
Chapter 20

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

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

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

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

The background

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

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

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

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

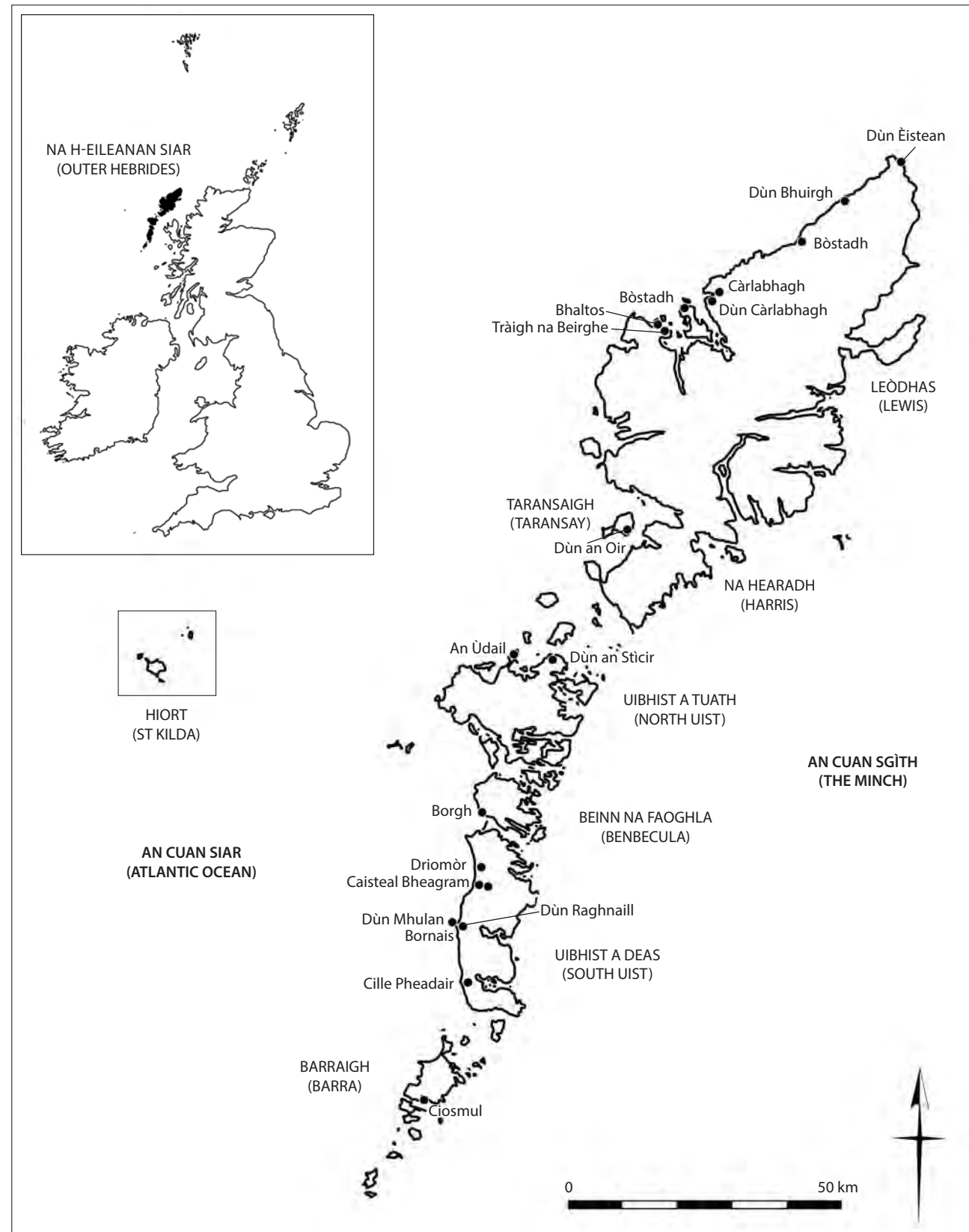


Figure 20.1. Location map.

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

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

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

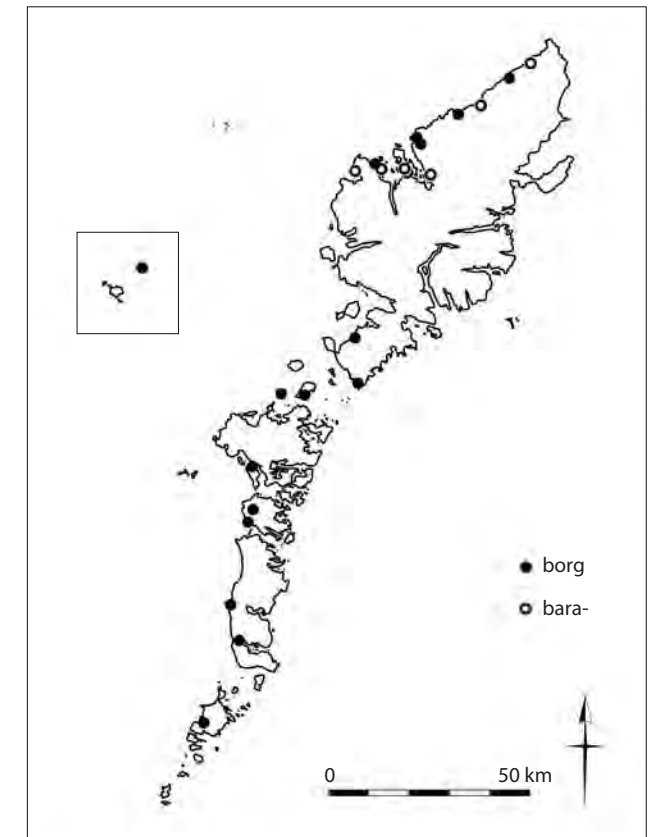


Figure 20.2. ‘Borg’ and ‘bara’ place names.

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

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

The archaeology

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

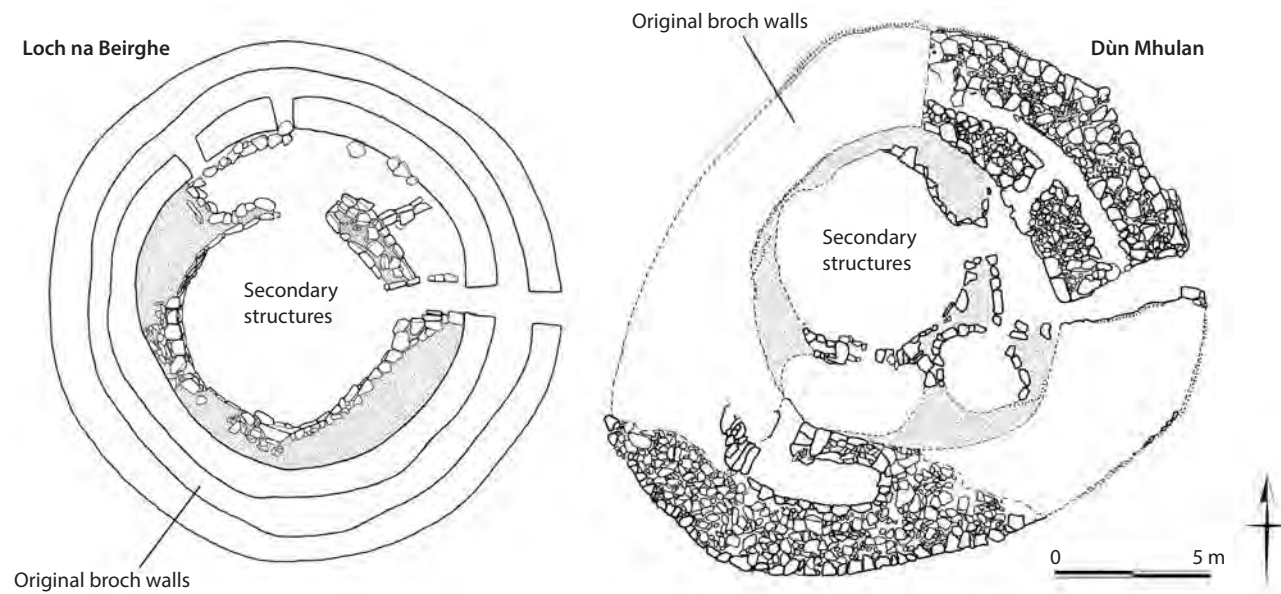


Figure 20.3. *Dun Mhulan and Loch na Beirghe.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Figure 20.4. *Dun Carlabhagh (Carloway).*



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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

Chapter 21

Memory and material representation in the Lismore landscape

Simon Stoddart, Caroline Malone, David Redhouse,
Mary-Cate Garden, Matthew Fitzjohn & Megan Meredith-Lobay

The association of the Garden with Time was inspired by the island of Lismore which has been linked to the translation of the Gaelic *Lios Mòr*, or 'great garden' (Fraser 2004, 244–5). As mentioned in the introduction, horticulture also brings with it a particular sense of cultivated, cyclical time that seemed doubly appropriate. In modern times, different gardens have different levels of structure. In the romantic British tradition, it is tactically placed monuments that give fixed points to an otherwise 'natural' landscape. Could the monuments of Sardinia, Scotland and indeed Lismore respond to the same concept?

As mentioned in the introduction, Richard Bradley (1993; 2002) has provided seminal analysis of the way in which attention to the past by prehistoric societies can be read from the spatial disposition of different monuments. In the case of Lismore, these are not focused into particular parts of the landscape such as in the case of Tara that Bradley cites extensively and which provides an excellent example of the growth of a monument micro-landscape. The aim of this chapter is to show how the placing of monuments forms a series of cycles of time differentially placed across the landscape and recalled in later periods (cf. Stoddart 2013, comparing Tara and Tarxien).

Historians may be sceptical about the extent to which archaeologists can reconstruct the memories of landscape, and even be doubtful about the degree to which there was intentionality even in the placing of historical monuments next to the prehistoric (Meredith Lobay 2009). However, analysis done by two of us (Garden and Fitzjohn) has provided invaluable information on how the current islanders react to archaeology. This is an ethnography of heritage similar to the work of Chapman (1971) whose seminal work (only written up long after the fieldwork in the 1930s), deciphered the strata of time defined by the people of Milocca on the larger island of Sicily. Archaeological sites were exiled to a time

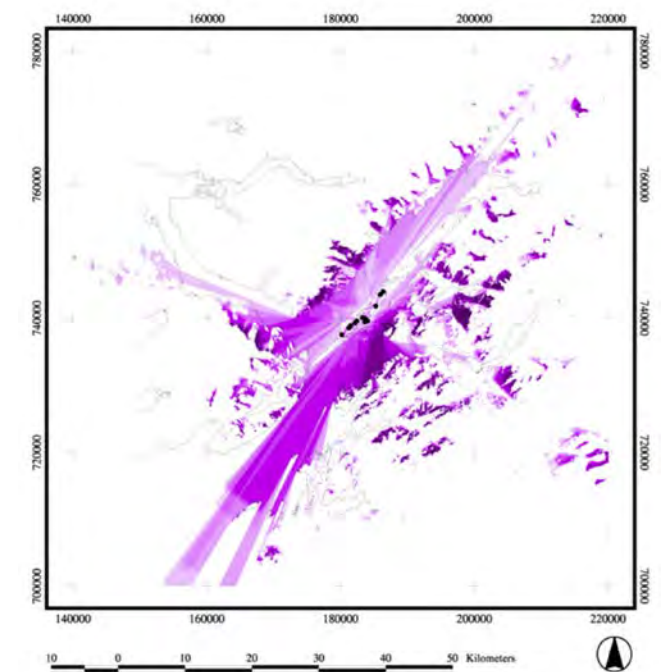


Figure 21.1. *Lismore: viewsheds from Neolithic cairns.* Crown Copyright/database right 2006. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

of the Saracens, while modernity emerged after '48, that major political threshold in the development of Europe (Stoddart 1998). We could argue that the archaeological sites of Lismore have been exiled to Celticity, whilst '45 and later clearances in the nineteenth century (<http://www.isleoflismore.com/history/baligrundle/baligrundle.shtml>) provided an equally important threshold in the island's political development.

