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Gardening time

Monuments and landscape from
Sardinia, Scotland and Central Europe
in the very long Iron Age

Edited by Simon Stoddart, Ethan D. Aines
& Caroline Malone

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with contributions from
Ian Armit, John Barber, Lindsey Büster, Louisa Campbell, Giandaniele Castangia, Graeme Cavers, Anna Depalmas, Matthew Fitzjohn, Mary-Cate Garden, Andy Heald, Luca Lai, Robert Lenfert, Mary MacLeod Rivett, Hannah Malone, Phil Mason, Megan Meredith-Lobay, Mauro Perra, Ian Ralston, John Raven, David Redhouse, Tanja Romankiewicz, Niall Sharples, Alfonso Stiglitz, Dimitris Theodossopoulos, Carlo Tronchetti, Alessandro Usai, Alessandro Vanzetti, Peter Wells & Rebecca Younger

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

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Acknowledgements

A tribute in honour of Giovanni Lilliu (1914–2012)

Anna Depalmas

Remembering Giovanni Lilliu may seem an easy task. One might think that it is only necessary to list his rich scientific bibliography and to describe his great work over the course of nearly a century, as a university professor and archaeologist. However, a simple listing of his achievements would not transmit the true importance of his work. He not only illuminated the prehistoric archaeology of Sardinia, but also used it to establish the idea of a Sardinian epic which he connected to the modern world.

Prehistory was the choice of his field of study – rather than the predominant exaltation of the Roman era and classicism of the time -, and this had its origins in his study under Ugo Rellini at Rome. He graduated in 1938 and worked as Rellini's assistant until 1942, when he returned to Sardinia to take up the position of Professor of Historical Archaeology and Geography at the University of Cagliari. From 1942 to 1958, he taught various subjects – Paleoethnology, Geography and the History of Religion - and in the latter year became a Full Professor and was appointed to the Chair of Sardinian Antiquity at the University of Cagliari. From 1944 to 1955 he also worked for the Superintendency of Sardinian Antiquity.

He held many posts in his long academic career. He was for a long time, and on various occasions, dean of the Faculty of Letters, Director of the Institute of Archaeology and Arts, Director of the School of Specialization in Sardinian Studies and Editor of the Journal carrying the same name (*Studi Sardi*), and, in 1990, he was elected a fellow of the Academy of Lincei of Rome. In his later years, he remained a very active Professor Emeritus at Cagliari University.

In 1936, while he was still a student, he published his first work on Su Nuraxi di Barumini. This was his birthplace, and throughout his life he maintained a close and almost embodied connection with the village. This also led him to carry out his most important

archaeological work in the landscape of his birth. Indeed, between 1951 and 1956, he worked on excavating an artificial hill there, which was found to cover the nuragic complex of Su Nuraxi di Barumini. This was the first excavation conducted in Sardinia using a stratigraphic methodology to establish a time-line for the nuragic period, and it became a benchmark for later investigations and chronological research. His work at Barumini formed the basis for a series of fundamental papers on Sardinian proto-history, from *I nuraghi. Torri preistoriche di Sardegna* (The *Nuraghi*, prehistoric towers of Sardinia) in 1962 to *Civiltà nuragica* (Nuragic civilization) in 1982.

He was the first to study many of the themes that he investigated in depth during his long scientific career and many of these were only studied for the first time in the first half of the twentieth century. The chronology of proto-Sardinian civilization was one key field that he developed, modified and changed in the course of his long academic career. At the same time, Lilliu published a brief essay in which he attempted to identify certain constant factors in the history of Sardinian art, and this was developed in the catalogue for the exhibition of Sardinian bronzes in Venice in 1949. Following the theories of Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli on how to classify the art of the ancient world, Lilliu assessed the coexistence of the 'anti-naturalistic' art of the barbarian world and the 'naturalistic' art of the classical world within which he inserted Sardinia as a 'land of pure expression', and defined as anti-classical and barbaric. This line of thought became the nucleus of a theme which he studied from various angles and which helped him to define key concepts in his field of study.

