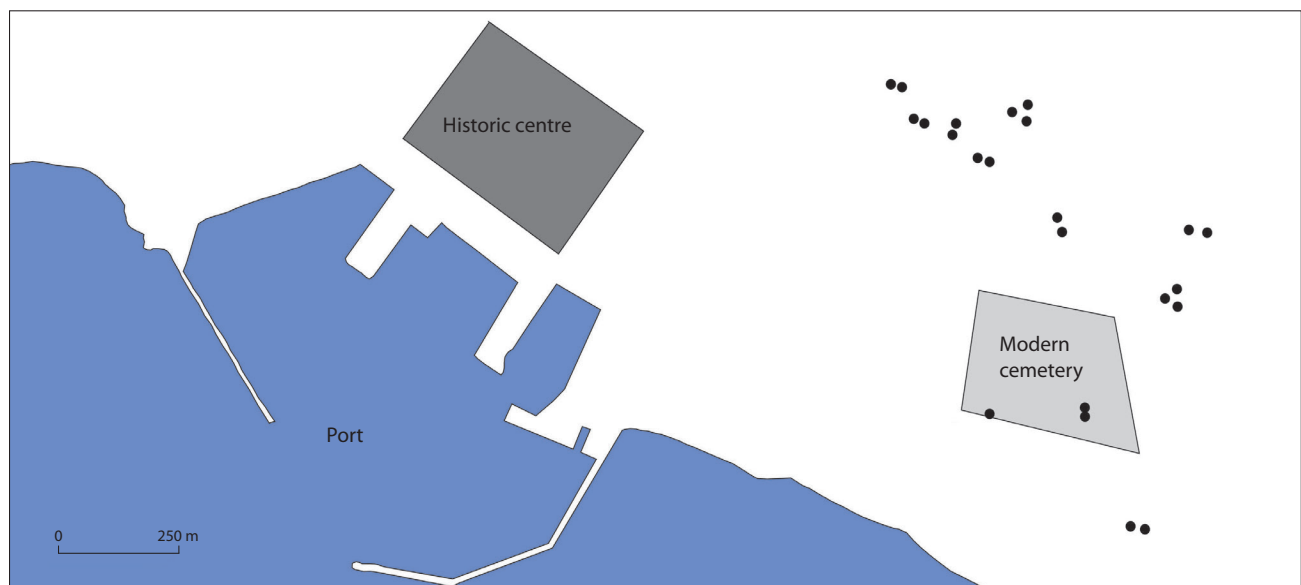


Figure 19.2. Map of Cagliari marking the location of ancient tombs (dots) with respect to the cemetery of Bonaria.



Figure 19.3. *Cagliari, Bonaria cemetery, main chapel (Luigi Damiano, 1828).*

From its foundation in 1827, the cemetery grew steadily throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its construction proceeded in parallel with archaeological excavations of which perhaps the most notable were undertaken by the archaeologist Giovanni Spano (1803–1878) who, in the second half of the nineteenth century, revealed Punic and Roman tombs that were under the cemetery and nearby churchyard of the Basilica of Bonaria (Spano 1864; Spano 1869, 18–23; Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. I, 21). Spano, a priest, theologian, and linguist, might be called ‘the father of Sardinian archaeology’ (Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. I, 21; Dyson & Rowland 2007, 10). However, the Roman necropolis at Bonaria was excavated as early as 1585, as part of what may have been the first modern excavations in Sardinia (Dadea 2001, 282; Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. I, 22). The expansion of Bonaria cemetery during the 1800s prompted further digs, which uncovered Roman and early Christian tombs (Crespi 1863). Of particular importance was the discovery, in 1888, of two early Christian burial chambers of the fourth century AD, which were remarkably well preserved

and richly adorned with frescoes. These archaeological investigations were part of concerted efforts to harness the historical value of the location, and enhance the significance of the new cemetery. By drawing on the past, the promoters of the nineteenth-century cemetery sought to establish a sense of continuity, and thereby re-enforce the identity of the local community (Connerton 1989, 12; Malone 2017a, 118). In 1869, the archaeologist Giovanni Spano published the first monograph on the history of the cemetery (Spano 1869). Moreover, that work was part of a vast literature relating to the burial ground that was written during the nineteenth century, and which ranged from artistic manuals, to guides for tourists, and articles in local newspapers and specialized journals. Together with the excavations, that literature contributed to a process of ‘monumentalization’, whereby the cemetery was invested with history, and with collective memories that were associated with the dead, the community, and the city. In short, the archaeological efforts, together with other generative elements of local culture, shaped the cemetery’s role as a historical monument, and as a place of collective