The island of Lismore (Fig. 21.1) lies like a long ship setting sail for Mull from the southern shore of the Great Glen, a geological fault-line that metamorphoses



Figure 21.2. Aerial view of Tirefuir (Tirefour) under excavation.

southwestwards into Loch Linhe. It is a mere 2.5 km wide and 15 km long, unusually, within Argyll and more broadly Scotland, dominated by a Dalradian limestone geology which gave it a different character, including fertility compared with nearby areas.

The Island of Lismore was the subject of a Historic Scotland and McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research Cambridge sponsored programme of landscape investigation between 2000 and 2008. The programme started by flying the Cambridge aeroplane with overlapping aerial (1:6,000) photography in 2000, accompanied by a desktop assessment by one of us (Redhouse) using the information readily available in Canmore (<https://canmore.org.uk/>) and then integrated with Digimap. This was followed by a survey of the major broch monument of Tirefuir, including registration of its deterioration. A more general condition survey was undertaken of the whole island and a more detailed study of the central portion by Paul Pattison, accompanied by geophysics. Two major fieldwork years then followed in 2004–5 that included the excavation of the outer parts and entrance of Tirefuir and

selected parts of other representative sites that had been identified during the broader survey. The final year of work entailed the consolidation of the broch in 2008, in collaboration with the local community who had by then opened their museum, supported by Historic Scotland and Forward Scotland.

Cycles of time

The programme of work identified five major cycles of time which will now be outlined and interpreted. The *first* entailing the likely colonization of the islands in c. 8000 BC, involving a complex interrelationship between rising sea level and rising land (released of the weight of ice) (Saville 2004, 17) was not directly investigated by the project; although a pollen sequence was recovered from one of the lochs by Rupert Housley (as we revise this article the loch is under new investigation by the Royal Holloway geographers (Matthews *et al.* 2021)) that from the limited dating and pilot analysis appears to reach back to this early period. This first period can, therefore, only be inferred from the very

limited records of Lethbridge (1950) who worked on the offshore island middens and by comparison with discoveries in the Western Isles (Gregory *et al.* 2005). The nearest evidence to Lismore is from MacArthur cave and Druimvargie Rockshelter in Oban which, although originally discovered in the 1890s (Anderson 1895, 1898), have now been dated to 7400 BC (Saville 2004, 19). The *second* relates to the prominent burial cairns (Fig. 21.1) that define the upland spine of the island from northeast to southwest, casting a comprehensive viewshed 360 degrees around the island. The only available information on these derives from the Royal Commission volume (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 1975) and excavated sites from outside the island (Saville 2004, 200) from which it can be inferred that time has moved on 4,000 years to c. 4000 BC. The *third* phase dating provisionally to 300 BC onwards was investigated by the current work in much more detail, adding a new richness to the evidence in hand and will be reported in more detail below. This comprises the construction of the two candidates for the nomenclature broch (Fig. 21.2–3) and the accompanying complexity of other types of Argyll monuments from this time onwards. This memory cycle arguably morphs into the early

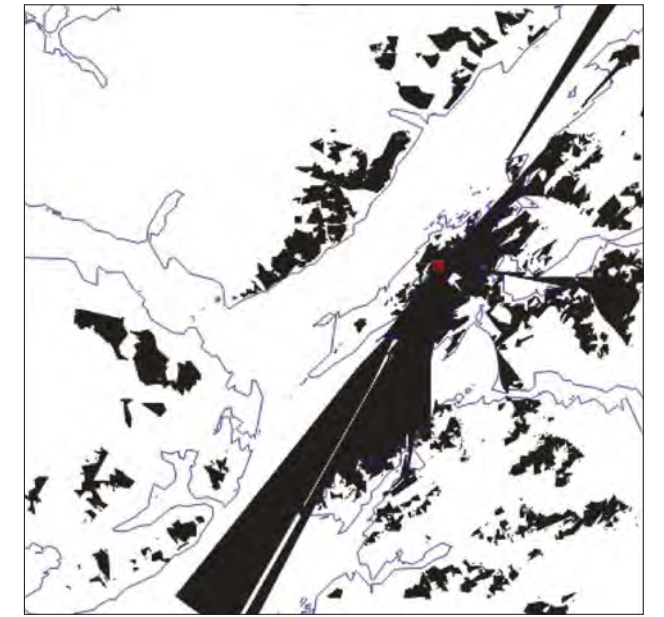


Figure 21.3. Lismore: viewsheds from brochs. Crown Copyright/database right 2006. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

historical period when memories are supported by documentary records, including those associated with the advent of the local saint St. Moluag, whose monumental centre emerges out of the prehistoric landscape, marked by a more inland construction of place. It is a matter of how memory is constructed whether this third phase should be seen as an emergence or a new beginning, a question investigated in more detail elsewhere (Meredith Lobay 2009). A *fourth* phase is clearly distinct, when the viewsheds of the newly constructed fourteenth century castles, inserted by outsiders, were deliberately placed to face out into the deep water of the loch (Fig. 21.4), a radical break with the palimpsest of the previous period. In this cycle, a number of these monuments emerged as cartographic landmarks in the course of time. The final fifth phase of memory is the response of the modern inhabitants, reacting to the question of how they treat these different elements that they have now chosen to place as visual memories in the repository of the community museum.

Interrogating the *third* cycle

The monument of Tirefuir provides the focal point of knowledge of the third cycle outlined above. It is a monument that was consistently recognized by contemporary and later society, but interpreted in varying ways. It is accepted as one of the most upstanding monuments in Argyll and thus acknowledged as a

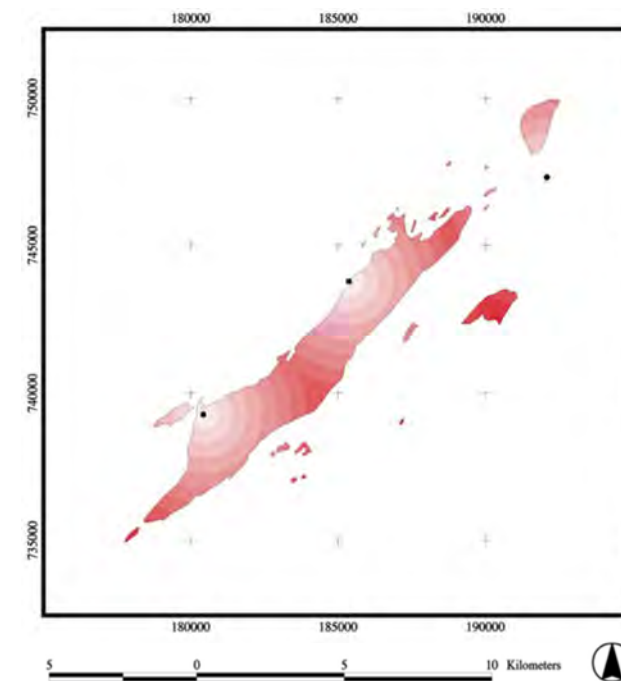


Figure 21.4. Lismore: location of medieval castles. Buffering of two principal castles, showing a major contrast with the brochs in their position looking out into deep water. Crown Copyright/database right 2006. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

proven example of a complex round house (Armit 2004, 52) or broch depending on the terminological tradition. The dating of the site by radiocarbon (Kaljee 2021) shows a bridging of the *third* and the *fourth* cycle during its history (300 BC–AD 1600), providing a scale against which other developments can be calibrated, in a way that is not solely a product of the bias of research. The site's involvement in earlier memories of the *second* cycle was limited to the discovery of a residual arrowhead, demonstrating nevertheless a tantalizing glimpse of a range of Neolithic activity that went beyond the celebration of death.

The site of Tirefuir was not investigated inside or under its walls during the current campaign for reasons of ethics and conservation. Some caution thus needs to be applied to the fact that the earliest date for the monument so far derives from the lower part of the midden terrace deposits which built up in the yard in front of the entrance of the structure. If this date is to be considered at least a working hypothesis for the date of construction of the monument, then this cycle of monument construction began at c. 300 BC. It does seem a reasonable hypothesis that midden deposits represent fairly the activities inside the monument, perhaps even more precisely than any deposits that might later be found to be dominant in the interior, which was probably thoroughly reworked (see Romankiewicz & Ralston this volume). These deposits show a mixed economy of cattle, sheep/goat and pig, as well as barley. As remarked in the endnote, middens are part of the memorialization and celebration of the monument itself, an apparently intentional strategy.

The 'altering of the earth' in Bradleyan terms was relatively limited on the site of Tirefuir, but the central monument was not only shrouded on its southwestern side by a yard supported by an earlier midden, but also received the insertion of a later adjunct structure. This structure seems to have been in use during the early centuries AD, but rests on a fill dating to c. 50 BC.

The most active long term focus of the main monument was its entrance. Some very interesting detail of the door pivot and the adjoining paving was uncovered, providing vivid details of the habitual workings of the monument. In this main thoroughfare, any earlier deposits contemporary with the external midden appear to have been removed, leaving traces that only dated back to 100 BC. At the other end of the spectrum, the later stratigraphic deposits in the entrance date to c. AD 1600, unsurprisingly showing how fundamental this same thoroughfare was for the continued employment of the internal space. The entrance court where deposits date from AD 100 until 700 seems also to have been subject to the same constraints. Earlier deposits appear to have been removed

or not encountered; these same early deposits seem to have been deliberately marked by the placing of a distinctive Roman Head stud fibula (Hull type 149B), also known from Newstead. The evidence from the micro fauna in the upper fills of the entrance and bank suggest that structure was latterly a roost for owls, a species not particularly tolerant of human presence, and indicative of the later deployment of the site more as a memory than for directly practical uses.

One further important 'altering of the earth' was the construction of an outer bank to the monument in AD 700. This provided an extra defence, or at least boundary, to the entrance. The use of the monument at about this date may also be related to the discovery of a decorated pin, broadly contemporary on stylistic grounds to this period, even if its context was unstratified. These latter periods are, of course, closely related to the early Christian activity (see Meredith Lobay 2009) which shifted inland to the clachan next to one of the largest Neolithic burial mounds.

The fourth cycle

Evidence for the fourth cycle, the construction of the two castles of Coeffin and Achanduin, formed a major shift in the orientation of the island, taking into consideration the very different maritime connectivity of this later period, when deeper hulled ships no longer hugged the coast, but confidently headed for deeper water on a more regular basis. This temporal cycle has been the subject of investigation by the late Denis Turner whose results have now been published (Turner 1998; Caldwell 2017). Although only Achanduin has been systematically investigated, both appear to have substantially modified in the 1290s in response to different political orientations and authority. Archanduin is a 22 m square rectangular enclosure castle roughly orientated on the compass, a tower at the eastern corner and entrances in the northeastern and northwestern sides. The interior had both a masonry and wooden range. The builders (*contra* received wisdom) were probably local lords, in all probability the MacDougalls of Lorn, responding to the wider political context, in the same way as that which motivated the construction of similar castles such as Duart on Mull, Castle Roy on the Spey on the northeastern approaches to the Great Glen, Skipness on the east coast of Kintyre to the south, and Portencross also to the south in Ayrshire. Oram (2008) sees an earlier ancestry drawn from Castle Sween on Loch Sween to the southwest. In this way, Archanduin was a typical node in a network of political memory. Their visibility, depending on the prevailing weather conditions, may have been enhanced by whitewashing, providing a

considerable gaze across the loch, particularly across the loch towards Mull.

A coda to this cycle of memory is found in the cartography of the island. At first in the sixteenth century it is only the island itself that is recognized (e.g. Nicolas de Nicolay Paris 1583), a level of detail that depends partly on scale (only the island is shown in the Mount and Page London map of 1715 which only shows Castle Duart). Enabled by increased detail of scale Tyr Fourir (as shown by Blau's map of 1654 from Amsterdam) begins to emerge as an important maritime landmark along with other features from the sea, as clearly demonstrated by the British Admiralty maps dating to the 1860s. The site was sufficiently notable to be sketched by one of the most famous British Artists of the nineteenth century, Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775 – 1851), on his tour of Scotland.