At the beginning of the 1960s, he published his wide-ranging synthesis of Sardinia, *La civiltà dei Sardi dal Neolitico all'età dei nuraghi* (1963) (Sardinian Civilization from the Neolithic period to the nuragic

era). This work was later reprinted, expanded and revised in various editions until 1988. Apart from incorporating the results of later research, the later editions also allowed him to reassess some of his earlier observations with a critical eye, which was always one of his great strengths as a researcher and academic. The book proposed that a single unifying thread ran through Sardinian prehistory from the Neolithic period, even starting in the Palaeolithic period, until the Phoenician conquest. It established elements of the historiography of the island using data obtained from his work as an archaeologist. Many of the principal Sardinian monuments were described in an elegant style which alternated with detailed, creative and lyrical descriptions. The book was aimed at not only archaeologists and students, but also at a wider public, and indeed the book was dedicated to 'the shepherds of Barbagia'. Generations of archaeologists have studied the manual and found themselves cited in later editions, in agreement with Lilliu's global historiographical approach which aimed to unite past archaeological research with his experience of teaching Sardinian Antiquity in a university context. This book also gave birth to a national and popular history of prehistoric Sardinia, and expanded the work of archaeologists and their research from being only something studied in university lecture rooms and solely of interest to academics to its status as part of the common heritage of all Sardinians.

This social dimension, this impact, can be clearly seen from Giovanni Lilliu's popularity, which came from having shone a light on the national history of Sardinia and giving life to a Sardinian historiographical tradition, i.e. one with a strong sense of identity. His fame led to him being consulted, even in the later years of his life, on current events in Sardinia not necessarily related to culture or archaeology and being seen as a kind of prophet or even as the 'father of his country'. One of the many lessons that he taught us, and in which he himself was an expert, was the importance of intellectuals being able to discuss, communicate and talk about complex historical themes in a way which was both comprehensible and of interest to laymen.

He showed a total but clear love for his land by taking on civic responsibilities, which he fulfilled in a way which was never dull but rather vigilant and acute, despite his soft tone. As a cultured man, he worked for the Regional Council of Sardinia, drafting the Special Statute of Autonomy. He was also involved in politics, first as a member of the Christian Democrats and later as a supporter of initiatives which promoted the independence of Sardinia and of progressive positions which were close to the Centre-Left. In practice, he was active in actions which were designed to give greater value to Sardinian identity and culture.

The ideological basis for these activities were elaborated by Giovanni Lilliu at the start of his intellectual life, and were made completely clear in the 1970s when he developed the concept of 'constant Sardinian resistance'. At the beginning of the first prehistoric phase, the Sardinians were characterized by their resistance to foreign invaders and any attempts at acculturation. This characteristic did not disappear in ancient times, but has been a constant theme of Sardinian history and ethnicity, and is still present today. In this sense, Sardinian culture is not a fossil, but rather displays an extraordinary historical continuity with the past. This is an analysis which never became an idealization of aspects of Sardinian society and behaviour, but rather provided a clear and realistic picture through also identifying its negative aspects and its limitations. Nuragic civilization in particular became a symbol of a polycentric society, always in conflict with itself, the land and foreign invaders.

However, it is certainly limiting to supply a rigid definition of what Lilliu meant by nuragic civilization, given that he saw it as a dialectical relationship between its various dimensions, and worked on a reconstruction of it that was complex and multifaceted. He proposed an interpretation of nuragic civilization that saw it not as local but Mediterranean. In this, he was greatly influenced by his direct experience of excavations in the village of Ses Paisses in Majorca, where he found ethnic roots which were common to all the large islands of the West Mediterranean, the Balearics and Corsica, although there were also differences connected to the independent developments drawing on their insularity.

The fact that he found writing easy as can be seen from his some 330 publications. The last of these was in 2010, and was a detailed description of the excavation of the Giant's Tomb of Bidistili in Fonni. It is worth saying that many of the present arguments about certain elements and problems of prehistoric and proto-historic Sardinia were originally raised by him.

I would like to end this brief and partial memorial to Giovanni Lilliu by mentioning his work as a university professor of prehistoric and proto-historic Sardinia (and not only those subjects – with great versatility he also taught Geography and Christian archaeology). What I will personally remember is his little figure in jacket and pullover (he seldom, if ever, wore a tie), typewritten sheets in hand, and always punctual. He never postponed a lesson and was never

absent. As an examiner he was always courteous and understanding. But you had to be very well prepared for his exams. The end of the course every year was the moment that we all waited for. Then there were the one or two day excursions that he led us on to various parts of Sardinia. We students would present our explanations of the monuments and he would listen with great attention as if it were his first visit, and then sometimes add some of his own memories, making it ever more clear how he was the creator of our view of prehistoric Sardinia.

He really was the memory of Sardinian history.