Figure 19.4. Cagliari, Bonaria cemetery, monument to Enrico Serpieri (Sisto Galavotti, 1876).

memories. In turn, the importance accorded to the cemetery contributed to its gradual development through a combination of private and public investment, as the local authority built an ever-expanding architectural framework within which private sponsorship gave rise to an increasing number of monuments.

Associations with antiquity were given emphasis in the architecture of the nineteenth-century cemetery through the adoption of a neoclassical style for both the main buildings and a number of the monuments, and also in the revival of the *columbarium*, as a system of stacking the dead that had been employed by the ancient Romans (Malone 2017a, 40, 152–3). In the initial design for the cemetery, the military engineer Luigi Damiano followed the Italian tradition of the Campo Santo, or cloistered burial ground, in that he created a rectangular, arcaded, court that was clad in the Tuscan order. The cemetery was entered via a recessed Tuscan portal that led into an avenue and on to an Ionic chapel, built in 1828 (Fig. 19.3). The choice of the neoclassical style reflected its dominance in Italian architecture in the first half of the nineteenth

century. However, the architectural character of the cemetery was also partly determined by the superimposed niches of the nineteenth-century *columbaria*, of which the first were built in 1866. The *columbarium* represented an efficient, space-saving, solution to the demand for burials that resulted from an increasing population (Spano 1869, 16), but it also suggested a reference to the ancient Roman *arcosolium* – examples of which were excavated nearby.

The historical legacy of the new cemetery at Bonaria bolstered its role as monument, which served both political and social purposes. During the nineteenth century, the cemetery operated as an instrument of politics in a period of turmoil and radical change within Italy. The Risorgimento, or the Italian struggle for independence, brought a jigsaw of minor states, each with its own administration and distinctive cultural identity, under a unified nation-state established in 1861. As in other major Italian cities, the cemetery at Cagliari contributed to political ends as its monumental architecture expressed the power of the city within the fledgling nation. As a destination for tourists, it was

the object of national and international interest, and a focus of civic pride (Spano 1869, 24). It was part of an assumed heritage that was aimed at the enhancement of national and local life, and the promotion of civic values (Lowenthal in Gillis 1994, 45). Moreover, like the many monumental cemeteries that sprung up all over Italy during the nineteenth century, the burial ground at Bonaria functioned as a monument that fostered nationalism and an emergent civic consciousness (Malone 2017a, 107–26). It was, as were other Italian monumental cemeteries, a major element of an emergent collective memory that had specific political overtones. For instance, at Cagliari and in other Italian cities, special areas were designated within the cemetery for the commemoration of national heroes, as exemplified by a monument of 1885 that celebrated those who died while fighting for the establishment of the nation (Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. II, 75). Built by the local Società dei Reduci delle Patrie Battaglie, an association of veterans of the Italian struggle for independence that was established after unification, the monument of 1885 was intended to fuel patriotism, encourage civic virtue, and contribute to the creation of an appropriate history for the new nation. In that the monument was inscribed with the names of soldiers from the military expeditions of Giuseppe Garibaldi, the Italian Wars of Independence, the Crimean War, and Italy's earliest colonial campaigns, the epitaphs read like a history of the Risorgimento, and of the first military efforts of the new nation. Essentially, such monuments contributed to the construction of a national identity by creating a shared memory of the dead (Gillis 1994, 8). Later, the process of generating history also led to the creation of the cemetery's Viale degli Eroi (Avenue of the Heroes), a stretch of wall flanked by monuments to those who fought in the First World War, which was defined in contemporary Italian propaganda as the Fourth (and last) war of the Risorgimento. Further evidence of the impact of the forces of nation-building may be found in Bonaria's private monuments. For instance, a detail of the tomb of Enrico Serpieri (1809–72), created by Sisto Galavotti in 1876, also reflects the historical events of the Risorgimento (Fig. 19.4, Dadea 2011, vol. I, 82). Enrico Serpieri's tomb depicts an episode in the history of the Roman Republic, a short-lived democratic government that was established in Rome in 1849 after an insurrection reduced the power of the Papacy. Serpieri, as a member of the Republican assembly, is shown resisting the French army that was sent by Napoleon III to restore papal power. A bas-relief creates a theatrical stage that casts the deceased Serpieri as a major player in a significant event in national history, when the French gained access into the Republican Parliament to arrest