The fifth cycle

The fifth cycle relates to the reception by the contemporary and near contemporary world. A series of interviews undertaken by two of us (Fitzjohn and Garden) informs us of the relative clouding of deeper time in the public imagination (Fig. 21.5). The intangible modern heritage (sheep and cattle) register more highly than the recent built environment such as the church and the community hall. The broch is equally weighted with the liminal lighthouse, albeit above the level of the one shop on the island and the ferry quay. External money has been brought into the island to foster community memory by the construction of a museum and archive, but it is the active community life, while altogether more transitory, that is all the more closely related to the sense of island identity. Even though the project left the broch more consolidated than we found it, it does not register as high in the public imagination and memory as the external archaeologist might suspect. It belongs to another

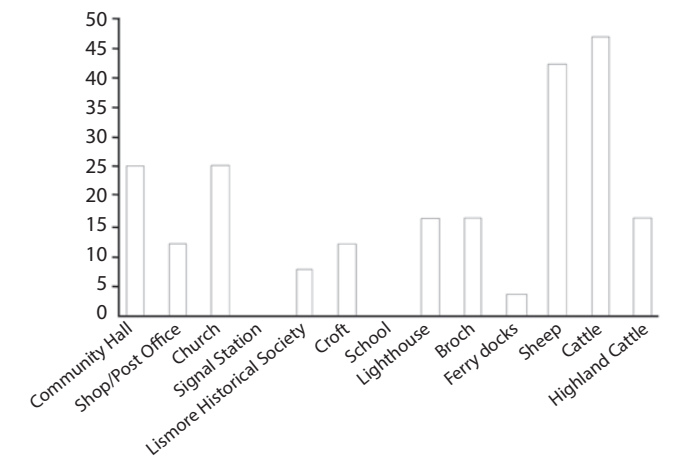


Figure 21.5. Lismore: modern identity and monuments. Weight given by 35 participants to different material symbols of identity (24 adults – 13 men, 11 women – ranging from late teens to early nineties and 11 children from Lismore Primary School).

world as Liz Pratt (2020) found during similar studies in the west of England.

Conclusion

The example of Lismore provides a salutary lesson that the monuments which archaeologists consider so important do not feature so prominently in the minds of the local modern inhabitants. It is possible that Tirefuir may have grown in the memory of the local people, now that a trail has been constructed to the site. However, memories even of those who most recently investigated the site have been readjusted to the political present in a way that recalls the Tiv rather than modern literate society. Perhaps the imminent full publication of the project will provide another literate layer in the fertile layers of memory.

Chapter 22

Nuragic memories: a deep-seated pervasive attitude

Alessandro Vanzetti

The popular attitude towards prehistoric monuments in Sardinia has been to consider them as testimony of a great past, as represented by the names attached to them, e.g. *domus de janas* (witches' homes), *tombe di giganti* (giants' tombs), *Nuraghe sa domu 'e s'orku* (home of the ogre). Actually, this past, with its alleged memories, is coming to be differently inserted into modernity. The insulation of the monuments is becoming heavier: a) because of a different involvement of people in their own landscape, as urbanism became a crucial part of human life; b) because of land management projects, both on the agrarian and development sides; c) because of tourism, and touristic economic expectations by people; d) and what more, because of contrasting attitudes between academic scholars, superintendency archaeologists, amateurs and skilled popularizing writers. While these are general processes in Italy, Europe and beyond, the specificity of insular Sardinia makes it a particularly well-expressed battleground and showcase of the conflicting attitudes presented.

Gardening time is not without counterpoints

The conference presented in its basic statements a positive view of the 'gardening of time', as 'tending a garden is a long process involving patience, accretion and memory. Scholars argue that memories are also cultured, developed and regained'. This inherently positive statement of gardening, as a wise and sound activity, can sometimes appear as an elitist position, like the one held by academia-embedded scholars: specifically the cultural (and social) assumption of the past, and its loss and regain, can be seen as one inherent contradiction to the positive perspective of the gardening of time.

A nice reversal of the metaphor of the gardening concept was proposed by the possibly most influential

and sharp thinker, poet and philosopher that Italy has ever had: Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837). In his *Zibaldone* or *Hodgepodge*, written between 1817 and 1832 (Leopardi 2001), he reports the other side of gardening, let's say the dark side of it. His narrative aims at remarking the negativity of life, but I am interested in the implied concept of 'gardening'. He remarks that plants in any garden are suffering. And then he describes the activity of the walking man, of the romantic girl, of the Gardener: 'Meanwhile, you mangle the grasses with your steps; you crush, you knock, you squeeze their blood, you crash, you kill them. That delicate and gentle maiden keeps sweetly uprooting and breaking stems. The gardener is wisely severing, cutting sensible limbs, with his nails, with iron tools.' (Leopardi 2001, [4176] 22 April 1826; translation by author).

The Gardener is therefore a person who, while trying to put a wisely planned order into things, transforms and directs the Garden, often not caring for the plants' wellbeing. It is obviously possible that this dark-side of gardening depends in some way on the Italian Garden Style – which Leopardi knew well – that is made of order and discipline, and of cut and shaped plants and bushes, with an authoritarian-artistic view. On the contrary, the British garden style is apparently more free and natural, but still a regulated pattern, with its precise lawns, bushes, woodlands and paths; dialectics (and empiricism) with nature are anyway wider, and this attitude can possibly explain the positive view proposed by the conference itself. Other gardens, like the French, Japanese, or Persian ones could explain even more. Gardening, in practice, as well as in metaphor, either positive or authoritarian, is, therefore, in any case a selective process, including some amount of top-bottom decision.

As archaeologists, we are perfectly aware of how much the discipline is embedded in its social and

cultural milieu, and it is easy to recall the relevance of archaeological projects for specific ideologies and social or cultural dynamics: the cases of Nazi research at Biskupin, or of the Great Zimbabwe debate are two well-known examples (Bahn 1996), but also Mortimer Wheeler's British Empire perspective on Indus Civilization has been recalled as a case of directional and top-bottom gardening of the past (Vidale 2005). We are obviously conscious, particularly after the processual and post-processual polemics (Clarke 1973; Hodder 1982a) that there is not simply one past, about which everybody could agree, and that the gardening of time is not only a positive, unilinear accretion of data, but it is also a matter of choice and particular project. The accretion of data does anyway take place and has a proper sense, as data cannot be reduced to cultured perception, but constitute instead something out of us – and represent the inherent connection of archaeology with the Earth Sciences; something which is anyway open to contradictions, and to opposing views, across time. Ancient contradictions can possibly be perceived archaeologically, for instance in contrasting patterns, in persistences and removals, like the *Damnatio Memoriae* cases most easily prove. But more frequent are the contemporary contradictions between scholars, and between scholars, amateurs, skilled popularizing writers, politicians, etc.

Coming back to Sardinia, contradictions, on a historiographic perspective, are very frequent in its archaeology and history, both historically and now, between specialists or specialists and Institutions, but now mainly between specialists and amateurs. Some possible reasons for this will be pinpointed later.

Sardinia seen by a non-Sardinian anthropologist

Alberto Mario Cirese (1921–2011), not born a Sardinian, was the first professor of History of Folklore in Sardinia, in 1957, until 1972: from his position, he had a peculiar and deep-grounded view of Sardinian popular culture and society, as a socialist and a participant observer anthropologist. What is more, Giovanni Lilliu, the great Sardinian archaeologist, a Sardist militant and a Christian-Democratic politician, after voting against Cirese for the chair, became a great friend of him, a reciprocal esteem which can contribute to remark on Cirese's acquired capacity of insight into Sardinia (Cirese 2006, 10). He, when studying Sardinia, was impressed by its specificity, which appeared to him not simply dictated by insularity; he thought that it was embedded in the relative lack of distance between high and lower classes, that is, in the persisting sense of community, that

was characteristic of Sardinians, and which stood as a primary fact, notwithstanding other existing and important internal divisions (Cirese 2006 (1969)). In the 1960s, the debate concentrated on class struggle; nowadays cultural points of view take the fore (coast vs mountains; city vs villages), as the Marxist perspectives have gone into the background. These apparently different analyses should anyway be considered somehow an integration of social facts, seen from different perspectives, and not much distant indeed: the cultural divide contains many embedded elements appropriate for Marxist class analysis.

Cirese (2006 (1963)) remarks that the apparent conservatism of the Sardinian cultural world led to two different approaches:

- On the one side to the exaltation of this assumed tenacity of culture, an attitude that had the consequence of underestimating the changes and the transformations of cultural subsystems, and to refer much too often to Classical antiquity or the Near East contacts, as a direct source for allegedly persistent modern local behaviour;
- On the other side, to the deliberate rejection of this conservatism, considered as a consequence of the underdevelopment of the region, of its history-less time, mainly in mountainous areas.

He further remarks that fervour of debate and 'absolute' statements are particularly strong in Sardinian scholars. These contrasting approaches are clearly dependent on moral judgements, which could be considered of scarce interest in the present context, but they appear to me relevant in terms of our question of the gardening of Sardinian (nuragic) time.

The Sardinian physiognomy derives from the way of reaction to external contributions, and from the internal capacity of development. [...It is] the result of a peculiar way of being in the Mediterranean history (Cirese 2006 (1963), 22–3).

This apparently generic statement (external reaction...internal development) can be properly located in Sardinia, and it appears to be one of the causes of the actual debates, both between archaeologists, and with amateurs and stakeholders: the history of Sardinia has so many disparities, embedded in a single and cohesive social (and cultural) frame, to result in many ways paradoxical.

Sardinian archaeology seen by a non-Sardinian archaeologist

Emma Blake is another non-Sardinian (nor Italian) scholar who devoted a crucial part of her research to nuragic Sardinia. One of her papers (Blake 1998) is particularly illuminating for this discussion, like other ones by the same author on Sardinia are in other respects. It presents some arguments I agree with and would like to point out here.

The author stresses that *Nuraghi* cannot be reduced to unambiguous interpretation in terms of 'real' originary use and reuse, as they were progressively inserted in different networks, and got different meanings, in the different phases of their life. This has implications for the definition of attached memory.

In the nuragic period, the period we always first think of, *Nuraghi* would have changed from a basically domestic character to a symbol of social differentiation. Furthermore, the attention recently brought on their late nuragic cultic use, at least since the Early Iron Age (e.g. Ugas & Paderi 1990), was not stressed by Blake. During the Punic phase, a consistent reduction in domestic use, and progress in abandonment and cultic use, suggest to Emma Blake this label: a beleaguered survival. The Roman period would see a reappraisal in frequentation and reuse of *Nuraghi*, even if with some radical transformations: this is the case of the use of internal spaces for funerary depositions, in Su Nuraxi di Barumini; or of the insertion of the *Nuraghi* as representative features in a meaningful landscape, like in the case of the villa enclosing Santu Antine *Nuraghe* near Torralba; or of the Aidu Entos *Nuraghe* near Bortigali, bearing the latin inscription locating the people of the Ilienses. These cases would reflect 'manifestly political gestures', such that 'reuse of the *Nuraghi* was not a mere passive ethno-cultural continuity, but constituted a purposeful statement by the local populations as they forged a Romano-Sard identity'. (Blake 1988, 64) One can doubt this identity, but it is clear that monuments were part of the forcefully peaceful landscape of Roman Sardinia.

The medieval period would mirror the contrast between the new religion and traditional cult forms, with *Nuraghi* and other testimony of the past being consecrated by new symbols, like the cross engravings (e.g. at Su Lumarzu nuragic spring, Bonorva), and the building of churches in appropriate locations, conveying the esprit of place, and possibly the remaining popular interest in the monuments (S. Sabina *Nuraghe*, Sardara). Everybody, as well as Blake, quotes the famous letter by Gregorio Magno, of the sixth century AD in which the Barbaricini are described as pagan people, still adoring wood and stone. But

the medieval period is also a phase of modest and marginal reuse of the monuments, becoming stone quarries and secondary habitations, while progressively decaying.

In modern times, in the nineteenth century, when Alberto La Marmora, the Piedmont army officer exiled in – and later in charge of – Sardinia, debated the Antiquities in his book *Voyage en Sardaigne* (La Marmora 1826), most of them were in use, occupied by herders or for other purposes, displaying the new insertion in the modern landscape.

