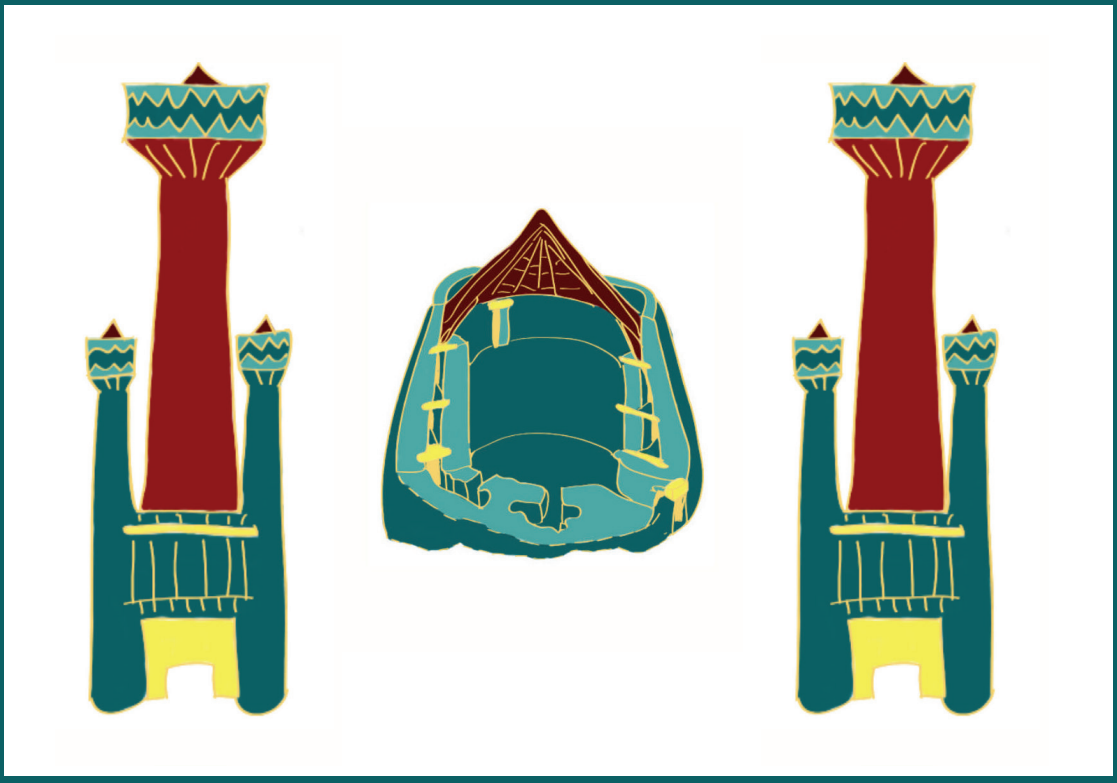
McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

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



Gardening time

McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

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

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

This book, and the conference upon which it was based, were funded by The ACE Foundation, The Fondazione Banco di Sardegna and the McDonald Institute. We are grateful to the British School at Rome and Magdalene College, Cambridge for their support.

Published by:
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
University of Cambridge
Downing Street
Cambridge, UK
CB2 3ER
(0)(1223) 339327
eaj31@cam.ac.uk
www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk

ISBN: 978-1-913344-04-7

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

Cover design by Dora Kemp, Lottie Stoddart and Ben Plumridge.
Typesetting and layout by Ben Plumridge and Ethan D. Aines.

Edited for the Institute by Cyprian Broodbank (*Acting Series Editor*).

Contents

Contributors xi
Figures xiii
Tables xiv
Acknowledgements xv
A tribute in honour of Giovanni Lilliu (1914–2012) xvii
Tributes to Dr David Trump, FSA, UOM (1931–2016), and Dr Euan MacKie, FSA (1936–2020) xxi

Chapter 1 Introduction 1
Simon Stoddart, Ethan D. Aines & Caroline Malone

Part I **Built time** 5

Chapter 2 Memory in practice and the practice of memory in Caithness, northeast Scotland, and in Sardinia 7
John Barber, Graeme Cavers, Andy Heald & Dimitris Theodossopoulos
Concepts and meanings: architecture and engineering 8
Dry stone building technologies 8
Canonicity and mutability: canonicity 10
Mutability 10
Scales of desired social change and of corresponding physical changes 10
The monuments: brochs 11
Nuraghi 12
Post-construction biographies of brochs 14
Post-construction biographies of *Nuraghi* 14
Conclusion 14

Chapter 3 Monuments and memory in the Iron Age of Caithness 17
Graeme Cavers, Andrew Heald & John Barber
The broch 'icon': a creation of archaeological historiography or the reality of Iron Age political geography? 17
Surveying the foundations in Caithness 19
Nybster: a study in Iron Age settlement development 20
The defences 21
Nybster: discussion 21
Thrumster broch 22
The Thrumster sequence 23
Thrumster: discussion 24
Whitegate: a warning 24
Discussion 25
Conclusion: brochs and the architecture of society 25
Monuments and memory: brochs as physical and conceptual raw material 26

Chapter 4 Materializing memories: inheritance, performance and practice at Broxmouth hillfort, southeast Scotland 27
Lindsey Büster & Ian Armit
Broxmouth hillfort 27
The Late Iron Age settlement 29
Household identity 29
Structured deposition 30
House 4: a brief biography 32
Discussion 34
Conclusion 36

Chapter 5 Memories, monumentality and materiality in Iron Age Scotland 37
Louisa Campbell
Social landscapes and memories 37
Northern landscapes in the Roman Iron Age 39
The lowland brochs 39
Lowland broch depositional trends 41
Wider settlement depositional trends 43
Discussion 43
Conclusion 45

Chapter 6 Rooted in water: the Scottish island-dwelling tradition 47
Robert Lenfert
Presence in the landscape 47
A 'wide-angle view' of islet use in Scotland 48
Living on water – revisited 49
Deconstructing defence 49
Crannogs, prehistoric belief systems: ceramic and metalwork deposition 50
Island dwellings and the concept of monumentality 52
Island dwelling use and reuse in the archaeological record 53
Loch Olabhat, North Uist, Western Isles 53
Dun an Sticer, North Uist, Western Isles 54
Eilean na Comhairle, Islay: a prehistoric crannog fit for a medieval king 54
Buiston 56
Ederline and Loch Awe 56
Returning to (un)familiar places 57

Chapter 7 Remembering Nuraghi: memory and domestication of the past in nuragic Sardinia 59
Mauro Perra
The archaeological data 59
Models of *Nuraghi* 60
Other votives 61
The votive context 61
Conclusion 64

Chapter 8 Revisiting Glenelg a century after Alexander O Curle: reconstructing brochs in treeless landscapes 65
Tanja Romankiewicz & Ian Ralston
Curle's excavations 65
The archaeological evidence for post holes within brochs reconsidered 67
Timber sources in deforested landscapes – the environmental record 70
Alternative reconstructions 72
From timber sources to models of social organization 73

Chapter 9 Beyond the *Nuraghe*: perception and reuse in Punic and Roman Sardinia 75
Alfonso Stiglitz
Examples of reuse of *Nuraghi* 76
The archaeology of reuse 79
Who reused the *Nuraghi*? 81
Conclusion 82