Figure 19.5. Cagliari, Bonaria cemetery, monument to Giuseppe Todde (Giuseppe Sartorio, 1897).

its members. Originally from the region of Romagna, following the fall of the revolutionary government, Serpieri opted for political exile in Sardinia where he profited handsomely from the mining industry. It is interesting, however, that Serpieri's monument depicts a moment in his life that represents the historical events of 1849, thereby adding to the narrative of national history.

The cemetery as expression of social change

In addition to its role as a tool for propaganda that served the creation of a new nation, the Italian monumental cemetery was also an expression of social change during the nineteenth century (Laqueur 2015, 288–305; Malone 2017a, 57–65). Legislation was introduced into Cagliari in 1830 that abolished interment in churches and private chapels, and determined that all social groups (with the initial exception of the clergy)

were to be buried within the public cemetery, which thus became socially inclusive. Differences in economic or social status were reflected in the capacity to acquire burial plots and to erect monuments. Hence, the new cemetery mirrored the nature of urban social structures and shifts in the redistribution of power, albeit in a condensed, or purified, form. The cemetery also offered an emergent bourgeoisie a platform on which, through the creation of lavish monuments, individuals and families could assert their status and newfound socio-economic position.

Throughout Europe, prior to the reforms in burial practices that emerged during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a decorated tomb was a privilege generally reserved for the aristocracy. As family chapels were passed down from generation to generation, burial within a church tended to be restricted to the nobility. However, the creation of public cemeteries on the outskirts of cities from the early 1800s offered the middle classes the chance of an adorned grave. Moreover, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century, a period of economic prosperity, industrialization, and urban growth, spurred the rise of a wealthy urban bourgeoisie, for which the cemetery represented an arena for both intimate and social forms of expression. This resulted in the production of numerous tombs and monuments, and statuary that combined emotive expressions of grief with the display of luxurious clothing, elaborate *coiffeurs*, and sentiments that exalted the bourgeois ideals of family and work. Given the richness and variety of their monuments, cemeteries were destined to become museums for nineteenth-century sculpture. For instance, the cemetery of Bonaria offers many examples of bourgeois realist statuary, such as the monument to the economist Giuseppe Todde (Giuseppe Sartorio, 1897) which offers a realistic 'snapshot' of contemporary life. Todde's wife, who may have commissioned the sculpture, is portrayed as a visitor to the cemetery, and is shown dressed in her finest mourning clothes as she prays at the foot of the tomb of the deceased (Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. I, 90). Similarly, the chapel of the Birocchi Silvetti Berola family of 1891, decorated by the sculptor Giuseppe Sartorio (1854–?1922) embodies an interpretation of a domestic bourgeois interior (Dadea & Lastretti 2011, vol. I, 112–13). The power of the bourgeois realist style was such that it was also taken up by members of the aristocracy. For example, generations of the noble Cugia family were depicted, in the 1870s and 1880s, by the sculptors Tito Sarrocchi (1824–1900) and Giovanni Pandiani (1809–1879) in a manner that,