During the twentieth century, and specifically after World War II, the process of abstraction from everyday life has progressed, and now *Nuraghi*, and other monuments, protected by the State through Soprintendenza, are testimony of an ancient world, in terms diverted from 'a network of spaces, natural and social. Now they are increasingly conceptually isolated' (Blake 1998, 67). This is the Heritage phase, hallmarked by the inscription of Su Nuraxi di Barumini in the World Heritage List of UNESCO, in 1997 (one could ask why only one *Nuraghe*, and only in 1997, and nothing more of the nuragic past): we must be aware of the transformation that we have been applying and apply to monuments, and of the connected risks.

Blake further remarks that the construction of an imposing monument, like a *Nuraghe*, but also like the Giant's graves, or the Domus de Janas rock-cut graves, necessarily shapes the territory. They define relevant places of human interaction, with some conditioning characteristics; they are landmarks which form a puzzling presence to cope with: it is easily seen that the *Nuraghe* since its construction worked as a catalyzer of subsequent activities, even when we can guess that its meaning had radically changed from the initial one, and even when possibly no original situated memory of it existed anymore. 'Looking at several key phases in the *Nuraghe's* existence, this paper...demonstrate[s] that, while the narrative of the *Nuraghe* unfolds temporally, evocations of its age and origins alone do not account for its significance. Rather, it is its spatiality that guides its ongoing identity-formation, its relentless becoming' (Blake 1998, 60).

Memory of ancient places of Sardinia: major medieval break

The Pre- and Protohistoric Heritage is indeed very present in Sardinia: it includes huge and imposing monuments littering the landscape, both built (*Nuraghi*, giants' tombs, dolmens) and dug out (chamber tombs) or both (monumental wells and springs), huts with stone foundations, villages, standing stones, etc.

The names attached to monuments rarely reflect a directly transmitted origin, as probably is the case for *Nuraghe* (Lilliu 1962), seemingly attested as ‘Nurac’ in the Roman Age epigraph on Bortigali’s Aidu Entos monument (Moravetti 1998a, 237). Other monument category names refer to a popular origin, such as for the *domus de janas* (witches’ homes) or the *tombe di giganti* (giants’ tombs); the same is typical of some specific names shared by both *Nuraghi* and graves, like *sa domu ‘e s’orku* (home of the ogre). Even post-protohistoric monuments come to have problematic but evocative names, as it happened to us during our excavations near Bonorva, where we excavated around and inside a simple rural building locally named *Sas Presones* or *Sas Presones Romanas* (Roman Prisons). We found out that it had originally been a Roman Age bath, partly still standing to the roof (Ialongo *et al.* 2007). We do not know if the name ‘prison’ has any connection with a temporary function, or if it depends on a popular interpretation, as the building had been indeed modified (without leaving evident traces of its primary bathing function), by closing almost all of the doors, and it had no windows, a fact that could be suitable for a prison. Neither we know if the ‘Roman’ attribution is a recent, erudite one, but the mix of indications suggests that its name was probably the consequence of a popular, or partially erudite reconstruction of meaning for a puzzling building, without any persisting memory of its real function.

This attitude, shared by prehistoric and classical monuments, can be assumed as the consequence of a major removal, and of break in continuity, whose depth we can trace up to the medieval religious and social fracture, with the diffused fight against the potential sacred places of the pagan people adoring wood and stone, so appropriately quoted by Gregorio Magno (cf. above).

First millennium BC breaks

Even after the post-colonial debate has shown that some ethno-cultural definitions used by scholars have been more assumed by them than found as evidence (Van Dommelen 1997), it is a matter of recurrent debate whether the transformation of the Sardinian identity had been generalized by a disruption of the nuragic social system brought already by the Phoenicians (Usai 2007; Stiglitz 2010; Tronchetti & Van Dommelen 2005; cf. the debate in Van Dommelen 1998, 85), or later by the Punics or the Romans. Lilliu’s points of view have been very influential, as he remarked, still in the last edition of his ‘La Civiltà dei Sardi’ (Lilliu 2003 (1988)) that the Phoenician contact had no shattering effect on the nuragic world; on the contrary, it would be the

Punic warfare in the sixth century BC, that determined the major crisis of the indigenous world.

In recent years, it became moreover evident that a relevant transition already took place during the nuragic period, corresponding to the Final Bronze Age, leading to relevant shifts in shared meaning (Campus *et al.* 2010). It is generally assumed that no new *Nuraghi* were built after the Final Bronze Age, while on the contrary village culture and sanctuaries took the fore, in local communities, particularly during the Early Iron Age; traditional Giants’ tombs were probably no more built in the Iron Age, and funerary depositions inside them decreased or ceased at all (Bernardini 2011b). At the same time, *Nuraghi* are symbolized and reproduced as stone and metal models, taking part in ritualized and cult activities. The best example of this use is the shrine inside room E of Su Mulinu *Nuraghe*, where the monument becomes a cult place, and its symbolic representation is reproduced inside the embedded shrine (Ugas 1989–1990; Ugas & Paderi 1990). Its sacred use would last at least from the Early Iron Age (if not since Middle Bronze Age) until the late sixth century; after an apparent stop, from the third century BC, the room was used again, with a cultic function at least from the first century BC until the second century AD. Other cases of cult places inside *Nuraghi* are reported by Lilliu (2003, 501–2).

Continuity of sanctuaries into the archaic age is demonstrated, after the Phoenician coastal towns were settled, during the Early Iron Age; Nicola Ialongo (2010) has efficiently shown that, after c. 700 BC, votive deposits change, with a reduction, or even disappearance, of bronze display. We can further quote the recent study by Lela Manning Urquhart (2010), which – even if the study proposes the questionable attribution of some contexts to a post-Early Iron Age date – remarks that after the end of the eighth century, the use of nuragic sacred areas saw a decrease, ‘until a diffused dismissal during the sixth century BC’ [Manning Urquhart 2010, Fig. 4.2]: ‘by 600 only half of the earlier Iron Age sanctuaries were still being used [...] during the sixth century, a handful of sites [...] would continue to be used, but even most of them are abandoned by 525–500 BC’ (Manning Urquhart 2010, 202–3). Some memory in the cultic sphere has therefore to be assumed, but in a changing social context, during Phoenician-dominated phases and then in the Punic powerful intrusion.

As for the resumption of sanctuaries in the later Punic or Roman Age, like in the quoted case of Su Mulinu, other situations are even more complicated: at Genna Maria near Villanovaforru (VS), a cult is located inside the *Nuraghe*, from the late Punic period onwards, fourth century BC (Lilliu 1988; cf. Van Dommelen 1997). Here we have both an interruption and

a change in use, introducing cult: is this linked to the ‘memorialization’ process (i.e.: transformation of places into memorials) active since the Early Iron Age, in nuragic society, or is it a new independent action?

A more systematic survey of the situation has shown the complexity of the pattern (Stiglitz 2005). For the present goal, we can by now state that:

- A memorialization process came into being at the end of the Bronze Age, involving the whole of nuragic society. *Nuraghe* monuments shifted from subjects of shared memory to memorials, and similar processes can be identified in other subsystems: both the recurrent characters represented in *bronze* figurines, occurring in cultic places, suggest they represent memorials of personalities, possibly even transfigured into divine figures and the Mont’e Prama statues strongly support a memorialization attitude;
- A persistence, even if with a transformation and decrease in use, of sacred places took place during the archaic age;
- After the transformations during the sixth century BC, some resumption of cults, and some introduction of new cultic use in nuragic monuments took place;
- Non-homogeneous cases of continuity and discontinuity have been identified in the settlement record (Blake 1998), during the first millennium BC.

Summing up, after the flourishing of the nuragic complexes during the central second millennium BC, whose constant use, testified by the continuity of internal stratigraphies (like at *Nuraghe* Arrubiu central hearth: Lo Schiavo & Sanges 1994), shows a persistence of memory, with enforcing commemorative traits, first millennium BC interruptions and changes in use can be the testimony of contrasting and competing issues about memory, marking contrasting views of the past. Since this process of memorialization of nuragic society, memory becomes more and more selective, possibly coming to be effective almost only in the cult sphere, from the Punic to the Roman periods; new cult places prevail, like main temples in towns and in the landscape, but some reuse of imposing monuments and indigenous sacred places is still clear: the punic Antas temple dedicated to Sardus Pater is superimposed above one of the few known cemeteries of the nuragic early Iron Age.

By the medieval times, the redefinition and reappropriation of the religious landscape was completed, and as such lasted until the present day. On a broad period perspective, this is the culmination of the contrasts in the view of the past that started at least in the seventh century BC. Removals and breaks are evident over a period of more than 1,000 years, even in front of a repeated reconstruction of the meaning of the imposing monumental landscape, and of the purported stability of the Sardinian traditional world discussed by Cirese (see above): a long-term gardening of time.

Modern ‘museification’ and ‘memorification’ of the Sardinian heritage

The interaction, re-actualization and creation of memories (memorification instead of memorialization) bound to nuragic imposing monuments was a recurrent phenomenon in the centuries, as can be proved by the contextual presence of archaeological materials of various chronologies. Nowadays, the scientific discovery of the nuragic monuments, started at least with Alberto La Marmora’s survey, in the early nineteenth century, has been further developed after World War II, thanks to the Italian legislation, which is fully protective of visible monuments. The present state of knowledge and protection shows an accurate definition of the monuments, with a high number of excavated sites, and – what is more – an impressive number of accessible monuments, often under surveillance and with admission fees: even without considering the ‘blockbuster’ and most relevant monuments (such as Su Nuraxi di Barumini, Losa, Arrubiu and Santu Antine *Nuraghi*, S. Cristina well, Santa Vittoria sanctuary, etc. etc.), almost each municipality has one or more potentially significant monuments, implying a notable conservation effort and some expectations of touristic promotion. Many societies employing young archaeologists, which keep open the archaeological sites, are dependent on the regional financial support by the Region (Law 14/2006) and have been put at risk of closure, in the case of any end of this support.

Sardinia is an over-typical case in the culturally rich Italian landscape: it has even an excess of cultural supply, facing a rather stagnant touristic demand, with a slightly lowering number of visitors in recent years (Fig. 22.1; SISTAN data, Italian Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali). Tourism in Sardinia focuses on the wonderful coast and sea, but it almost ignores most of the beautiful inland territory, where economic activities, agriculture and even the famous Sardinian pastoralism cannot provide a widely distributed wealth.

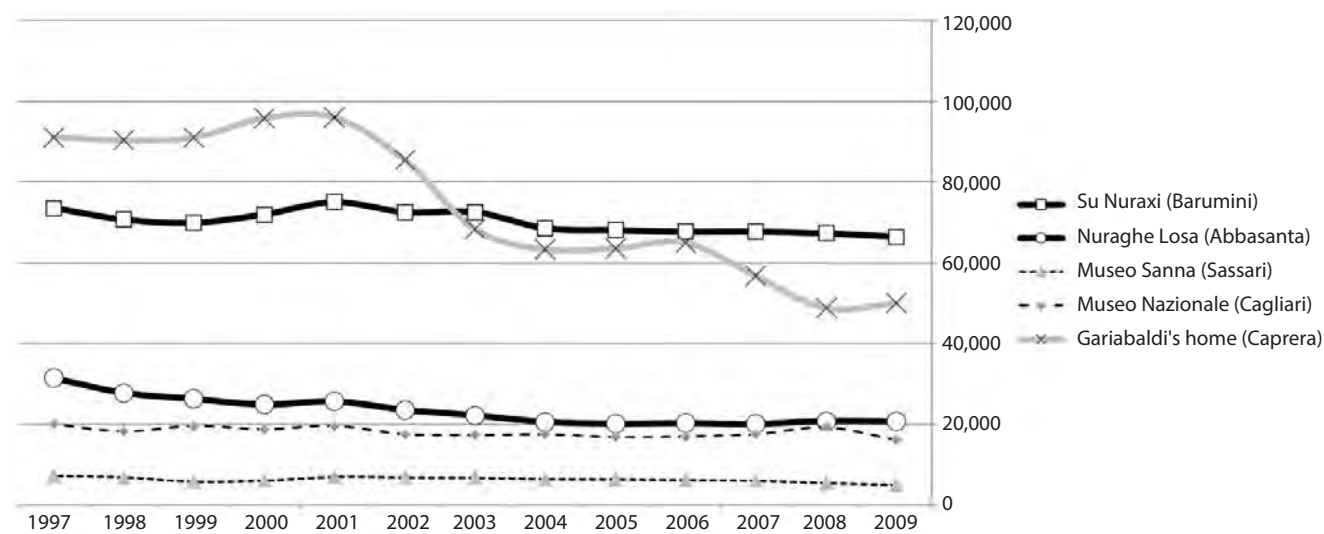


Figure 22.1. Trends in number of visitors of the main archaeological museums (dotted black lines) and sites (solid black lines) directly managed by the State, in Sardinia (3-years mobile averages). The historical site of Garibaldi's home (solid grey line) is included for comparison. The values for the museums and Garibaldi's home include only fee admissions, as they are a better marker of touristic contribution. SISTAN data, Italian Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali.