Tributes to Dr David Trump, FSA, UOM (1931–2016), and Dr Euan MacKie, FSA (1936–2020)

Caroline Malone & Simon Stoddart

David Trump was best known for his important work on the islands of Malta (Malone 2020), but his contribution to the prehistory of Sardinia is also worthy of record in the context of this volume.

David Hilary Trump took his first class BA in Arch and Anth at Pembroke College, Cambridge in 1955, and was a scholar of both the British School at Jerusalem, where he dug with Kathleen Kenyon, and the British School at Rome, where he excavated the key site of La Starza.

After Malta, Trump held the post of Staff Tutor in Archaeology at the University's Board of Extra-Mural Studies until retirement in 1997, when he was succeeded by Caroline Malone. He not only contributed to the teaching of Mediterranean Prehistory in the Department of Archaeology, but also had a large following in the wider, continuing education community, engaging mature students in all aspects of Archaeology in the region and beyond. It was during this period that he made a major contribution to the archaeology of Sardinia, uncovering once again unsuspected phases of prehistory at Grotta Filiestru (Trump 1983) and completing the survey of Bonu Ighinu. At Grotta Filiestru, he characteristically invested all the resources he could muster into constructing an effective chronology (Switsur & Trump 1983) and some of the first faunal studies undertaken in Sardinia (Levine 1983). This work was, in its way, as equally pioneering as his work on the island of Malta. The Grotta Filiestru produced a new scientifically dated sequence of Sardinian prehistory, identifying the fifth-millennium BC Filiestru Neolithic phase for the first time. In earlier fieldwork he also excavated the cave site of Sa 'ucca de su Tintirriòlu (Loria & Trump 1978). His work around Bonu Ighinu (Trump 1990) is, however, closest to the
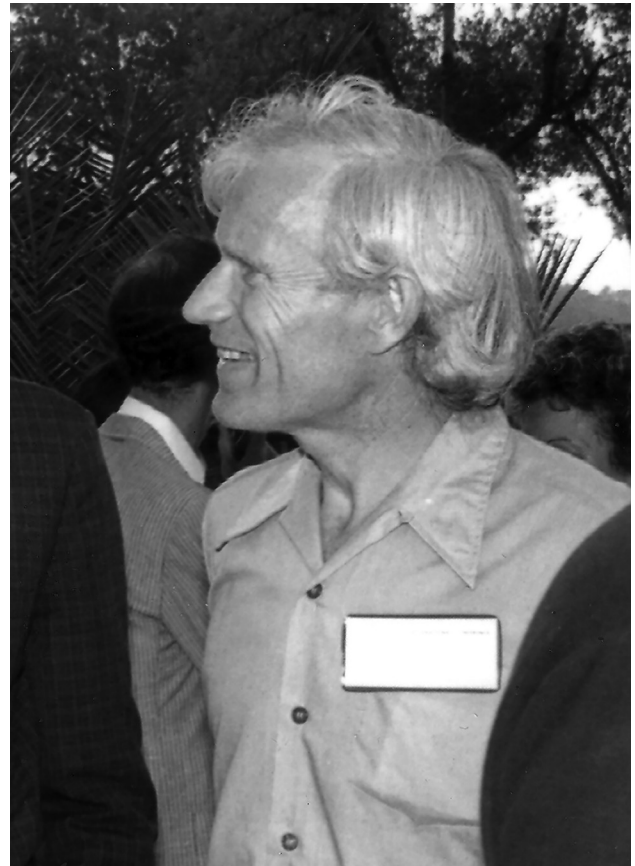
Figure 0.1. *David Trump.*

theme of this volume since, in typical energetic style, Trump also provided one of the earliest studies of a nuragic landscape, once again demonstrating a pioneering role, now followed by many others.

Euan MacKie was a central figure in the study of brochs, as is shown by the very high level of citation in this volume (Mackie 1965 ... 2008). In several ways the contribution of David Trump and Euan MacKie run in parallel, one journeying south, the other journeying north also from Cambridge beginnings, both Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London, engaged in seminal fieldwork, on a shoe string generally with volunteers, providing the first chronological foundations for monuments in the landscape and addressing synthesis of the results. Both were pioneers of their generation who retained their own intellectual independence in museums (both) and in continuing education (Trump), rather than a department of archaeology or a heritage organization.