Chapter 10 The *Nuraghe*'s life in the Iron Age 83
Carlo Tronchetti
The changed use of *Nuraghi* in the Iron Age 83
The *Nuraghe* as a symbol of memory 84
Conclusion 88

Chapter 11 Monumentality and commemoration at a Late Neolithic henge site in Scotland 89
Rebecca K. Younger
Monuments, memory and archaeology 89
Henge monuments in Scotland 90
Commemoration 91
Forteviot 92
Heterotopias and imagined landscapes 94
Conclusion 95

Part II **Landscape time** 97

Chapter 12 Walking across the land of the Nuraghi: politics of memory and movement in central-western Sardinia during the Bronze Age 99
Giandaniele Castangia
Bronze Age evidence in the Sinis region 99
GIS analysis 101
Concluding remarks 105

Chapter 13 Memory as a social force: transformation, innovation and refoundation in protohistoric Sardinia 107
Anna Depalmas
The funerary context 110
The religious and ceremonial context 113
Iconographic information 114
Conclusion 117

Chapter 14 Burial locations, memory and power in Bronze Age Sardinia 119
Luca Lai
^{14}C-based evidence for the use of natural caves for burial 121
Short outline of Bronze Age burial site types by phase 124
Power, memory and burial locations 125
Conclusion 128

Chapter 15 Memory and movement in the Bronze Age and Iron Age landscape of central and southeastern Slovenia 131
Philip Mason
Memory and movement in the Late Bronze Age 131
Memory and movement in the Early Iron Age landscape 134
Conclusion 136

Part III **Multiple time** 139

Chapter 16 The reuse of monuments in Atlantic Scotland: variation between practices in the Hebrides and Orkney 141
Niall Sharples
Twentieth-century encounters with monuments 142
Landscape in the Western Isles 145
Northern landscapes 149
Conclusion 150

Chapter 17 The nuragic adventure: monuments, settlements and landscapes 151
Alessandro Usai
Nuraghi and nuragic societies 152
Nuraghi and landscapes: colonization, exploitation and the first nuragic crisis 153
Nuragic settlements and landscapes: reorganization and consumption of resources 155
Degeneration and dissolution of the nuragic civilization 157
Conclusion 158

Chapter 18 Changing media in shaping memories: monuments, landscapes and ritual performance in Iron Age Europe 159
Peter Wells
Memory 159
Memory, monuments and the performance of ritual 159
Patterns of change – Early Iron Age burial: ritual performances for individuals and their monuments in the landscape (800–450 BC) 160
Patterns of change – community rituals and new kinds of memory: Early and Middle La Tène (450–150 BC) 162
Patterns of change – increasing engagement with the wider world: Late La Tène (150–25 BC) 163
Interpretation 164
Conclusion 165

Chapter 19 Cultivated and constructed memory at the nineteenth-century cemetery of Cagliari 167
Hannah Malone
The Bonaria cemetery of Cagliari 167
The collective memory 168
A stratigraphy of memory 169
The cemetery as expression of social change 172
Conclusion 173

Chapter 20 *morentur in Domino libere et in pace*: cultural identity and the remembered past in the medieval Outer Hebrides 175
John Raven & Mary MacLeod Rivett
The background 175
The archaeology 177
Discussion 180
Questions 181
Conclusion 183

Chapter 21 Memory and material representation in the Lismore landscape 185
Simon Stoddart, Caroline Malone, David Redhouse, Mary-Cate Garden, Matthew Fitzjohn & Megan Meredith-Lobay
Cycles of time 186
Interrogating the *third* cycle 187
The fourth cycle 188
The fifth cycle 189
Conclusion 189

Chapter 22 Nuragic memories: a deep-seated pervasive attitude 191
Alessandro Vanzetti
Gardening time is not without counterpoints 191
Sardinia seen by a non-Sardinian anthropologist 192
Sardinian archaeology seen by a non-Sardinian archaeologist 193
Memory of ancient places of Sardinia: major medieval break 193
First millennium BC breaks 194
Modern 'museification' and 'memorification' of the Sardinian heritage 195
Conclusion 198

Chapter 23 Endnote: gardening time in broader perspective 201
Ethan D. Aines & Simon Stoddart
Theoretical approaches to memory 202
The impact of literacy? 203
A hard-wired time depth to memory? 203
The importance of context for memory 203
Memory in archaeological studies 205
The materiality of monuments 206
The afterlife of monuments 207
Conclusion: monuments for memory 207

References 209
Index 239

Contributors

Ethan Aines
Cambridge Zero, Centre for Science and Policy, University of Cambridge, UK
Email: ea402@cam.ac.uk

Ian Armit
Department of Archaeology, University of York, The King's Manor, York, YO1 7EP, UK
Email: ian.armit@york.ac.uk

John Barber
AOC Archaeology Group, Edgefield Road Industrial Estate, Loanhead, Midlothian, EH20 9SY, UK
Email: John.Barber@aocarchaeology.com

Lindsey Büster
Department of Archaeology, University of York, The King's Manor, York, YO1 7EP, UK
Email: lindsey.buster@york.ac.uk

Louisa Campbell
University of Glasgow, Molema Building, Lilybank Gardens, Glasgow, G12 8QQ, UK
Email: Louisa.Campbell@glasgow.ac.uk

Giandaniele Castangia
Independent Scholar
Email: gc2020@tiscali.it

Graeme Cavers
AOC Archaeology Group, Edgefield Road Industrial Estate, Loanhead, Midlothian, EH20 9SY, UK
Email: Graeme.Cavers@aocarchaeology.com

Anna Depalmas
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences (DUMAS), University of Sassari, Piazza Conte di Moriana 8, 07100 Sassari – Italy
Email: depalmas@uniss.it

Matthew Fitzjohn,
Department of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology, 12–14 Abercromby Square, University of Liverpool, L69 7WZ, UK
Email: Mpf21@liverpool.ac.uk

Mary-Catherine Garden
The Anglican Diocese of Ottawa (St Martin's Anglican Church), 2120 Prince Charles Rd, Ottawa, K2A 3L3, Canada
Email: mcgarden@icloud.com

Andy Heald
AOC Archaeology Group, Edgefield Road Industrial Estate, Loanhead, Midlothian, Scotland, EH20 9SY, UK
Andy.Heald@aocarchaeology.com

Luca Lai
Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Barnard 225, 9201 University City Boulevard, Charlotte, NC 28223-0001, USA
Email: llai1@uncc.edu

Robert Lenfert
Robert Lenfert Archaeology, 40A Allardice St, Stonehaven, AB39 2BU, UK
Email: robert.lenfert@gmail.com

Mary Macleod Rivett
Historic Environment Scotland, Longmore House, Salisbury Place, Edinburgh, EH9 1SH, UK
Email: mary.macleod@hes.scot

Caroline Malone
School of Natural and Built Environment, Queen's University Belfast, Belfast, BT7 1NN, UK
Email: c.malone@qub.ac.uk

Hannah Malone
Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen, Oude Kijk in 't Jatstraat 26, 9712 EK Groningen, Netherlands
Email: h.o.malone@rug.nl

Phil Mason
Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Ljubljana, Slovenia
Email: phil.mason@zvkds.si

Megan Meredith-Lobay
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, V6T 1Z3, Canada.
Email: megan.lobay@ubc.ca

Mauro Perra
Via Filippo Corridoni, 1 - 09045, Quartu S. Elena, Cagliari
Email: perramarro@gmail.com