As a consequence, inland rural Sardinia is becoming depopulated, and major and minor towns, as well as many coastal areas, have received a strong settlers' flow from the 1950s to the 1990s. If we look at an important area for nuragic Sardinia, dense of monuments, such as the so-called 'Valle dei Nuraghi', where Santu Antine *Nuraghe* stands, its demographic balance is dramatically falling, to levels lower than at the end of the nineteenth century (Fig. 22.2; data from ISTAT), even if some villages have a rather flourishing economy (Thiesi, Bonnanaro), and the area matches the average

of the Sassari Province, in terms of annual income per person (data of the Italian Ministero dell'Economia e Finanza, 2010). This means that the monuments are more and more alone, without a progress in cultural employment or economic return.

In fact, if we look at the economic performance of Sardinia, much has been done since the unification of Italy (Fig. 22.3; Brunetti *et al.* 2011), but wealth is concentrated on the coast and in towns, while the depopulated centers of the interior are the poorest ones, mainly inhabited by old people with low pensions (Fig.

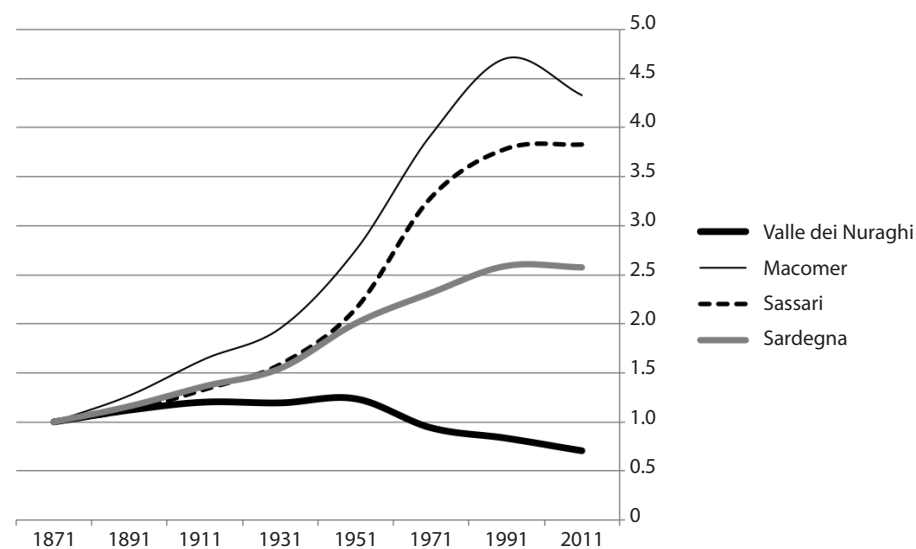


Figure 22.2. Demographic trend of whole Sardinia (solid grey line), compared to the major town of Sassari (dotted black line), the minor town of Macomer and the sum of the Valle dei Nuraghi municipalities (Bonnanaro, Bonorva, Borutta, Cheremule, Giave, Ittireddu, Mores, Thiesi, Torralba); Y values are percentages and 1871 value is set = 100%. ISTAT data.

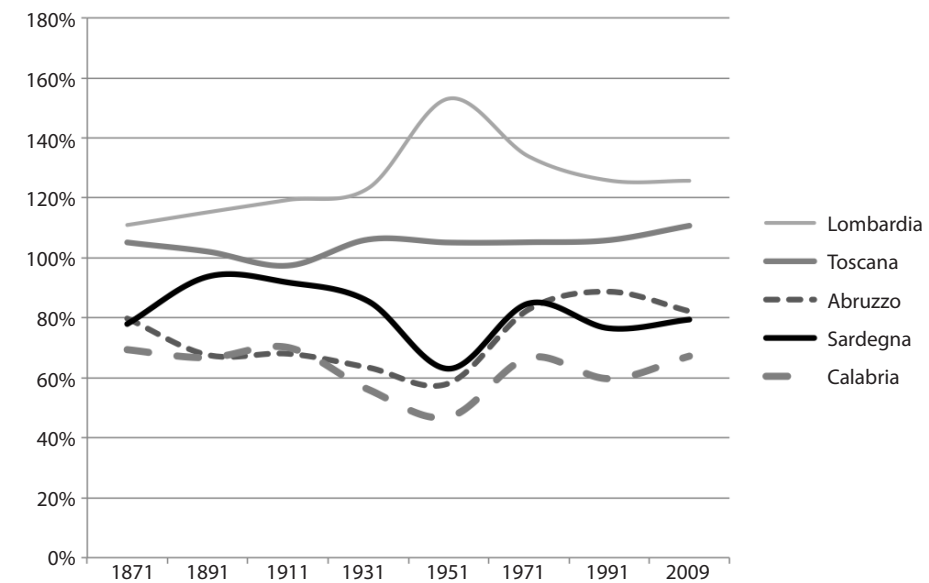


Figure 22.3. Average GDP per person of Sardinia (solid black line) and of selected Italian regions; Y values are percentages and the Italian average is set = 100%. data: Brunetti *et al.* 2011, appendix.

22.4, data from the Italian Ministero dell'Economia e Finanza, 2011). The discontinuous economic progress of Sardinia has brought some relative improvements, as Sardinia has now the highest GDP per inhabitant of Southern Italy and Sicily, but nevertheless lower than any region of Northern and Central Italy (data from ISTAT). If we add this situation to the already discussed internal population and economic disequilibrium, we can realize how much fragmented the traditional socio-cultural structure of Sardinia has become.

Therefore, the marginalized social and economic conditions of inland Sardinia stimulate idealized revivalist aspirations in the local populations, which come to be dependent on the dreams of a former greatness, such as shown by the monuments. In this context, private archaeological looting, aiming at finding bronzes, possibly the *bronzetti* figurines, to be sold on the illegal market, is still widespread in Sardinia, as well.

The existence of a strong Sardinian National feeling, a markedly proud attitude, a certain distrust of non-island people and in general of the State, are all components converging towards a partly anarchic and contrasting world of vital feeling, projected on the Antiquity, as the redeemer of present conditions. The constantly resisting Sardinians ('costante resistenziale sarda') about which Lilliu spoke, are as much a reality, as a creation (Lilliu 1971, 2003 (1988)). This situation, instead of reducing the perception of discontinuity with the past, appears to increase it: the past is seen through the eyeglasses of a dramatic fall, due to external powers and violence, and we can see some of the points highlighted by Cirese, surfacing again.

Prominent amateurs and touristic operators are among the critical people, producing a parallel

history and mythology of Sardinia, and sometimes even achieving political support, with an economic return. The case of the success gained by books and photographic exhibitions, not only asserting that Sardinia was Atlantis, but even finding some support in geologists, for the hypothesis that a tsunami could have destroyed the nuragic society, is but the most refined example of the amateurial perspective. It is in fact incredible the number of internet blogs and forums, books and booklets which debate about Shardana, archaeoastronomy, extraordinary building techniques, and so on. In practical terms, the distrust of the external powers and the State tends to extend to the archaeological specialists, seen as people not caring for the greatness of the past, and not producing the great transformation expected to generate wealth, and respect. I think I have learnt from Antonietta Boninu, who spent her life fighting for the assumption of responsibility by the Institutions and people in front of the 'excess in cultural supply' of Sardinia, that there is here a great divide between thought and action. This, more often than not, results in tensions between stakeholders, local communities and the Soprintendenza, sometimes reaching a heated level of confrontation.

As an example, I can recall my personal experience in the research of the Bonorva area (SS_2004–2009). Part of the work took place inside the Mariani Estate, a stretch of land that underwent profound transformations, from a hunting property and a forest, to almost total deforestation, and lastly to bovine stock-keeping, opened also by bulldozer removal of the outcropping boulders and rocks, now left in elongated heaps bordering pastures. Bigger monuments were still standing and preserved, like three *Nuraghi* and the

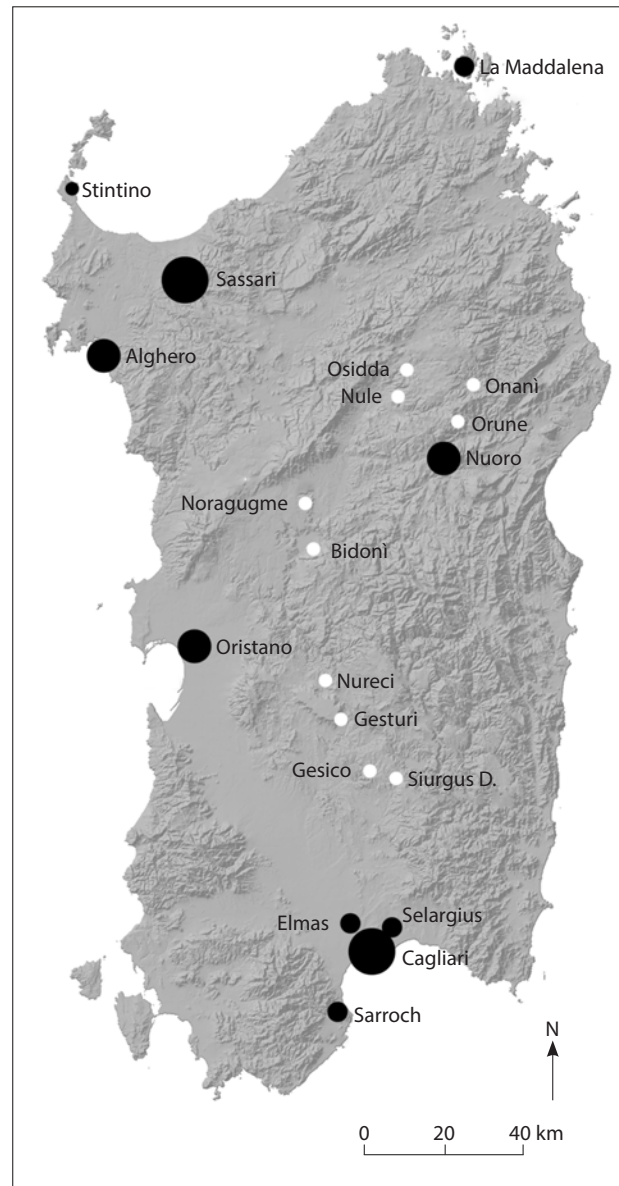


Figure 22.4. Sardinia: the 10 municipalities with the highest average income per person (in black) and the 10 municipalities with the lowest average income per person (in white); tiny dots, villages < 4,000 inhabitants; small dots, towns between 4,000 and 30,000 inhabitants; medium dots, towns between 30,000 and 45,000; big dots, towns over 45,000 inhabitants. data from the Italian Ministero dell'Economia e Finanza, 2010

underground *domus de janas* Tombs; even a Neolithic village could be identified as rather well preserved, but the landscape had undergone radical transformations, with scarce care by local herders. One of the *Nuraghi* had until recently been reused in a pastoral context, with attached pens, and bulldozer interventions. The

whole area is a Municipality property since 2002, but has been continuously claimed by local herders, in a sort of no-man's-land status, until recently (2012).