MacKie graduated in Archaeology and Anthropology from St. John's Cambridge in 1959 and took his PhD from the University of Glasgow in 1973, becoming, after a brief period at the British Museum, Keeper and Deputy Director (1986) of the University Hunterian Museum. As a graduate he took part in an expedition to British Honduras, directing the excavation of the Maya site of Xunantunich, leading to an interest in Mesoamerican archaeology throughout his life.

His excavation of brochs such as Dun Mor Vaul on Tiree, published in 1975, Dun Ardtreck on Skye published in 2000 and Leckie in Stirlingshire published in 2008, were fundamental in uncovering the sequence, material culture and chronology of these monuments. He gathered information for his important three-volume compendium on brochs from his own excavations and the investigations of others, undertaking research well into retirement (1998), publishing the final volume in 2007. These volumes are landmarks of data on the subject, a resource which provides a platform for all broch studies. His achievements were also celebrated in his Festschrift, *In the Shadow of the Brochs* (2002), showing the respect shown to him by younger generations.

He ventured far and wide in his more interpretative work. Some of his interpretations of broch builders and their monuments are no longer widely held and the chronologies are currently being reconsidered, but his stimulating approach to ideas endures. He

Figure 0.2. *Euan MacKie on Mousa broch in the Shetlands in 2000 at the Tall Stories conference.*

was passionate about many other subjects including his seminal work in prehistoric metrology and archaeoastronomy. The volume *Science and Society in Prehistoric Britain* (1977) was a central work for Glyn Daniel's teaching in Cambridge, and he made the valid point that the sophistication of prehistory is not to be underestimated. His interest in ethnography, no doubt drawing on his Arch and Anth undergraduate career at Cambridge, gave him a great respect for other ways of thinking and for the architectural and political achievements of prehistoric Britain, most notably for the builders of the brochs themselves in the Iron Age.

Materializing memories: inheritance, performance and practice at Broxmouth hillfort, southeast Scotland

Lindsey Büster & Ian Armit

Well, the main fortified place was built, and, when finished, houses were erected within it. There were two well-fitted and framed houses among them, one of which was named Raukawa, after the sea that separates the two islands; this house belonged to Tautoki. The other superior house was named Wharerangi, in remembrance of the place where the sacred Wharekura [*place of learning*] was situated in the old-time fatherland. The fortified village was named Whetu-kairangi. (Best 1927, 96)

The opening quotation was reportedly spoken by a nineteenth century Maori elder and recorded by the New Zealand ethnographer, Elsdon Best, in the 1920s. It describes one particular example of a type of Maori fortified village (known as a *pā*), remarkably similar in many ways to European Iron Age hillforts (e.g. Fox 1976; Armit 2007). What is most important for present purposes, however, is that they were large communal enclosures that represented a high investment of labour and resources, and tended to have long periods of settlement. The traditions relating to this particular *pā*, at Miramar near Wellington, had reportedly been preserved over 28 generations (perhaps around 700 years). Whether this is accurate in historical terms is not particularly relevant here: what is important is that people locally believed it to be true.

The quotation is particularly interesting for a number of reasons. First, it reminds us that the archaeological remains we study were once people's homes. Our floor plans and sections represent places where people actually lived, and spent a large part of their lives. Individual buildings within the *pā* had their own names, and each name was meaningful, acting as an *aide-memoire* for stories and traditions about ancestors and the origins of the community. These houses were a locus for communal memory, each with its own identity. They were far more than just places to cook, eat and sleep. The name ('Whetu-kairangi') of the *pā* itself means something like 'precious' or 'finest star'. It seems to have referred to the view of the *pā* from the land below, particularly at night when fires lit up the hilltop. It suggests perhaps an affectionate regard for the place, and an allusion to its role as a home and place of safety.

With these ideas in mind, we will consider an equally long-lived settlement dating to the Iron Age in southeast Scotland.

Broxmouth hillfort

Broxmouth hillfort was located roughly 2.5 km southeast of Dunbar, and 600 m inland, on the East Lothian coastal plain (Fig. 4.1, inset a). Although excavated in 1977–78, post-excavation was never completed and the site remained unpublished beyond interim accounts (Hill 1979; 1982). A programme of post-excavation leading to full publication was carried out in 2008–12 by the University of Bradford (Armit & McKenzie 2013), funded by Historic Scotland (now Historic Environment Scotland).