Ian Ralston
School of History, Classics and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, EH8 9JU, UK
Email: I.Ralston@ed.ac.uk

John Raven
Historic Environment Scotland, Longmore House, Salisbury Place, Edinburgh, EH9 1SH, UK
Email: john.raven@hes.scot

David Redhouse
Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge, CB2 3DZ, UK
Email: dir21@cam.ac.uk

Tanja Romankiewicz
School of History, Classics and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, William Robertson Wing, Old Medical School, Teviot Place, Edinburgh, EH8 9AG, UK
Email: T.Romankiewicz@ed.ac.uk

Niall Sharples
School of History, Archaeology and Religion, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU, UK
Email: Sharples@cardiff.ac.uk

Alfonso Stiglitz
Independent Scholar
Email: alfonsostiglitz@libero.it

Simon Stoddart
Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge, CB2 3DZ, UK
Email: ss16@cam.ac.uk

Dimitris Theodossopoulos
ESALA, Edinburgh College of Art, University of Edinburgh, Minto House, 20 Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1JZ, UK
Email: d.theodossopoulos@ed.ac.uk

Carlo Tronchetti
Director emeritus of the National Archeological Museum of Cagliari, via Paolo Veronese 4, Cagliari, 09121, Italy
Email: ctronchetti@hotmail.com

Alessandro Usai
Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Cagliari e le province di Oristano e Sud Sardegna, Piazza Indipendenza, 7, I-09124 Cagliari, Italy
Email: alessandro.usai@tiscali.it

Alessandro Vanzetti
Scienze dell'Antichità, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, V. Sciarra, Università di Roma, La Sapienza, Italy
Email: alessandro.vanzetti@uniroma1.it

Peter Wells
Department of Anthropology, 395 HHH Center, University of Minnesota, 301 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55108, USA
Email: wells001@umn.edu

Rebecca Younger
School of Humanities, University of Glasgow, G12 8QQ, UK
Email: Rebecca.Younger@glasgow.ac.uk

Figures

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

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

Tables

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

Acknowledgements

This volume is drawn from the conference *Gardening Time* held in Magdalene College on 21–23 September 2012. I am very grateful to the authors for their resilience! I am also grateful to Giandaniele Castangia for his initial advice, to Isabelle Vella Gregory for support during the conference itself, and to Ethan Aines for carrying the publication through to its penultimate stage, and to Olivia Shelton for copy editing, particularly of the bibliography.

We thank the Fondazione Banco di Sardegna, the McDonald Institute and the ACE Foundation (Stapleford, Cambridgeshire) for their important support in holding the conference. We thank the McDonald Institute for financing a major part of the publication.

We also thank the British School at Rome for allowing us to associate the conference and publication with the institution's name.

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 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.

Figure 0.1. *David Trump.*

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 6

Rooted in water: the Scottish island-dwelling tradition

Robert Lenfert

The human affinity for living along the margins of watery places – seas, rivers, lakes and wetlands – can be regarded as a near-universal trait with a long pedigree. This bold statement is hardly a revelation, as water sustains human life – along with countless other organisms upon which our lives depend. It is therefore not surprising that the abundant freshwater lochs located throughout much of Scotland served as focal points for human activity throughout the ages, whether for survival or security, serenity or status. Yet rather than being content simply to live *near* watery places, many former inhabitants of Scotland chose to live *on* the water. This tradition is readily visible through the remains of over 500 artificial or modified natural islets whose collective chronologies span a period of over five millennia. Neighbouring Ireland also contains numerous occupied islets of a slightly later nature whose main floruit of use appears to be during the Early Christian Period, though recent fieldwork is steadily rolling back this horizon (O'Sullivan 2009), while one crannog is currently known to exist in Wales at Llangorse lake; reputedly the legacy of an Irish settler in the ninth century AD (Redknap & Lane 1999, 377).

Briefly, there are a few caveats to digest. Today, Scottish island dwellings are most commonly known by just one of their various medieval monikers as *crannogs*, while numerous terminologies for island dwellings in all their various guises exist – an issue which has muddied the classificatory waters in Scotland (Henderson 1998, 235–40, Harding 2000, 301, Lenfert 2011, 4–6, 2012, 47–71, 2013, 125–7). This has inadvertently led to a divide between the study of Hebridean and mainland crannog use – effectively a singular concept typically expressed primarily in stone rather than timber. In this regard, the analysis of islet use in Scotland is often a contradictory affair. There are few wholesale observations which can be applied to the overall tradition beyond the shared concept of living on a small islet, while conversely, variation abounds.

Context is often key with crannog discussions. I believe a biography of island dwellings in Scotland is particularly well-suited for discussions on memory and reuse, and therefore *not* particularly well-suited for highly focussed discussions on specific periods. In doing so, one risks losing sight of an inherent part of this rich tradition, namely longevity and persistence. In this sense, a narrative of Iron Age islet use plays an integral role within a Medieval or Post-Medieval narrative, one which sees the much later reoccupation of prehistoric islets which reproduces the same concept – living on water. This underlying theme of reuse and reoccupation provides fertile soil for a number of discussions, not all of which can be addressed in the available space, but alluded to below. These topics include the formation and creation of memory through oral or invented traditions, threads of continuity and change, what monumentality is or is not, and finally, the transposition or projection of legitimacy through the occupation of ancient places.

Presence in the landscape

Current research indicates there are some 571 known or suspected examples of occupied islets in Scotland, ranging from Shetland in the north to Dumfries and Galloway in the south (Lenfert 2012). The majority – at least 347 – are believed to be primarily artificial, i.e. crannogs. Crannogs were laboriously constructed in a number of ways, usually by simply creating a robust mound of stones on shallow loch shelves to form a small island – a technique primarily seen in northern Scotland and the Hebrides, or alternatively, by driving a ring of timber piles into a suitably shallow area of loch bed and filling the interior with peat, brush

or stone, until an islet large enough to provide structural support emerged – a technique most commonly witnessed in more northeastern and southern areas of Scotland (Henderson 1998, 231).

Therefore, in a very real sense, crannogs are a direct reflection of their immediate environment *at the time of construction,* which relied upon readily available materials in the surrounding environment. As a result, these artificial islets range in composition from nascent examples of Neolithic Hebridean crannogs, a current rarity in the archaeological record (Lenfert 2013, 129), to peat-covered mounds of stone built after the wind-swept Western Isles became largely treeless, a lengthy event which began in the Mesolithic and culminated around the late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age transition (Tipping 1994, 23, Fossitt 1996, 171). On the Scottish mainland, the construction of crannogs also mirrors their environment, typically comprising dense agglomerations of timber and brush, rich in organic materials, in those areas which retained sufficient timber resources.

Today, mainland crannogs are deceptive in their appearance – generally nothing more than small, heavily vegetated islets in the picturesque lochs of Scotland, which typically garner little attention from tourists, boaters or fishermen. Underwater inspection in cold, low visibility conditions is often necessary to confirm their artificial nature, which is typically confirmed by the presence of worked timber piles or a tell-tale foundation of irregular boulders small enough to be deposited by human action, while the occasional drought or loch drainage scheme has allowed for sporadic chance identifications without the need for diving. However, it is quite a different story in the Western Isles where prominent drystone architecture visually dominates the archaeological record, alerting us to past activity on islets through a number of intricate and certainly monumental forms: Atlantic roundhouses, including brochs, duns and cellular structures such as wheelhouses, and later, robust, rectilinear Medieval structures.