In this context, while major monuments are more or less preserved, the landscape has been subject to massive alterations, and the smaller elements of the built environment have been at risk, in a competitive economic context, faced by the depopulation of the land. In this context, our team excavated Sa Pala Larga tomb 7, a wonderfully preserved painted chamber tomb (*domus de janas*), inserted inside an extremely significant cemetery, in an almost hilltop location, with difficult accessibility (Usai *et al.* 2011). The discovery of the painted tomb sparked contrast and debate between local amateurs, touristic operators and the Soprintendenza, as the grave had to be sealed for protection, pending restoration and adequate infrastructure for possible future visits. This debate expanded in the social media, spanning from claims of wrong decisions by the Soprintendenza to the quest for the reopening and touristic development of the site, claiming the scientific interest and possible economic return; the problems posed by the site location and its delicate conditions were definitely overlooked by amateurs, and the experts (archaeologists, restorers) not recognized as such. Obviously, the opening to the public of the cemetery and of the painted tomb depends on projects and financial support, which should be sought through a coordinated effort, but tensions by the local population concentrated on a short-term desire for immediate returns.

Conclusion

The components of memories of nuragic Sardinia are many, and include different views, and perspectives, in front of the puzzling monuments coming from the past. We have seen that phases of competing memories can be identified at least since the process of memorialization of nuragic monuments started, at the end of the Bronze Age. Competing and selective memories, as well as appropriation and memorialization acts, are to be seen as active during the first millennium BC, and further on, until the definitive late antique christianization of the region, as shown by the different use and qualification of the monuments. I have argued that this was a long term process, developing until the almost complete removal of memory eventually applied.

After World War II, in parallel with the extraordinary activity of Giovanni Lilliu, the nuragic monuments came to the fore, but the modern legal, economic and demographic conditions, progressively contributed to the isolation of the Heritage from its external context.

This process is a general problem, which in Sardinia comes to be amplified also by the 'excess in supply' of cultural monuments. Newly emerging forms of memorification of the nuragic world result in intense contrast between specialists, amateurs (sometimes very heated), Institutions, and sometimes touristic operators and landowners. Globally, notwithstanding intense debate, and even careful descriptions of the contexts, the monuments are increasingly alone, inserted in a changing landscape, under pressure of different interests.

It is clear that in fact the Heritage, even if protected and recognized, is becoming scarcely embedded in the local depopulated rural contexts, while the attached memories mainly come from scholars or from prominent amateurs.

In my opinion, there are here many competing attitudes, as Leopardi remarked, but there is little of the alleged conservatism both quoted and denied by Cirese. The compact tissue of Sardinian society is fragmented, too, by demographic and economic factors, paving the way for deregulated and authoritative positions, like many of those held by amateurs, and possibly by some archaeologists. A similar situation has

taken place in other regions with a vulnerable economy and an attitude towards revivalist dreams, such as for instance in Calabria, where often natural stone blocks are reported as mysterious cultural products, or amateurs blame researchers for inadequate understandings. In Sardinia, leaving aside the socio-economic conditions, the amateur perspective is enhanced by the extraordinary monuments, and by the fascination they exert; which is certainly also one of the reasons why we, as archaeologists, care so much about them. For this reason, we should invest many efforts in making the Heritage a more integrated element of the living communities.

Acknowledgments

I owe Antonietta Boninu most of my insight into Sardinian facts, if I have any; this chapter is sadly dedicated to her powerful memory, hoping she would have appreciated my arguments. F. Campus, A. Depalmas, V. Leonelli have given to me other basic hints, I don't know if correctly understood. M. Gallinaro and N. Ialongo have read and commented drafts of this chapter; the responsibility of the text is anyway totally mine.

Chapter 23

Endnote: gardening time in broader perspective

Ethan D. Aines & Simon Stoddart

One of the predominant themes of this volume is time, and more specifically what is to be done with it. Sean Carroll, the theoretical cosmologist's recent (2010), popular work made the case that from a physical perspective *time* is ostensibly *change*. When we observe the passage of time, Carroll argues, we are observing a natural consequence of the second law of thermodynamics, that there are more ways for a system to become disordered, or entropic, over time than there are ways for it to remain the same. Therefore, we are experiencing change when we speak of experiencing the passage of time. As many authors maintain, we can very precisely measure this change through chronometric means – at the atomic level, measuring the decay of an isotope, or at the cosmological level, marking the passage of seasons – but we cannot measure the *experience* of this change, as it is by no means objective (Gosden 1994; Lucas 2005).

In this volume, time has been discussed as being cultivated – *gardened* – though in other conceptions time can be discussed as being spent, wasted, as being finite or limited, or even as being consumed, as for the Chronophage, the orthopteran demon that rides atop the Corpus Clock, *devouring* time itself in King's Parade, Cambridge. The cultivation of memory is one of the defences that many cultures around the world employ in the face of this unstoppable consumption; this unending change. We are constantly aware of the past, and of time as a finite resource, and as people, we have to deal with or confront this. Laurent Olivier writes that as a natural consequence of facing the vestiges of the past that surround us, people strive continuously to 'transcribe' themselves onto the environment and into history beyond the limit of what we know will be finite lives (Olivier 2011, 15–16). This urge, he contends, explains the 'unshakable power conveyed by monument building'. Monument building 'was not done simply to create permanent structures

capable of withstanding the forces of deterioration; it was just as much an attempt to link them, through the very sight on which they were built, to the most remote origins of which they were supposedly the continuation' (Olivier 2011).

But we struggle with these same issues today as much as the monument builders of the past did. The proliferation of memory studies within archaeology, and particularly heritage, mirrors other disciplines. We tentatively suggest that this reflects the preoccupation of the age in which we live, as much as its importance in the Ancient Past. Europeans who experienced the traumas of the Second World War are now disappearing as direct receptacles of memory, and are now memorialized by their immediate descendants, as key centenaries come into focus. The crucial forty-year time-gap (of which see more below) was crossed in the 1980s, setting off this trend of the recall of memory. Furthermore, globalization has profoundly affected senses of identity, so that many seek more localized and memorialized roots.

This preoccupation with the memories of other ages has had a long history. Towards the second half of the nineteenth century, amid concerns of a rapidly transforming society, many older Americans found stability by turning back in time to trace ancestral heritage (Ellis 1975). Along with burgeoning familial research, new traditions such as family reunions were born as Americans reached not only into the past but also contacted dispersed kin as a means of reinforcing the foundations of their identity in a time of societal transformation (Taylor 1982). Many American genealogies therefore exhibit a similar phenomenon to the gaps observed in African societies (of which more below), whereby the selective and uneven tracing of particular lines (whether patrilineal, matrilineal, and more often an ad-hoc bi-lineal mixture), bring American families closer to 'famous' ancestors from whom

they can draw certain defining moral characteristics. It is possible to observe a more localized form of political imagination – a genealogical imaginary (Kramer 2011) – arising within the boundaries of the family. Today, with the advent of specialized memory tools like genealogical software and crowd-sourced family trees as on Ancestry.com, these ‘gaps’ may be filled. Yet the proliferation of genealogy as a pastime in more recent years and the rise of at-home DNA testing suggests nineteenth-century Americans were not the only ones experiencing a great disjuncture from idealized pasts.

Theoretical approaches to memory

The issue of collective memory in prehistoric archaeological contexts can be approached from a variety of theoretical sources, some more and some less appropriate to the task. Philosophical, historic, sociological, and ethnographic sources each have their advantages and disadvantages, though the first two approaches (the first based, at least in part on the second) place Western and somewhat anachronistic ideas at the fore. While other methods such as cognitive psychology and artistic expression present themselves, the focus here shall primarily be on the first four mentioned.

Maurice Halbwachs, the French philosopher, sociologist, and colleague of Émile Durkheim, presented some of the earliest and most complete writings on collective memory, later assembled in the 1952 volume *On Collective Memory* (Halbwachs 1992 [1952]). One of Halbwachs’s most important contributions is the concept that memory is not possible outside of a social framework. Even individual memory and imagination are forms of social memory because they occur within the milieu of social influence (Halbwachs 1992, 49). Importantly, family, whether consanguine or fictive, forms one of the major loci of collective memory. Halbwachs writes, ‘No matter how we enter a family... we find ourselves to be part of a group where our position is determined not by personal feelings but by rules and customs independent of us that existed before us’ (Halbwachs 1992, 55). Drawing on the work of Fustel de Coulanges (1864), Halbwachs illustrates how even religious expression, often seen to operate on a higher ideological level, finds its primary dissemination *within* the family (Halbwachs 1992, 63). Some sociological and historic models of memory, drawn from nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples, tend towards a top-down model, but Halbwachs clarifies the processes of memory at a variety of different levels.

Two of the most important historical studies of collective memory may be found in the work of Jan Assmann (1991, 1995) and Paul Connerton (1989, 2009). Assmann focuses on what he terms ‘cultural memory’,

or the need for collective identity to reside in, and be passed on through, ceremony. Assmann also highlights the importance of memory landscapes, writing that ‘Memory needs places and tends towards spatialization’ (Assmann 1991, 25; cf. Bachelard 1964; de Certeau 1984; Casey 1987; Nora 1989). As Yates (1966) also emphasizes in her monograph on mnemotechnics and the creation of ‘memory palaces’, from a cognitive perspective, *place* is the basis of all memory. Another important aspect of Yates’ work on the *ars memoriae*, is the concept of spatial memory functioning well in sequences. Individual landmarks in the memory are significant, but even more significant is the progression through a series of semiotized landmarks within a landscape, whether internal as in the sense of the memory palaces or external as in the sense of a familiar journey or choreography. Consequently, as we shall explore further, ‘entire landscapes may serve as a medium for cultural memory. These are not so much accentuated by signs (monuments) as raised to the status of signs, that is, they are *semiotized*’ (Assmann 1991, 44; cf. Strehlow 1970). Political imagination, or the extent to which a group visualizes itself in regards to a shared, somewhat fictive past (Assmann 1991, 111), also takes on a prominent role in Assmann’s work (cf. Anderson 1983, 6).

Connerton (1989) focuses on bodily practices (*habitus*) and, like Assmann, commemorative ceremonies. The latter are (more or less) ritual performances through which social memory is sustained. The use of commemoration in late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century France (Connerton 1989, 10) and Germany between the First and Second world wars (Connerton 1989, 43) are two major foci. As Hobsbawm (1983) and Lowenthal (1985) note, these periods were times of rapid transformation in which the social patterns and traditions of the past became dislocated. The past, to use Lowenthal’s phrasing, became a *foreign country*. Therefore, Connerton’s examples are highly applicable to heritage studies, but may be more difficult to apply fully to prehistoric societies except through more general analogies. Assmann also bases many of his observations upon literate, although ancient, cultures in the Middle East and North Africa. This raises the question that the application of theoretical models derived from historical studies may not provide the best basis for understanding prehistoric societies. We suggest that we can become overly general when discussing collective memory, and thus lose the unique contexts in which commemorative practices may take place. On the other hand, the use of overly specific examples risks directly comparing prehistoric societies with the disjuncture from the past that occurred over the course of nineteenth- and twentieth-century urban life.

The impact of literacy?

The primary responsibility of archaeologists when applying Halbwachs, Assmann, and Connerton’s theoretical approaches in prehistoric studies is to understand that these have historical, literate biases. As they caution, the transmission of memory in literate societies relies on highly specialized practices (eg. writing and historiography), and thus in pre-literate societies we may expect the transmission of memory, in lieu of such specialized practices, to be subject to greater and greater distortion as time goes by.

The concern with memory in the Western Tradition has deeper origins that are connected with the advent of literacy. The Etruscans (Piffig 1975; Stoddart 2007–9) had a profound sense of historical time whose format was finalized as they sought absorption in the Roman world. A central facet of this construction of time was the *saeculum*, a period ranging from 123 to 100 years in length (Table 23.1), a term adopted by the Romans (Varro *De Lingua Latina* 6.11; Forsythe 2012) who admired their temporal religiosity. Romans’ use of the ‘saeculum’ or the end-point when the last surviving member of a generation and the last carrier of its particular memories had died amounted to some 80 years. ‘Half the generational limit of 80 years – that is 40 years – seems to represent a critical threshold.’ for memory. So basically, after 40 years a person who witnessed a significant event in their adulthood will now be retired and will focus more on the memory of the past.

On the other hand, Lillios (2003, 129) cautions against viewing prehistory in stark contrast to the historic period as it could lead to the assumption that prehistoric societies were ‘memory-challenged’, when in fact they may have had hitherto unrecognized specialized mnemonic materials.

A hard-wired time depth to memory?