The site comprised six main phases of Iron Age occupation, bracketed by ephemeral evidence for Late Neolithic activity and a single inhumation of early medieval date. The Iron Age sequence began around *640/570 cal. BC*[1] with the construction of a palisaded enclosure (Phase 1). Whatever might have been inside, it was completely destroyed by later occupation. Later, a sequence of at least two, very large, timber roundhouses was built outside the palisaded enclosure. These only survive, fortuitously, under a later rampart, and this early settlement was probably originally much more extensive. Later, sometime around *490/430 cal. BC*, the hilltop was completely
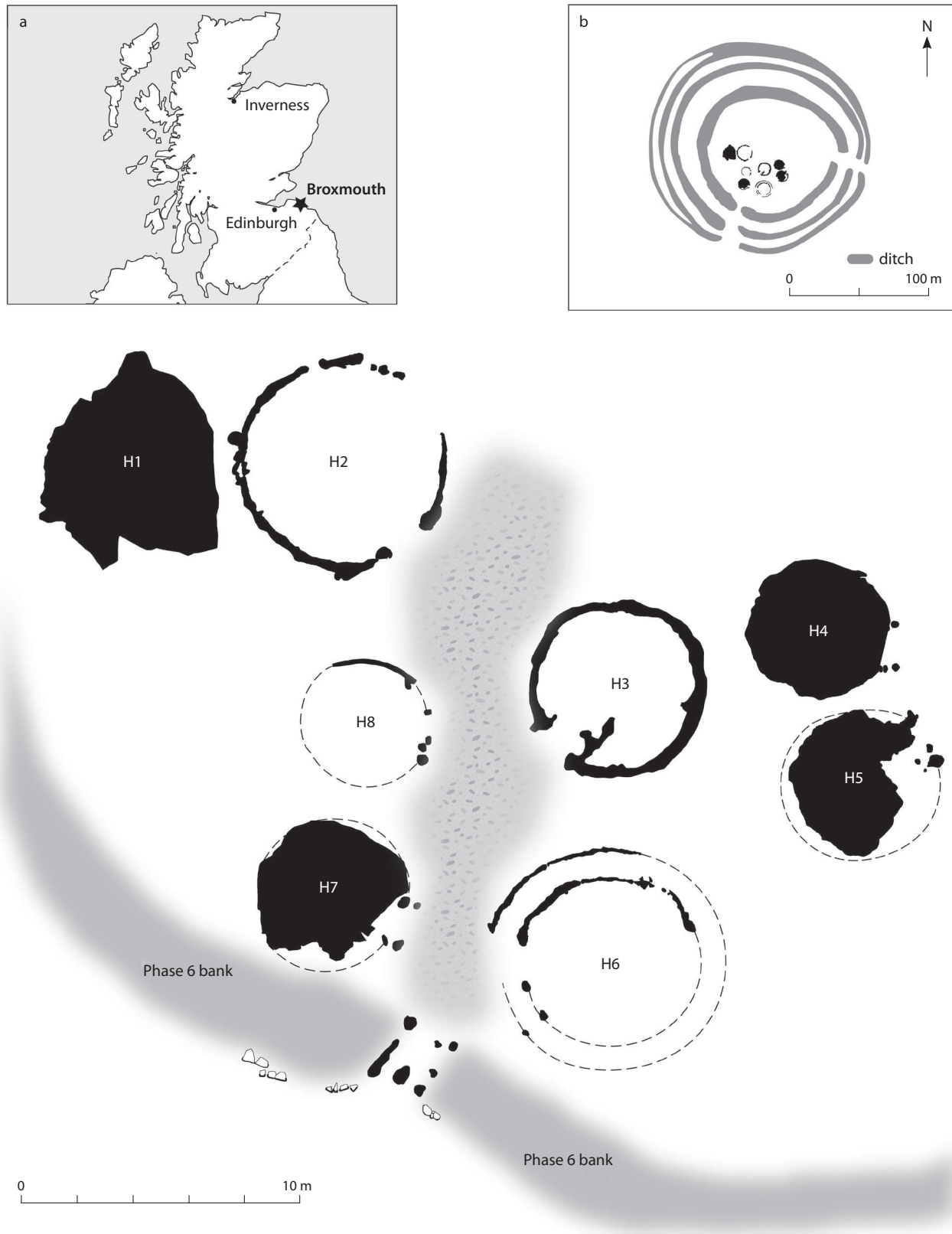
Figure 4.1. *The Late Iron Age settlement (Phase 6) at Broxmouth. Insets, a) location map; b) schematic plan of the hillfort.*