Access to island dwellings is archaeologically visible through the remains of stone, and less frequently, timber causeways, or the presence of logboats. As recent fieldwork by the author demonstrates, numerous island dwellings are situated in waters shallow enough to provide direct access by simply wading, a habit made easier by simply lifting the traditional highland dress – the belted plaid (not the kilt), commonly worn throughout much of Scotland until at least the early eighteenth century. Conversely, a number of later island dwellings are situated far from shore in deeper water – necessitating the use of boats for access. Overall, this legacy of islet use in Scotland has arguably manifested itself as one of the longest-surviving and most unique settlement traditions in European history.

A 'wide-angle view' of islet use in Scotland

From an archaeological perspective, one of the most immediately recognizable characteristics of island dwellings is their extensive, if not unrivalled, chronology. Scottish crannogs were variously constructed, renewed or reoccupied over some five and a half millennia, from the Neolithic to as late as the eighteenth century, yet this scenario is certainly not one of complete continuity, at least in the current archaeological record. Scottish island dwellings made a Neolithic début in the Western Isles of Scotland at sites such as the crannog of Eilean Dòmhnuill (Armit 2003a), the natural or modified islet of Eilean an Tighe (Scott 1950) and the apparent Neolithic stone and timber crannog at Loch Àirigh na Lic (Dixon & Topping 1986, 191) during a period when static settlement forms and agriculture became widely established. Given the limited depth of fieldwork carried out thus far on Hebridean islet sites, it is almost certain that additional Neolithic crannogs exist here – an area the author intends to revisit in the near future. In contrast, this poorly understood but apparent Neolithic appearance was followed by an extended hiatus in islet use during the Bronze Age, with the sole exception of limited islet occupation in Argyll at the beginning of the first millennium BC (Rennie & Newall 2001). Here, Melldalloch Island exists as a large natural island, and thus stands out as something of an anomaly in both chronology and setting. While future findings will no doubt alter this early chronology, in reality there are currently over 200 radiocarbon or tree-ring dates available from Scottish island dwellings (Lenfert 2012, 18–19). With this amount of data now available, the stark absence of Bronze Age activity during all but the very end of the Late Bronze Age suggests islets during this period were simply not occupied on an appreciable scale.

It is on the periphery of the Early Iron Age (*c*. 800–700 BC) that island dwellings are first constructed on an appreciable scale in Scotland, making the leap in both time and space from the Western Isles. By the mid- to late first millennium BC, crannog use reached a floruit, appearing across much of Western Scotland, and to a lesser extent, eastern areas linked by water routes. These later prehistoric sites appear in the archaeological record as largely unassuming homesteads – it is their unique location that holds an air of monumentality, rather than the limited material assemblages which speak more of domesticity than defence, though concerns of ritual matters appear to

have been present as well (below). The island dwelling tradition was largely unaffected by the limited Roman presence, particularly in areas of direct contact such as Dumfries and Galloway. It persists throughout much of the first millennium AD, after which it all but vanishes in the current archaeological record during the Norse Period (*c*. AD 800–1266), only to re-emerge yet again during the Medieval and Post-Medieval Periods, as a form of settlement increasingly associated with royalty, clansmen and tacksmen. This later use of islets is witnessed by a growing number of written references in the form of charters, official documents and first-hand accounts which tantalizingly allude in the briefest of entries to island dwellings as the setting for feasts, weddings, conflicts and truces – perhaps masking the presence of more commonplace island occupants at this time.

At the end of this saga, the island dwelling tradition ultimately witnessed a rapid demise in the mid- to late seventeenth century. This decline was brought on by a combination of factors, most notably an increasingly centralized government which was effective in dismantling what it accurately saw as an unruly, independent and troublesome clan system. In turn, these efforts toppled long-standing social hierarchies (Shelley 2009, 204), which indirectly led to ideological changes amongst younger members of the land-holding or ruling classes. Newer generations were more likely to be educated in England or on the Continent, or at least exposed to these cultural norms, and domestic desires turned towards constructing tower houses, or later, stately homes with large formal gardens, rather than artificial islands upon which to make their mark. Though the situation in Scotland was far from politically stable – the Jacobites loomed large upon the scene and the Risings of 1715 and 1745 were yet to come, later seventeenth-century life had taken on a considerably more settled tone with reduced internecine violence and raiding that often typified earlier eras. By this point in time, living on an islet went from being a widely accepted practice, which had successfully resisted countless centuries of change, to becoming what basically amounted to an antiquated oddity. The frequently harsh and rugged, yet easily romanticized notion of islet life – one spent hunting and fishing, feasting and heroically defending ancient lineages and traditions, it seems, had gradually given way to afternoon tea.

Living on water – revisited

Given the sweeping timescale for the construction and occupation of island dwellings, in addition to their sheer numbers, it is reasonable to assume at least a certain percentage would see phases of reuse after their initial construction and occupation phase. In reality, this concept is more canonical than exceptional. Currently, with the only clear exception of the Post-Medieval site of Eadarloch (Ritchie 1942; Crone 2011, 36), *every* island dwelling excavated to date typically indicates one or more of the following characteristics: extensive periods of largely uninterrupted occupation, multiple occupation phases, or a sudden revitalization and reoccupation, often centuries after initial construction. Why does this reuse appear so systemic throughout the island dwelling tradition? Is it merely related to the opportunistic renewal of an already-existing site, or does memory and ancestry – however real or constructed – contribute to the decisions made by subsequent arrivals? Perhaps, above all, it typifies what has been referred to as 'the deliberate re-activation of an antique site' (O'Sullivan & Van De Noort 2007, 71).

Deconstructing defence

This question of 'why choose to live on an islet?' rightly forms one of the most fundamental topics within island dwelling studies. As with most debates in archaeology, the reality is that there are multiple, equally valid explanations for living on water. Defence is the most obvious and most commonly touted motive – a pragmatic, plausible notion which leads back to views held by early antiquarian investigators such as Stuart (1865) and Munro (1882). While any islet has inherently defensive characteristics by virtue of being surrounded by water, there are several factors which weaken this argument as the sole reason to build an island.

First, and perhaps most telling, artificial islands were often constructed in lochs where natural islands already existed, yet these 'ready-made' and therefore easily annexed islands often show no archaeological indications of use. This intriguing juxtaposition between unoccupied natural and artificial islets can be seen at Loch Lomond, for instance, where five crannogs were built near natural islands which lacked evidence of human activity (Baker & Dixon 1998, 23). Far from an isolated case, numerous examples of artificial islets built next to natural islets are also found in the Lake of Menteith (Henderson 1998), Loch Awe, Loch Garry and Loch Lundie (Blundell 1909), to name but a few examples. If defence was the overriding issue, using natural islets would free up labour and materials for the construction of robust defensive structures such as palisades, rather than diverting efforts towards the inherently painstaking task of building an island. Second, as fieldwork in the Western Isles has shown (Lenfert 2012, 253–8), it is frequently easier to wade out

Figure 6.1. *Author standing on submerged causeway leading to Dun Ban, Grimsay. Causeways are present on many Hebridean crannog sites in particular, yet access is often problematic despite their presence (photo: Nataliya Danilova).*

to many islets, rather than having to rely solely upon unstable, algae-covered causeways or boats for access. In fact, several islet sites inspected during this research are located in water less than 50 cm deep, while in contrast, navigating stone causeways was considerably more time-consuming, and indeed treacherous, that simply wading to islets through shallow water, though local knowledge of loch depth certainly plays a key role in this observation (Fig. 6.1).