Assmann places the maximum fidelity of ‘living’ memory at around 80 years, and some anthropological studies bear this out (1991, 37). Bradley (2003, 221) estimates the maximum extent of stability stands at somewhere between 100 and 200 years, while Vansina recounts that the shortest living memory he encountered as an anthropologist was of the Aka of Lobaye, reaching back only one generation (1985, 24). Working in an archaeological context at Deir al-Medina in Upper Egypt, Meskell (2003, 37) claims the same of the workers whose family commemorative practices reached back scarcely two generations. Interestingly, they *could*, however, ‘remember’ Amenhotep I and his mother, regarded as founders of the village, stretching back

many generations. This points to memory practices operating at different scales within the same society relating to different types of foci for that memory.

Against these broadly general agreements, there is strong ethnographic evidence that hunter gatherer and by implication other prehistoric memories can be very deep in certain circumstances. Australian ethnography recalls that myths can carry cataclysmic events back from deep time (Hirsch 2006). At a more general level, Minc (1986, 103) has shown how ‘oral tradition clearly provided one enduring means for the preservation of hard-won survival experience between occurrences of resource crises’. Hegmon and Fisher also emphasize that long-term information on resources were similarly embedded in ritual codes (Hegmon & Fisher 1991, 141).

The importance of context for memory

Recent developments in neuroscience show that memory at an individual level requires context. The human brain constructs memory out of the experience of repeated and multiple contexts, which may be sensory, and may be related to repeated visits to places or may be socially constructed.

Paul and Laura Bohannon noted cases of socially embedded ‘structural amnesia’, to use Barnes’s (1947) phrase (see also Forty & Küchler 1999, Connerton 2008), when living with the Tiv of central Nigeria in the late 1940s and 1950s (Bohannon & Bohannon 1953, Bohannon 1952). The recitation of genealogies was of central importance in disputes among the Tiv, as they established claims about the past. Noting this, the British colonial administrators carefully recorded these genealogies only to find that they shifted and changed over time (Bohannon 1952). Jack Goody has written, based on the work of Malinowski (1926), that this type of genealogy acts as a ‘social charter’ that is more reflective of current and ongoing institutions than they are faithful historical records (Goody 1968, 33). More recently, Jan Vansina (1985) has discussed the ‘floating gap’ that occurs between these fictive genealogies and more distant, ‘mythical’ founding ancestors (as in the example from Meskell above). These gaps may be obvious to ethnographers, yet are reported to go unnoticed by those recounting them (Assmann 1991).

Consequently, as the previous two cases would suggest, an important, third source of theorizing collective or cultural memory presents itself in ethnographic work and the observation of memory systems at play in living societies. One of the most important studies of the interchange between memory and place is William Basso’s (1996) ethnography of the Western Apache, *Wisdom Sits in Places*. Through exploration of

toponyms and the stories behind them, Basso examines spatial conceptions of history and myth and the ways in which knowledge of place is closely linked with one's knowledge of self (Basso 1996, 34). Some of Basso's informants report being figuratively 'stalked' by the landscape, as they reflect on the moral lessons of its features as they pass through it or remember it from afar. They may, through memory and introspection, be led to more moral or traditional ways. As Basso writes, 'insofar as places and place names provide Apache people with symbolic reference points for the moral imagination and its practical bearing on the actualities of their lives – the landscape in which the people dwell can be said to dwell in them' (Basso 1996, 102).

Of great importance to archaeologists is the idea that people do not need man made monuments to act as mnemonics in a landscape. In the case of the Western Apache, '...geographical features have served for centuries as indispensable mnemonic pegs upon which to hang the moral teachings of their history' (Basso 1996, 62). Furthermore, this suggests that landscape may be as much an internal concept as it is an external reality. Recovering memory-relationships in a landscape is therefore attended by great difficulty when we cannot speak with the subjects of our studies. Prehistoric landscapes, although we share them with our forebears and walk in their vestiges today, may be truly lost to us. A phenomenological approach, as promoted by Tilley (1994, 2010), can only go so far. Although our bodies are homologous to prehistoric men and women's bodies, our internal world-views are not. Richard Bradley (2000) calls attention to the fact that 'natural' places, equally present in the minds of people, are no less the object of archaeological study than monuments that were intentionally constructed. Indeed, some natural places can be simply touched delicately by culture to mark that presence (Stoddart 2012). Basso and Bradley both emphasize the need to be imaginative when exploring the linkages between landscape, place-making, and memory, and their research cautions that, as with many things in archaeology, we cannot see the whole picture.

Bloch (1971) also presents a clear case study of the ties between land, kinship groups, and memory in his study of the Merina of the northern part of the central plateau of Madagascar between 1964 and 1966. At the time of Bloch's study, the Merina saw themselves as a society beset by rapid social change, instigated in part by missionaries, colonialists, and foreigners in general. The introduction by these outsiders of new ways of doing had resulted in a disjuncture between 'Malagasy times' and the present. One of the major ways in which life was different in the 1960s than in the past was the dispersed nature of the Merina people, with most

families living away from their ancestral lands. Even if a family had been in a given location for four or five generations, they still thought of themselves as 'guests' or 'strangers'. A family felt they only 'belonged' to the place where their particular kinship group kept their family tombs. Because it was impossible to act fully within both the traditional ways of life, those of the ancestors, and modern ways, with their economic and political advantages, many Merina people existed with a tension between the two. However, through death, this tension dissipated. The act placing the dead in the ancestral tomb was 'the final act of atonement by at last transforming the social being into an actor in the imaginary society of ancestors' (Bloch 1971, 216). Consequently, through death there was a spatial, social transformation.

In Bloch's case study it is possible to find similarities with prehistoric societies, and particularly with Alasdair Whittle's concept of tethered mobility in the Neolithic (1996, 1997). According to Whittle, one of the primary functions of ditched enclosures may have depended much upon the 'symbolic representation of community cohesion' (1996, 190). Consequently, 'through reinforced attachment to specific places, chosen times for communal gathering and ritual, pre-determined ways of seeing and experiencing ordered space, people were encouraged to maintain the rhythms and obligations of tethered mobility' (1996, 192). Through both ethnography and archaeology, it is possible to see the connection between people and the places to which they retain a deep connection through memory and ritual practices, although they may live elsewhere.

Significantly for the archaeological study of memory, as these multiple examples suggest, there is no universal way to remember, and cultural memory practices take on a great array of forms. Certainly there are some *generalities* we can trace across cultures, but memory and how groups of people choose to remember and to forget are often highly contextual. Some of the ways in which people recollect, re-remember, and often imagine their own pasts, and the ways in which they choose which members of society are part of the in-group and which are not, present a predominant, recurring theme. Building on the ideas of Halbwachs, it makes sense that memory – being entirely socially mediated – would take on as many different forms as there are different social groupings around the world, despite similar cognitive processes involved. These various studies also highlight the importance of scale when discussing memory and point to the fact that these scales are by no means uniform. From the formations of familial histories to the foundational stories of nations and religions, a great variety may be

observed, and importantly, larger scale configurations of memory are often experienced differently from one smaller-scale setting to the next.

Memory in archaeological studies

Many archaeological studies of the inventive ways in which past societies were aware of and used their own pasts in the active maintenance of their identities have sprung from this font of theoretical work over the past two decades. This closely mirrors trends within the social sciences in general (Assmann 1990, xi). Several articles, edited volumes, and monographs stand out among this work (Bradley 1987, Ingold 2002, Van Dyke & Alcock 2003, Yoffee 2007, Hamilakis 2014, Chadwick & Gibson 2013) and each has contributed to an understanding of the ways in which the archaeological palimpsests observed at many sites are 'rarely... accidental and innocent' (Van Dyke & Alcock 2003b, 1). Indeed, the juxtaposition of later monuments with earlier ones on the same sites are frequently so obvious and impactful that they cannot be ignored. Some examples include the construction of churches on Roman buildings (Morris & Roxan 1980), the relationship between Iron Age and early Medieval landscapes (Meredith-Lobay 2009), the placement of Anglo-Saxon boundaries along earlier ritual routes (Malim *et al.* 1997), and the alignment of prominent Late La Tène route-ways through earlier Hallstatt burial mounds (Stegmaier 2017). Longterm continuity of population and practice presents one possible explanation for the observed collocation, yet as many of the ethnographic and historic examples illustrate, 'continuity' is rarely simple and often created. Convincing evidence for a break in continuity followed by *using* past monuments as part of the political imaginary has been provided in many of these cases.

Another commonly observed phenomenon is the use of former monuments and buildings for innovative practices and novel interpretations. One example is the siting of the Anglo-Saxon moots and later hundred courts at prominent prehistoric monuments in England including hillforts, causewayed enclosures, and burials mounds. Three examples in East Anglia are the moorhill at Grime's Graves (a bronze age tumulus), the hundred court at Wandlebury (an Iron Age hillfort), and the meeting site at the Bronze Age tumulus at Mutlow Hill along the route of Fleam Dyke. As Semple explains, these sites were viewed with awe and caution as a species of space associated with past supernatural activity (2008, 2013). Settlements were consequently often placed a comfortable distance away. Prehistoric tumuli were also often used for early Anglo-Saxon burials, and toponymic analysis has illustrated that

people had different vocabulary for contemporary burial mounds and ancient, reused ones (Semple 2008; 2013; Chester-Kadwell 2007).

Votive deposition, as a long-term practice emerging from earlier prehistory, takes place through a large repertoire of forms and mediums, some of which directly reference the past while others resemble past depositional practices yet provide an array of innovative forms. As Bradley (1990) writes, hoarding and votive deposition have never satisfactorily been shown to be unitary practices throughout prehistory and may have taken place for a variety of different reasons. The deposition of Iron Age prestige metalwork, including tripod-cauldrons, at Bronze Age palaces by 'ruin cults' on Crete provides an interesting example. The deliberate placement of these depositions only in the public areas of the former-palaces leads Prent (2003) to believe that local cultic practice reflects a 300-year memory from the times when the palaces were still in use. Although the placement of votive depositions can often be shown *not* to be *random*, deliberate placement does not necessarily mean deliberate continuity, as in the case of the small Late Iron Age coin hoards placed in and near Bronze Age burial mounds at Mutlow Hill in Cambridgeshire, and near Narborough in Norfolk, among other examples (Aines 2020). The occurrence of coin hoards, as a new medium in Late Iron Age Britain at older sites, potentially represents a hybrid practice that makes creative use of the past. The Iron Age Salisbury hoard, which includes Bronze Age artefacts and numerous miniature weapons, makes multiple references to the past (Stead 1998). At Nettleton Top, in similar depositions, some of the miniatures found take on the idealized forms of what Iron Age people imagined certain Bronze Age weapons, including shields, looked like, yet they do not resemble any known Bronze Age typologies (Farley 2013, 109). The deposition of heirlooms provides yet a different example of memory practices at the family level (Lillios 1999). The recurrence of hoards at certain sites again and again in multiple periods, such as Ken Hill, Snettisham, illustrate another potential form of commemorative practice. Yet in a warning against such interpretations, Martin Rundkvist (2015) writes about similar depositional practices around Lake Malaren in Sweden, where memory notwithstanding, people have been throwing things into rapids from the Neolithic period until the modern era because of cross-cultural allure. Meskell (2003) refers to these types of places as 'numinous' locales.

As some of these examples show, as much as continuity, we may also find dislocation from the past and the invention of traditions. Meskell (2003), for example, traces the importance in Graeco-Roman

culture of paying obeisance in sites that were awe-inspiring. On one such site, at Deir al-Medina near Luxor, rather than the worshipping in the foundations of a grand temple, devotees found themselves in the ruins of a worker's village, failing to recognize they were not in a former holy place. 'In this sense,' Meskell writes, 'they were not performing an act of cultural memory but were constituting new, hybrid forms of commemorative practice' (Meskell 2003, 50). Bradley illustrates similar phenomena in both the Boyne Valley and in North Umbria where after a long intervening period between prehistory and the middle ages, older sites were reactivated in new ways for political benefit (Bradley 1987).