in 1875, led the latter's work to be scornfully described by one observer as 'mercantile art' (Vivanet 1875, 4). However, the values inherent in nineteenth-century Italian funerary sculpture, which was created through the patronage of the middle classes, were evidently bourgeois in that common themes were rooted in the exhibition of wealth, the myth of the 'self-made man', the celebration of professional achievements, and the nuclear family. In fact, through these funerary monuments, the identity of the new social group was committed to collective memory.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important to note that Bonaria cemetery exemplifies the construction of memory through the creation of monuments. Architecture, archaeology, and their supporting literature underscored the site's heritage as an ancient burial place. Associations with the past consecrated, and bolstered, the role of the cemetery as a monument that preserved, and transmitted, both individual and collective memories. Whereas, through its monuments, Bonaria cemetery imposed individual remembrance upon posterity, it also functioned to promote the passage of collective memories between generations. Moreover, in commemorating the dead, it helped to allay the individual's fear of annihilation while promoting a sense of permanence, which strengthened the common memory and the identity of a community. Arguably, those functions were particularly important in nineteenth-century Italy, when momentous changes were taking place within its political and social frameworks. In that context, the cemetery acted as a monument to an emergent social group, to a fledgling nation-state, and to the city of Cagliari as it moved through a shifting political landscape. Its monuments sanctioned socio-economic and political developments by establishing relationships between the present and the past. Thus, the cemetery at Bonaria illustrates the manner in which memory is generated, and is eventually overlaid by new memories. As the archaeologist Giovanni Spano suggested in 1869 'the most remarkable aspect of the cemetery at Cagliari is [...] that many of the graves of our ancestors, after twenty or maybe thirty centuries or more, now enclose the bodies of their descendants' (Spano 1869, 16–17).

Note

1. Translations from Italian are by the author.

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.

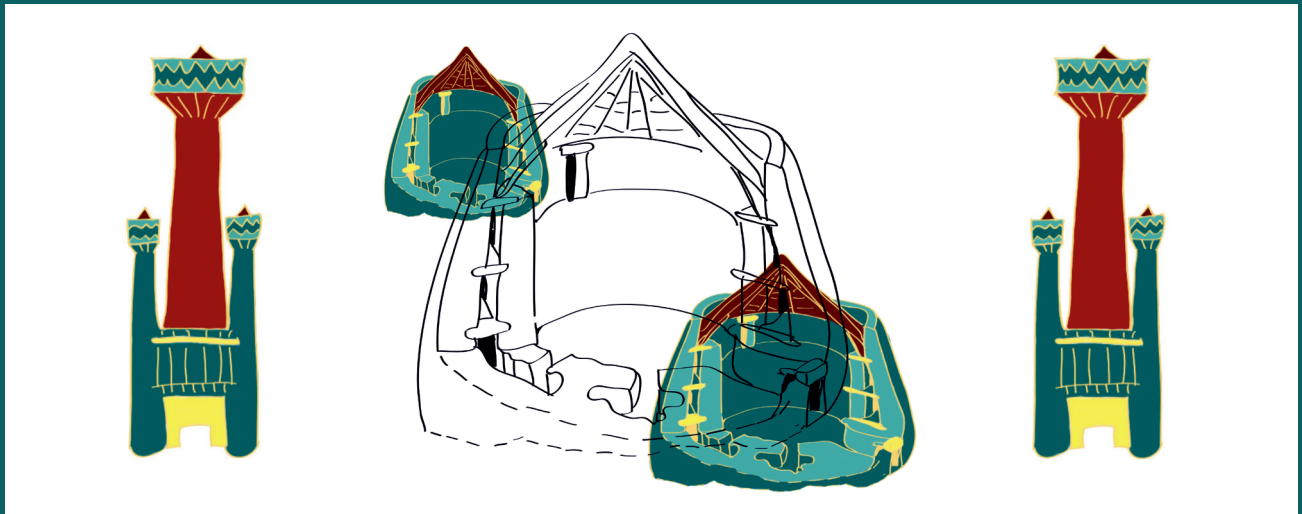
This collection of twenty-one papers addresses the theme of memory anchored to the enduring presence of monuments, mainly from Scotland and Sardinia, but also from Central Europe and the Balkans.

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