Third, far from being secluded enclaves, island dwellings are highly conspicuous in their environment, often visible for a considerable distance. This attribute implies more about making one's presence known, rather than concealing it. Fourth, there is no clear archaeological evidence for violence on any appreciable scale taking place on Scottish crannogs until the later Medieval Period – it should be noted there are exceptions to this in Ireland, however, which appear to relate more to early Norse forays (O'Sullivan 2000). Fifth, and perhaps ironically, island dwellings are particularly vulnerable to any form of siege for the exact same reasons that underline any apparent defensive characteristics. As historical accounts indicate, there are several ways to make life unbearable for islet occupants, ranging from simply waiting for the besieged occupants to deplete their limited stores of supplies, to more Machiavellian measures such as flooding islets by blocking loch outlets or equally dramatic examples of Post-Medieval cannonades from the foreshore – again in Ireland (O'Sullivan 2000, 41). Finally, protection of food stores from scavengers is another motive which overshadows a potential defensive motive. This holds particularly true in the context of prehistoric societies, at a time when now extinct predators such as lynx, bear and especially wolves would have been encountered with some frequency (Yalden 1999, 111; Lenfert 2012, 561). Finally, food stores on a crannog would be much easier to protect from rodent infestation – a more timeless threat which would have plagued both Neolithic and Medieval occupants alike.

Crannogs, prehistoric belief systems: ceramic and metalwork deposition

If we look beyond overtly physical virtues, towards early spiritual concerns or belief systems, we see additional motives for the prehistoric occupation of

Figure 6.2. *Notable examples of largely intact prehistoric pottery recovered by the author from the lochbed surrounding Hebridean crannogs. Though absent from most mainland sites, typological ceramic forms in the Hebrides can help identify phases of occupation where no other chronological evidence exists.*

islets which extend beyond the realm of the pragmatic. Based upon notable finds by the author of largely intact prehistoric vessels (Fig. 6.2) deposited around the submerged margins of crannogs in the Hebrides (Lenfert 2011, 17, 22–4, Lenfert *forthcoming*), evidence of intentional ceramic deposition on the loch bed adjacent to crannogs is now apparent in the island dwelling record, as these vessels appear to have been carefully placed upright or in one instance, (Lenfert 2011, 24) nested inside one another, rather than simply discarded into the loch.

In addition, extensive metalwork deposition, well-known in numerous prehistoric European contexts, further alludes to the belief that watery places held a specific significance in prehistory, perhaps later transposed upon themes in early Christianity. These Pagan belief systems deified natural elements, many strands of which were later adopted by Roman incomers. Rivers, lakes, pools and wells have long been associated with not only the essence of life or sources of healing, but also the otherworld (*cf* Green 1995), though much of this evidence is largely anecdotal in nature, primarily surviving through mention in either Greek or Roman sources. In this sense, a reverence for watery places, e.g. Scottish lochs, raises the strong possibility of a ritual association with the construction and occupation of artificial islands, as opposed to solely natural islet use, as places *intentionally* surrounded by life-giving water, protected and blessed by virtue of their location and detachment from their earthly surroundings.

Furthermore, there exists a similar dynamic for the curious appearance of a number of well-preserved ards deposited in the sub-flooring on crannogs such as Milton Loch (Piggott 1953), Buiston (Munro 1882; Crone 2000), Oakbank (Dixon 2004) and Cults Loch (Cavers 2010). In this vein, it is therefore rather surprising that ritual metalwork deposition is not found in more secure association with island dwellings, although this may simply reflect a lack of excavation on the surrounding lochbed. Sites such as the 'Iochdar Complex', in the Western Isles (Lenfert 2012, 490), Dowalton Loch in the southwest and perhaps most importantly, Duddingston Loch (Stuart 1865) have produced evidence of metalwork deposition in association to known or suspected crannogs, yet in many cases, it is difficult to make a convincing correlation due to either the lack of provenance from antiquarian relict hunters or evidence for continuity between site occupation and

artefact deposition. Most crannog excavations have understandably focused upon the islets themselves, not systematic searches of the surrounding lochbed for submerged artefacts. The strongest evidence for metalwork deposition in relation to crannogs comes from neighbouring Ireland. An amnesty for archaeological relics in Ireland was called during the late 1980s. Underwater metal detectorists, in particular, revealed a large number of metal objects deposited near crannogs (O'Sullivan 1998, 42), further strengthening arguments for a correlation between crannogs and deposition associated with ritual activity.

Island dwellings and the concept of monumentality

Thus far, while defence (from both humans and animals) and ritual concerns appear to provide *partial* explanations for the prehistoric occupation of islets, several other factors play into this discussion, namely monumentality. This theme holds particularly true in regards to Hebridean islet use, characterized by the presence of imposing Atlantic roundhouses represented by sites such as Dun an Sticer, Dun Cromore, Dun Torcuill and Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn (Fig. 6.3), to name but a few of the better-known examples (*cf* Beveridge 1911; Armit 1996; Lenfert 2012) In this sense, most archaeologists would agree monumental architecture is typified by large man-made stone structures such as Scottish brochs or Sardinian *Nuraghi*, or earthworks such as Silbury Hill in England or Monk's Mound in North America. Therefore, it is reasonable to ask what outwardly monumental characteristics crannogs possess. Despite the technical skill and sheer labour associated with their construction, little evidence of the toil necessary to build them is readily apparent to outsiders who might rightly assume the island is not simply natural. Furthermore, within perhaps a decade of abandonment, vegetation would likely obscure any remaining walling present,

Figure 6.3. *Examples of prominent 'monumental' islet architecture: (clockwise, from upper left) Dun Cromore, Lewis, Dun Nighean Righ Lochlainn and Dun Torcuill, North Uist.*

providing the impression simply of a natural islet without visual clues as to its human past.

The answers to this lie more within contemporary site use, in the context of outward visibility and initial impressions upon neighbouring social groups. The ability to construct an island represents the creation of a lasting, highly visible feature in the landscape – one that is not readily discounted. Archaeological evidence from prehistoric crannogs (*cf* Munro 1882; Piggott 1953; Crone 2000; Dixon 2004) may lack much to associate them artefactually with royalty or high-status lifestyles, yet the available picture is one of often intense activity: a timber causeway leading to a thriving, smoky roundhouse set upon the water, perhaps with a log-boat moored alongside. There would have been the sights and sounds of families carrying out daily tasks, the grinding of grain on a quernstone, or the working of timbers accompanied by the smells of cooking, the butchering of livestock and the processing of animal hides. Infrequent visitors to a particular loch (perhaps during seasonal pastoral movements) would likely be left with quite an impression upon discovering that not only was there a new island in the loch, but that it now contained a bustling household. Experimental archaeology also plays a direct role in forming these perceptions.