The materiality of monuments

Taphonomic biases strongly influence our interpretations of memory in the past. The foremost among these is the physical materiality of the monuments. Many, though not all, of these examples revolve around long-lived monuments built from stone and earth. Because of their durability, both *brochs* and *Nuraghi* were the focal points of memory for the people who inhabited them and have remained focal points for the archaeological study of memory because of this defining characteristic. The properties of stone differ from those of wood, for example, and the endurance of stone itself becomes a symbol of longevity and the endurance of memory, both 'living' and 'dead'. They may have formed 'memory monuments', a more prominent sub-class of what Ian Hodder has classified as 'memory houses' (Hodder 2012), with the important distinction the dead are buried elsewhere, so it is the monument (and its refuse) that provide the source of memory rather than the direct presence of the individuals who once lived there.

Mike Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina's ethnographic landscape exploration of the semiotics of Stonehenge, as compared with nearby Durrington Walls and Woodhenge, brings these issues to the fore. By relating these monuments to the homes, tombs, memorial stones, and building traditions in highland Madagascar, they build a careful ethnographic analogy that provides one basis for understanding how construction choices and materiality may be deployed to emphasize certain symbolic concepts. As they write, 'Whilst the meanings of things can be arbitrary and open to continuous reinterpretation, the physical properties of materials such as stone, wood, water and fire are such that they resist certain interpretations and understandings and invite others. In such cases, their materiality may be a significant element of their metaphorical associations' (1998, 310).

Consequently, they illustrate how wood is often used for the structures of the living, whereas stone is often for the structures of the dead (1998, 308). They argue that Stonehenge was therefore not a monument to an ancestor cult, but the focal point of a mirror realm in which ancestors feasted and enacted other rituals in the stone reflection of the nearby wooden sites where the living did the same. Consequently, the transition of certain wooden hengiforms to stone over time may have reflected some of the same life cycles, from life to death, from transience to permanence, experienced by humans and human communities (1998, 324).

However, ideas like permanence and impermanence are mediated by embedded social practices and may differ from one culture to the next. Both Ise Grand Shrine, in Mie, and Izumo Grand Shrine, in Shimane, Japan are notable for their scheduled 'restoration' every 20 and 60 years, respectively (Bock 1974). In 2013, restoration works were carried out at both shrines in the same year, when they were completely rebuilt to the exact specifications of the originals on an adjacent plot of land as they have been for centuries. At Ise, this was the sixty-second iteration of the main shrine over the past 1,240 years. Much like the metaphorical ship of Theseus – or even the literal *Vasa*, kept alive by incredible sleight of hand – this raises interesting questions about survival and identity. Metaphysical questions aside however, the rebuilding of the shrines has helped to pass on ancient woodworking techniques and architectural styles that would have otherwise been lost (Smith 2013a). Symbolically, the rebuilding of the shrines reflects the Shinto belief in the transitory nature of life and the renewal that follows death.

Similarly, the monumental totem poles of the Pacific Northwest, which symbolize kinship groups, myths, and living individuals relevant to the local, different tribes, are traditionally made from cedar and gradually decay as part of their natural 'life-cycles.' Gloria Cranmer Webster, a Kwakwaka'wakw, notes that while Western conservators have sought to protect totem poles from the ravages of time, the idea of preservation is diametrically opposed to the traditional indigenous view that totem poles, like all other objects, should be allowed to decay and move on once they have served their purpose. Repairing or re-painting totem poles happened rarely in the past because in order to do so, a potlatch had to be held at the same expense as erecting a new totem pole, but *without* any additional prestige passing to its owner (Rhyne 2000). Rhyne emphasizes, therefore, that this approach is not a sentiment, but a deeply embedded social practice.

In these examples, the symbolic nature of wood is not necessarily different from Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina's interpretation, but both emphasize the

impermanence of wood as it mirrors the impermanence of life and the inevitability of death and regeneration. Therefore, it could be argued they are semiotically more complex than a simple life/death dichotomy. Yet at the fore are issues of materiality and ideas of decay, degeneration, and ruination (cf. Olivier 2011, 56–7; Olsen & Pétursdóttir 2014).

Both *brochs* and *Nuraghi*, however, are not monuments of death, but the dwellings and gathering places of the living. The durability of dry-stone buildings, when properly cared for, is immense. Yet in certain cases, memory was not necessarily carried by the buildings themselves, but in the daily, habitual practices of the living that occurred in and around them. Parker Pearson and Sharples (1999) have explored the ways in which refuse and middens may have communicated the longevity and status of certain *brochs* – ideas explored elsewhere in this volume – including Dun Vulan in South Uist, Scotland. Here, while midden material ought to have been valuable for enriching the nutrient-poor soils of the machair near Dun Vulan, instead it was allowed to accumulate over centuries until the midden beside the broch reached up to the height of the door. One can imagine the luxuriant, green of ruderal species that covered the midden, and the ways in which this, quite apart from the materiality of the broch itself, would have been a sign of the antiquity of the house and of a certain type of wealth that would allow for the conspicuous consumption of fertile soil in this manner. Almost like a coat of arms, the midden would have illustrated the long prestige of those who lived there (Parker Pearson pers. comm. 2019).

The afterlife of monuments

In archaeological work over the past two decades, the 'turn to things' and the cultural biographies of things (Kopytoff 1986, Gosden & Marshall 1999, Olsen 2010, Hodder 2012b) have been enormously productive, and very little needs to be said of these approaches here. In short, objects have social lives of their own, and may go on to lead new lives, as it were, that may not have originally been conceptualized by their makers (Olsen & Pétursdóttir 2014). In this way, monuments as *things* and landscapes as *things*, may be said to have agency, although the origins of this agency (does it lie with the things themselves or the people who perceive them?) has been debated to some extent. Monuments are large scale implementations of these ideas.

Within this frame, monuments, such as *brochs* and *Nuraghi*, as symbols of national or regional identity have the immediate advantage of presenting a literal facade of continuity with the past. Intangible heritage

may come and go, move around, and be 'appropriated,' but stone presents a more stable image upon which to base these 'imagined communities.' *Brochs* and *Nuraghi* may therefore no longer be 'used' in the sense they once were, yet their use (even if primarily by archaeologists and the promulgators of heritage) as symbols of cultures past and remembered continues in their afterlives. They provide material, enduring reminders of the unique circumstances of the two nation's pasts.

In this way, monuments provide the settings in which real and fictive histories are set, and thus enable us to give a spatial dimension to the past. The Scottish antiquary and polymath James Anderson, for example, identified the broch of Mousa on Shetland as the location where, as recounted in Ossian's *Fingal*, the bloodthirsty chieftain Grumal was imprisoned for his misconduct (Smith 2013). While Grumal may have been created as part of Macpherson's mythomoteur (cf. Assmann 1991, 64–5), it makes no difference. When we stand in the foundations of these ruins, we can imagine what may have happened here, as Anderson did. Shanks (2012, 100) highlights the frequency of this type of antiquarian engagement and terms it 'place/ event', building on the definition of Bernard Tschumi (1994). As Shanks (2012, 103) explains, this type of engagement focuses 'upon the question: this happened here; or did it, could it have?' This relates closely to what Assmann (1991, 111) terms the political imagination, or the extent to which 'a group – whether it be a tribe, race, or nation – can only be itself to the degree in which it understands, visualizes, and represents itself as such'. In consequence, monuments fulfill other roles outside the scope of their original builders' intentions and act as the spatial tethers between this modern world with its national intricacies and the past accessible only through imagination.

Conclusion: monuments for memory

James Whitley (2002) has objected to using 'ancestors' as a means of blanket interpretation in archaeology, yet his emphasis on folklore and ancient written sources overlooks the multitude of ethnographic studies that illustrate the foundational importance of ancestry to the identity of many cultural groups around the world.

Instead, he favours the hypothesis that veneration and fear of otherworldly beings motivated certain practices in prehistoric societies. These fears abound in literature, folklore, and even toponymy (see for example Semple 1998, Chester-Kadwell 2008), but in relevance to individual archaeological contexts, these ideas need to be examined on a case by case basis.

However, ancestor veneration alone does not account for all forms of commemoration. Ancestry provides an important sphere of a community's identity, but collective memory may ossify around other events including victory (Scleifman 2001), defeat (Nelson 2003), and times of both plenty (Adamcyk 2002) and poverty (Masalha 2012). Studies of heritage abound with cases, and these examples are by no means comprehensive. The American artist Heather Ossandon, whose art explores both mundane and ceremonial ritual, asks 'What deserves to be remembered, venerated, and why?' in the introduction to her exhibition playfully entitled *Commemorative Plates of Shitty Things*, which recalls, among other events, her brother's second open-heart surgery (Ossandon 2014). Lowenthal (1985) also discusses the commemoration of, and even nostalgia for, terrible times in the past.

While these forms of commemoration involve remembering people – potentially ancestors, but unknown persons as well (Hobsbawm 1983, Inglis 1999) – motives may be multifaceted and ulterior. We conclude with a cautionary question. Did ancient societies need monuments at the heart of cultural and collective memory and in commemorative practices or is it archaeologists who need monuments to identify

memory in the past? As Basso's work, and several other examples herein, illustrate, memory can be held within in ways that leave few physical traces.

Yet going back to the idea of resisting the change that is inevitable with the passage of time, the cultivation of memory in monumental architecture undeniably alters the perception of time and of the environment for those who engage with them. As settings and through their material durability, the architectural elements within built environments, whether urban or monumental, add gravitas to power. We are reminded through the maintenance required, through the patina that these environments acquire over many years, that before us someone has walked here: an ancestor, a forebear, a predecessor to part of the identity we assume in such a location. There are locations that can, for a moment, seem to resist this change and in which, rather than being consumed, time can grow. As the late gardening correspondent for the *New York Times* Allen Lacey once wrote, 'Gardeners, like everyone else, live second by second and minute by minute. What we see at one particular moment is then and there before us. But there is a second way of seeing. Seeing with the eye of memory, not the eye of our anatomy, calls up days and seasons past and years gone by' (Lacey 1992, 16).

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Gardening time

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

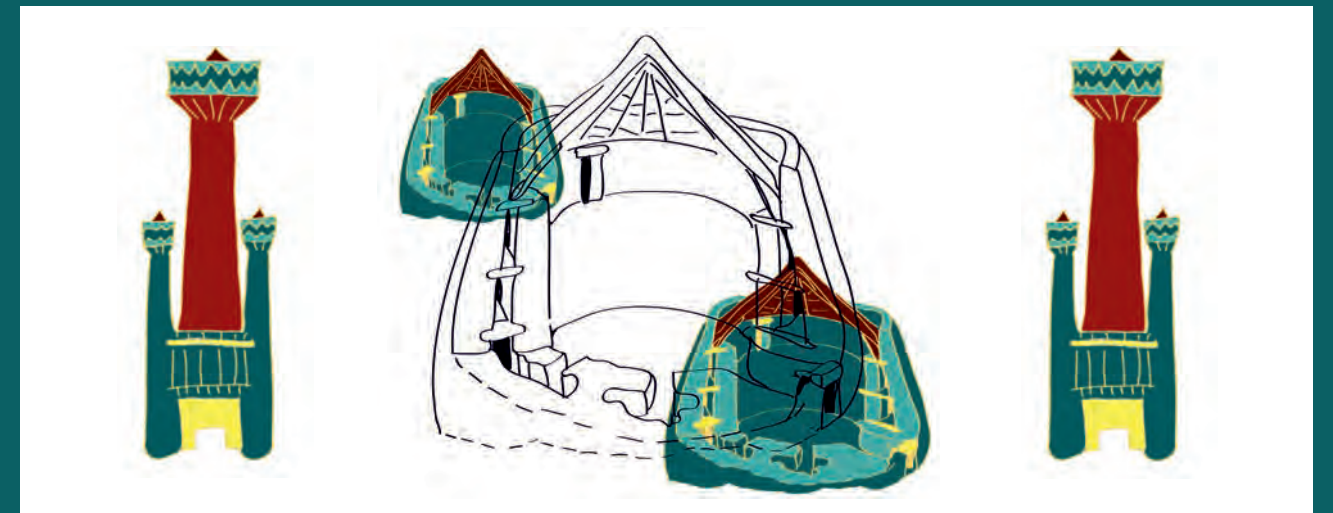
This collection of twenty-one papers addresses the theme of memory anchored to the enduring presence of monuments, mainly from Scotland and Sardinia, but also from Central Europe and the Balkans.

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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

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