Based upon the imagery above, crannogs would therefore possess monumental aspects on several levels: most directly, during the active life-cycle of the site, and less tangibly, after abandonment, as the focal point or setting for events subsumed into local memory. At this junction, oral traditions would become the primary channel through which the knowledge of past events and places on these enigmatic sites were transmitted down to successive generations. Meanwhile, the occasional or accidental recognition of 'forgotten' artificial islets through processes such as drought or the discovery of artefacts adds a new variable to sites which became 'lost' in local knowledge – including modified or invented histories to explain these peculiar places in the landscape.

Island dwelling use and reuse in the archaeological record

Below are several cases of reuse or lengthy occupation in the island dwelling record which provide insights into the differing patterns of reuse visible in the archaeological record. These traits include: intermittent use or long occupation spans, Medieval or Post-Medieval reoccupation of prehistoric islets and lastly, symbolism associated with the later use of crannogs as political centres of control. The methodology of dating islets in a Scottish context deserves some discussion here. First, the taphonomy of islet sites is particularly challenging due to variations in loch levels, currents, wind and biological factors, not to mention subsidence of mound structures from any number of causes, most commonly unstable foundations. Attempting to date island dwellings by association based upon visual clues can be deceptive. A clear example is seen at Loch Tay, Perthshire, where two crannogs exist within *c*. 50 m of one another – Dall Farm North (still above the waterline) and Dall Farm South (completely submerged). Despite being submerged, and thus of greater *apparent* antiquity, Dall South instead returned an Early Historic radiocarbon date in contrast to a considerably older, Mid-Iron Age determination for the still-exposed Dall North site (Dixon 2005, 259). Thus, we see that assumptions regarding site-formation processes relative to adjacent sites cannot be relied upon for relative or sequential dating purposes.

From an artefactual standpoint, it has been noted that the material culture of Scotland is largely homogenous throughout much of later prehistory (Henderson 2007, 171), making it difficult in some instances to date assemblages even broadly based on typologies alone. In addition, the material culture associated with mainland crannogs is largely undiagnostic and virtually aceramic until the mid-first millennium AD. Beyond Neolithic or later Hebridean islet use almost all prehistoric vessels and containers recovered from crannogs are crafted from wood, not ceramics. Again, islet sites in the Hebrides and Northern Isles stand out here as the primary exceptions – places which contain a visible ceramic tradition throughout later prehistory. Therefore, in mainland areas radiocarbon determinations, and to a lesser extent, dendrochronology, play a particularly vital role in chronological discussions of islet use and reuse, rather than reliable typological dating of artefacts.

Loch Olabhat, North Uist, Western Isles

Perhaps the most persistent example of artificial islet use occurs at the Neolithic site of Eilean Domhnuill in Loch Olabhat, North Uist. As with most sites on North Uist, it was first investigated by the keen antiquarian Erskine Beveridge, who noted the presence of several rectangular structures overlying earlier midden ash and quantities of patterned pottery (Beveridge 1911, 198). Little else transpired until the site was re-excavated by Ian Armit in the late 1980s who initially believed the site to be another example of Medieval use based upon the rectilinear foundations (Armit 1987; 1988; 1992a; 1996; 2003a). However, excavation revealed at least three successive Neolithic drystone houses whose foundations were largely contiguous and measured some 6 × 4 m internally (Armit 2003a, 94). Underwater

trial trenches revealed earlier strata which pre-date the structures, and it is surmised that a rapid sequence of flooding and rebuilding took place during the first of the substantial occupation phases represented at the site (Armit 2003a, 95).

The site appears to have witnessed a troubled history, perhaps a testimony to the dogged nature of the occupants who repeatedly returned here. Over multiple cycles, the islet appears to have been completely flooded, abandoned, and then – as it re-emerged from the waters – was rebuilt and occupied yet once more. In comparison to mainland Iron Age crannog assemblages, the Neolithic material culture from the site was prolific. Some 20,000 sherds of Unstan and Hebridean ware were recovered, along with carved stone balls, pumice fishing net floats and numerous saddle querns, while anaerobic conditions provided well-preserved organic layers, including evidence of wattle screens and faunal remains associated with food consumption. However, the notion of the islet as a 'typical' domestic site is challenged by Armit, who cites a lack of evidence for the working of materials or the keeping of livestock (e.g. no dung) on the site, along with the fact it was fastidiously maintained from *c.* 3650–2600 BC despite episodic flooding events. As Armit relates, 'Whatever else the site was, Eilean Domhnuill was important and permanent' (Armit 2003a, 98).

However, the story of islet use in Loch Olabhat does not end here. The site of Eilean Olabhat, only 200 m east of Eilean Domhnuill within the same loch, was also excavated by Armit and produced dates ranging from the mid-first millennium BC to the onset of the Norse Period, with even later evidence for late Medieval or Post-Medieval reuse (Armit 1988, 35; Armit *et al.* 2009). This former islet is now connected to the foreshore because of changing loch levels and the encroachment of blanket peats. It is considerably larger (*c.* 60 × 80 m) than its artificial neighbour Eilean Domhnuill (*c.* 23 m diameter) and is of natural origins although heavily modified with perimeter walling. The earliest construction phase is represented by a small circular stone structure measuring 4 × 5 m internally (Armit *et al.* 2009, 32), followed by three more archaeologically discernible phases of use, occurring not as continuous occupation but as largely discreet episodes. The first and second phases in the second half of the first millennium BC, and perhaps early centuries AD, appeared to have been episodic, not continual. A third phase is evident after a lengthy abandonment in the mid-first millennium AD, marked initially by a domestic occupation phase, followed by the emergence of considerable metalworking activity on-site until perhaps the eighth century AD (Armit *et al.* 2009, 45). The evidence for metalworking from phase three in the Early Historic Period is notable; 86 mould fragments were recovered while traces of silver were recorded in five crucible fragments (Armit *et al.* 2009, 83). Finally, phase four occurs after yet another lengthy period of abandonment, as a final discrete phase ending somewhere between the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries AD.

Dun an Sticer, North Uist, Western Isles

Another prehistoric islet which was later reoccupied in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Period is Dun an Sticer (Fig. 6.4), a prominent prehistoric Atlantic roundhouse situated on a natural islet on North Uist in the Western Isles. This popular site amongst tourists today is notable by the insertion of a Medieval rectangular interior within the modified broch shell (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 1928, 51). Dun an Sticer retains some of its associated oral tradition, unlike the majority of other islet sites. The Post-Medieval occupant, Hugh, son of Archibald 'the Clerk', utilized Dun an Sticer as a base from which he set out to murder the Chief of the MacDonalds and thereby assert control over North Uist during a period of inter-clan unrest after the murder of his father (Beveridge 1911, 140). This would-be usurper on North Uist reputedly held out for nearly a year on this prehistoric broch, until he was reputedly betrayed by his mother attempting to flee by swimming away. His capture, imprisonment in Duntulm Castle on Skye and gruesome death by being given only salted meat and no water, mark an end to this episode (Beveridge 1911, 138; Miers 2008, 5). It is difficult to imagine the unfortunate Hugh chose Dun an Sticer to make his ill-fated bid without considering the historical implications of political power associated with this islet. While this example is one of the more vivid legacies, the overall theme of reoccupying abandoned sites with an associated genealogical or mythological legacy (Gosden & Lock 1998, 2) is archaeologically visible throughout much of the Medieval period, though perhaps lacking the striking narrative associated with Dun an Sticer. It is plausible that throughout Scotland, multiple instances of islet reoccupation were key components towards asserting or contesting claims of ownership or control over the surrounding landscape.

Eilean na Comhairle, Islay: a prehistoric crannog fit for a medieval king

Loch Finlaggan, located on Islay in the Inner Hebridean archipelago, contains several islets which arguably play an under-recognized role in the history of Medieval Scotland. Loch Finlaggan is directly connected to the

Figure 6.4. *Dun an Sticer, North Uist – a prehistoric Atlantic roundhouse with Late Medieval modification and reoccupation.*

powerful Lordship of the Isles, which broadly existed from the mid-twelfth to the late fifteenth century AD. Between 1990 and 1998, excavations led by David Caldwell (Caldwell 2010a, b) allowed the team to conduct relatively dry excavations on some 80 sq. m of previously submerged lochbed (Caldwell 1997, 19). The loch contains three islets, two of which are artificial. Towards the southern end of the loch Eilean Mhuireill exists as an artificial sub-circular crannog measuring some 30 × 50 m at its base, with a usable living area of approximately 17.5 × 12.5 m (Holley 1995, 20). Local tradition indicates that Eilean Mhuireill served as a prison for the Lords of the Isles, visible through the remains of two sub-rectangular structures measuring approximately 3 × 7 m internally (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 1984, 154). Holley investigated the site as part of his PhD fieldwork in the Inner Hebrides (Holley 2000) and subsequently discovered the crannog was situated in water too deep for causeway construction, thus requiring a boat for access (Holley 2000, 210) further strengthening its attractiveness as a prison.

However, it is the second completely artificial islet, Eilean na Comhairle, located at the northern end of the loch, which provides one of the best examples of high-status medieval reuse of a prehistoric crannog in Scotland. Eilean na Comhairle, or 'Council Island' is a completely artificial Iron Age crannog some 30 m in diameter. Radiocarbon dating of structural timbers indicates an initial construction phase from the second century BC, with a second phase of revitalization taking place some seven to eight centuries later, on the cusp of the late Iron Age/Early Medieval transition in the fifth to sixth centuries AD (Caldwell 2010a, 49). Notably, the crannog later served as the principal residence for John, First Lord of the Isles (AD 1329–1380). This crannog is in turn associated with Eilean Mor some 50 m away, a substantially larger natural island which, in contrast to most natural islets near crannogs, holds the remains of some seven structures, including chapels. This reuse of Eilean na Comhairle in Loch Finlaggan during the Medieval Period indicates both symbolic and pragmatic motivations. As control over much of Atlantic Scotland was contested in the centuries

following the MacDonalds rise to power, crannogs would have served not only as pragmatic boltholes during periods of unrest, but as centres of political power and control by virtue of the reoccupation of ancient places in the landscape. In this regard, as the MacDonalds were the last in a long line of descendants from the obscure Somerled MacGillebrigte in the twelfth century, these seemingly obscure crannogs today in the Inner Hebrides actually served as a centralized location along the western Scottish seaboard from which to rule this maritime-based kingdom of Medieval Scotland.

While historical references to the islands extend as far back as the fourteenth century, by the late seventeenth century records indicate the dwellings were then in a ruinous state. (Celoria 1959). The 'castle' on Eilean Mor now survives as a substantial foundation underlying two later buildings, containing robust walling some 1.5 m in thickness (Caldwell 1993, 63). However, the choice of the smaller crannog Eilean na Comhairle as the site for the Lord's centre, as opposed to the much larger adjacent natural island is telling here, as is the location and limited access. This desire to occupy a place seen as apart and therefore exclusive readily highlights the notion that a rather humble crannog in Loch Finlaggan was in effect, the administrative hub of a far-reaching maritime kingdom. While not all crannogs were 'fit for a king', it is apparent during the mid- to late Medieval Period in Scotland that a growing number of crannogs were occupied by persons of at least some status, such as landholders (Gaelic *Lairds*) or the growing class of 'fear-taic' or tacksmen. This societal stratum consisted of middle-ranking men who rented *taic* or a plot of land from the freeholder (i.e. Scottish Lairds) and subsequently sub-let it amongst their immediate kin or close clansmen. To this end, tacksmen appear to have been the primary occupants of many island dwellings, particularly in the Hebrides, during the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods (Raven 2005).

Ultimately, Loch Finlaggan stands as a notable exemplification of a Post-Norse return to prehistoric crannogs. The underlying importance stressed here is the association of crannogs with royalty and regional control on a scale previously unseen in Scotland through the archaeological record alone.

Buiston

Moving to the Scottish mainland, another example of reuse after extended abandonment is represented at Buiston, Ayrshire, which was initially excavated by the antiquarian Munro in the late nineteenth century (Munro 1882) and again in 1989–90 by Crone (Crone 2000). An important aspect of the later excavation was the application of dendrochronological dating, which has supplemented the radiocarbon results from the site. This data provide two discrete windows of activity: initial construction in the late first and early second centuries AD, followed by much later rejuvenation and reoccupation during the sixth to mid-seventh centuries AD with tree-ring dates falling between AD 520 and 668 (Crone 2000, 55, 160).

From a diagnostic standpoint, the later assemblage at Buiston included sherds of Continental E-ware, part of a crossbow mechanism (nut), eight knife blades and three spearheads amongst other metal objects. Notably, this artefactual evidence did not yield any material that would bridge the gap between construction and secondary reuse during the Early Historic Period, creating a gap of roughly three and a half centuries between these phases. If the occurrence of weapons such as spears, and the crossbow nut were intended for more than hunting, these artefacts suggest that crannog occupation by the early Medieval Period had perhaps taken on an increasingly defensive nature. Whether this perceived shift in use simply reflects a bias in the recovered material culture, in contrast to more benign, domestic assemblages from prehistoric occupation (i.e. quernstones, wooden vessels and lithics), it nevertheless suggests an expansion in the role of islet use beyond simple households or seasonal settlements.

Ederline and Loch Awe

Crannog reuse and reoccupation is again visible at Loch Awe in Perthshire, the first loch to be systematically inspected for crannogs by divers in 1972. This massive effort resulted in the documentation of 20 artificial islets (McArdle *et al.* 1973) which provides a clear indication of the intensity in artificial islet activity within several of the larger Highland lochs. One of the sites examined was Ederline crannog which exists as a seasonally submerged, sub-circular mound measuring some 37 m by 27 m and *c*. 2.5 m in height at the southern end of Loch Awe (McArdle *et al.* 1973; Cavers & Henderson 2005, 285). Initial radiocarbon samples produced an Early Iron Age date of 790–520 cal. BC (SUERC-20205) from an oak pile, yet rather than finding prehistoric artefacts, excavation in 2004 by Cavers & Henderson instead revealed sherds of E-ware from the sixth or early seventh centuries AD (Cavers 2006, 290). A reference in the Irish Annals indicates that *Etarlindu,* believed to be Ederline, was the site of a pitched battle between the Picts and the Scotti in AD 736 (Lane & Campbell 2000, 25) providing additional support for the reuse of prehistoric crannogs as contested places in the Early Historic Period.

Returning to (un)familiar places

While space prevents a detailed narrative of the sites briefly discussed above, the archaeological and historic records underscore a number of motives behind crannog reoccupation, ranging from the intentional reuse of a well-known structure to perhaps coincidental opportunistic reoccupation of an existing islet. The prominence of islet settlements is another aspect that lends itself to notions of control in the landscape – if not in the purely political sense – one of control over the surrounding arable land (Morrison 1985, 78). Occupied islets are visible from great distances in comparison to many 'terrestrial' sites. This suggests that the residents sought to reoccupy crannogs as an impressive and easily defended form of settlement, one which may have previously existed as a ruin and known in local memory for countless generations yet was renewed to its apparent former glory once again. Given the practicalities of living on crannogs, especially in rugged areas such as the Scottish Highlands or the Western Isles, many islets located within the larger Highland lochs would have also served as important nodal points in the landscape, because of their situation within water-based arteries of communication and travel.

One pragmatic aspect of crannog reuse is that reinvigoration or maintenance of the site, even after centuries of abandonment, would have required less effort in contrast to the laborious initial construction phase. Today, this is evident when one considers the number of crannogs which still survive above the loch level despite episodic periods of flooding or severe storms. The thick vegetation which commonly covers these sites helps to consolidate the core of the crannog mound, while waterlogged timber piles retain much of their original strength which further prevents the mass from slumping. Therefore, a site that has 'only' been abandoned for several centuries, could become inhabitable once again with a brief but intensive spate of repair. As driving new timber piles into stone mounds is impractical, if not impossible, this new occupation phase would often involve enlargement of the crannog mound itself, at which point timbers could then be readily inserted into the silty lochbed along new margins (*cf* Harding 2000, 305).

Specific motives for crannog reuse range from the opportunistic, short-term reoccupation of existing sites during periods of political insecurity, to more opaque considerations of ancestry, legacy, tradition and identity (Lenfert 2012, 39). The reuse of sites which already contain an associated legacy would provide a convincing display of authority not easily dismissed by others. As Cavers (Cavers 2006, 146) states: 'occupation of ancient islet sites must have been a very deliberate undertaking, designed to create a tangible connection to the past'. On a similar level, other scholars have argued that 'that all prehistoric societies orientated their actions in the present with the past in mind', making 'a distinction between genealogical history, where the past is created through links to known ancestors, and mythical history, where a less well-known past is evoked' (Gosden & Lock 1998, 2). Therefore, conceptual stimuli such as legitimacy via reoccupation, symbolism and status can be viewed as key drivers behind the longevity of the Scottish island dwelling tradition. By incorporating these non-tangible factors into narratives regarding crannogs, a more meaningful discussion of the tradition as a whole becomes more readily available. Conversely, more traditional, pragmatic explanations behind crannog use – primarily as defensive strongholds – can now be at least partially deconstructed in favour of deeper, underlying motives for reoccupation. As with many similar archaeological debates, there is no neat, singular explanation as to why Scottish crannogs were constructed and occupied (and subsequently reoccupied) over such a tremendous timespan. However, when the wider spectrum of motives discussed above are presented within a site-specific context, such as Dun an Sticer or Loch Finlaggan, the transposition of legacy through the occupation of ancient places becomes much more apparent.

In closing, despite a lengthy history of scholarly interest in Scottish island dwellings and crannogs, the reality is that crannog studies have been neither consistent in nature, nor well-developed in a regional sense, while still reliant upon many interpretations first cultivated in the nineteenth century. These issues may leave many modern archaeologists with a mottled view of this phenomenon. Lack of investigation is still a primary issue given the hundreds of sites which have largely gone unnoticed, while finding the funding and sustained commitment required to send trained archaeologists diving in Scottish lochs remains another formidable barrier, despite the proven abundance of high-quality finds that results from underwater archaeology here. Typical drivers of new archaeological discoveries such as commercial development play virtually no role in islet studies, unless located in a drained loch. Therefore, the impetus is upon research-driven archaeology to advance our current understanding of the Scottish crannog tradition. In this regard, the author is committed to building upon his research in the future to carry out more investigation, particularly in a Neolithic Hebridean context. With that said, the brief case-studies presented above will hopefully form one element from which to develop and expand new theoretical approaches to the remarkable longevity, reuse and memory contained which typify the Scottish island dwelling tradition.

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.

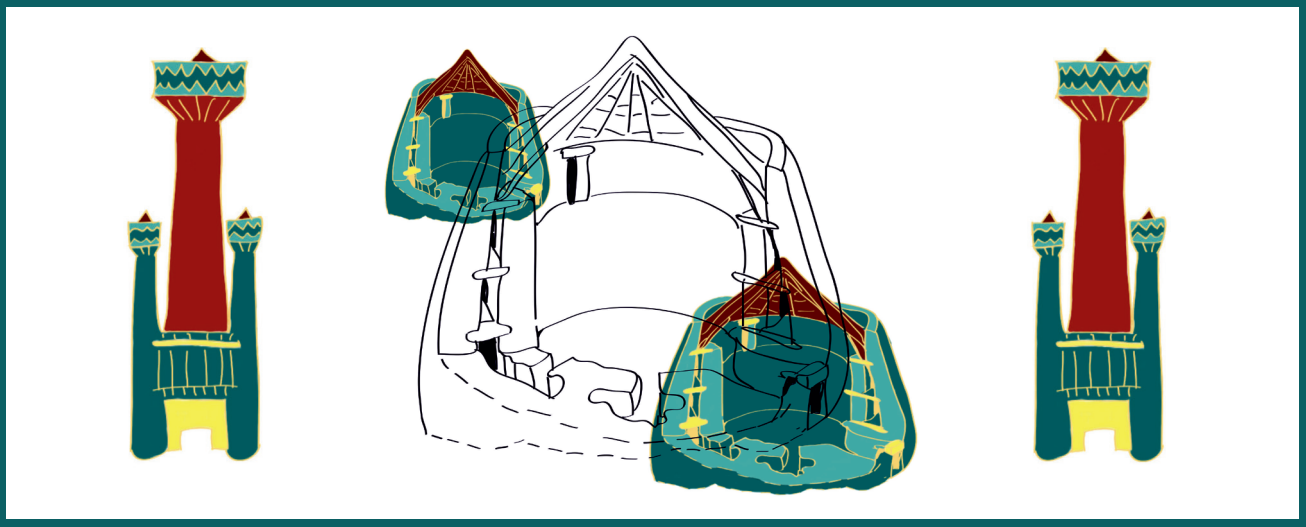
This collection of twenty-one papers addresses the theme of memory anchored to the enduring presence of monuments, mainly from Scotland and Sardinia, but also from Central Europe and the Balkans.

Editors:

Simon Stoddart is a Professor in the Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge.

Ethan D. Aines is a Policy Assistant at Cambridge Zero, Centre for Science and Policy at the University of Cambridge.

Caroline Malone is Professor of Prehistory at Queen's University, Belfast.



Published by the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research,
University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge, CB2 3ER, UK.

The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research exists to further research by Cambridge archaeologists and their collaborators into all aspects of the human past, across time and space. It supports archaeological fieldwork, archaeological science, material culture studies, and archaeological theory in an interdisciplinary framework. The Institute is committed to supporting new perspectives and ground-breaking research in archaeology and publishes peer-reviewed books of the highest quality across a range of subjects in the form of fieldwork monographs and thematic edited volumes.

Cover design by Dora Kemp, Lottie Stoddart and Ben Plumridge.

ISBN: 978-1-913344-04-7

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

B S R BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

ISBN 978-1-913344-04-7
9 781913 344047