transformed by the construction of a univallate hillfort (Phase 2a), subsequently rebuilt as bivallate (Phase 2b), with massive timber-lined entrances facing east and west (although only the west one survived). This huge operation would have involved a large number of people for a significant period of time. Once built, the hillfort was progressively remodelled, becoming variously univallate, bivallate and trivallate (Phase 3), though exhibiting no unilinear sequence of development (Fig. 4.1, inset b). The original west entrance was blocked and a new, even more monumental, entrance was built facing southwest. From around *295/235 cal. BC*, the ditches went out of use and the settlement expanded over them (Phase 4). A series of roundhouses was built within the line of the Inner Ditch, which were preserved where their floors had sunk into its subsiding fill (similar structures can also be discerned within various ditch sections around the perimeter of the site). Around 200 cal. BC (Phase 5), a small cemetery was built outside the ramparts to the north (Armit *et al.* 2013), though settlement continued within the interior. From around *100/60 cal. BC*, a low, stone-faced bank, with a narrow, timber gateway, was re-established along the line of the old inner rampart, and a dense settlement of stone and timber roundhouses constructed within it (see below; Fig. 4.1). Finally, around *cal. AD 155/210*, the site was abandoned.

The dates quoted above are based on a comprehensive AMS dating programme (158 radiocarbon dates in total) which demonstrates that this Iron Age occupation, which appears to have been continuous, spanned a total of roughly 800 years (i.e. *640/570 cal. BC–cal. AD 155/210*; Hamilton *et al.* 2013), or some 32 generations. By Phase 6, if not before, the settlement would clearly have been perceived as being of considerable antiquity, if not immeasurably ancient. Furthermore, since occupation appears to have been continuous, with no observable hiatus in the settlement sequence, it may reasonably be assumed that genealogical links existed between the Phase 1 founders of the settlement, and the inhabitants of Phase 6.

Evidence for internal occupation exists only for Phases 1, 4 and 6, the remainder apparently destroyed by truncation of the settlement during its Iron Age occupation (Armit & McKenzie 2013); this is indeed why the most comprehensive settlement evidence exists for the latest phase (6) of Iron Age activity. In fact, earlier (pre-Phase 6) roundhouses and associated structures only survive in Phases 1 and 4 where they were, respectively, protected from truncation under later ramparts and by subsidence into earlier ditches. Large amounts of redeposited material, identified through AMS dating, attest to the

continual reworking of the site during its Iron Age occupation, during which time it is also likely that earlier, previously buried, features were re-exposed within the context of later settlement activity. Indeed, a burial, which probably dates to Phase 1, appears to have been 'rediscovered' during construction of the Phase 6 settlement and may even have influenced the location and orientation of House 2, since the relationship between the two, with the grave lying adjacent to the northern post hole of the roundhouse entrance (Fig. 4.2), suggests a certain intentionality.

The Late Iron Age settlement

The Late Iron Age settlement represents the latest phase (6) of Iron Age activity at Broxmouth, and, as such, has by far the best surviving evidence for occupation. The surviving settlement comprises eight roundhouses, six of them aligned along a central road running through the main southwest entrance (Fig. 4.1); this entrance was created in Phase 3 and retained, in various forms, throughout the remainder of the settlement's history. The surviving settlement occupies only roughly half of the area within the enclosure system, however, since the northern part was badly scalped by ploughing. It is likely that both the roundhouse settlement and the road system were originally more extensive.

The roundhouses of the Late Iron Age settlement are all broadly contemporary, with Phase 6 occupation beginning around *100/60 cal. BC* and ending around *cal. AD 155/210*, spanning a total of some 215–310 years (Hamilton *et al.*, 2013). Interestingly, and in contrast to chronological models based on roundhouse typology (e.g. Feachem 1965), the roundhouses exhibit a variety of form and fabric, including timber- and stone-walled structures, and combinations of the two. Furthermore, some of the house-stances containing stone-walled structures are scooped (i.e. cut into the subsoil so that the walls at the rear of the structure are semi-subterranean), whilst others (predominantly those of the timber-walled structures) are not.

Household identity

The Phase 6 roundhouses are remarkably well preserved and indicate different maintenance and renewal strategies. Some structures, predominantly the timber-walled examples, appear to have been maintained/rebuilt on a piecemeal basis, and were never wholly replaced; by contrast, most of the stone-walled roundhouses, within their scooped stances, appear to have been completely remodelled on several occasions (Büster & Armit 2013). The latter phenomenon frequently included the
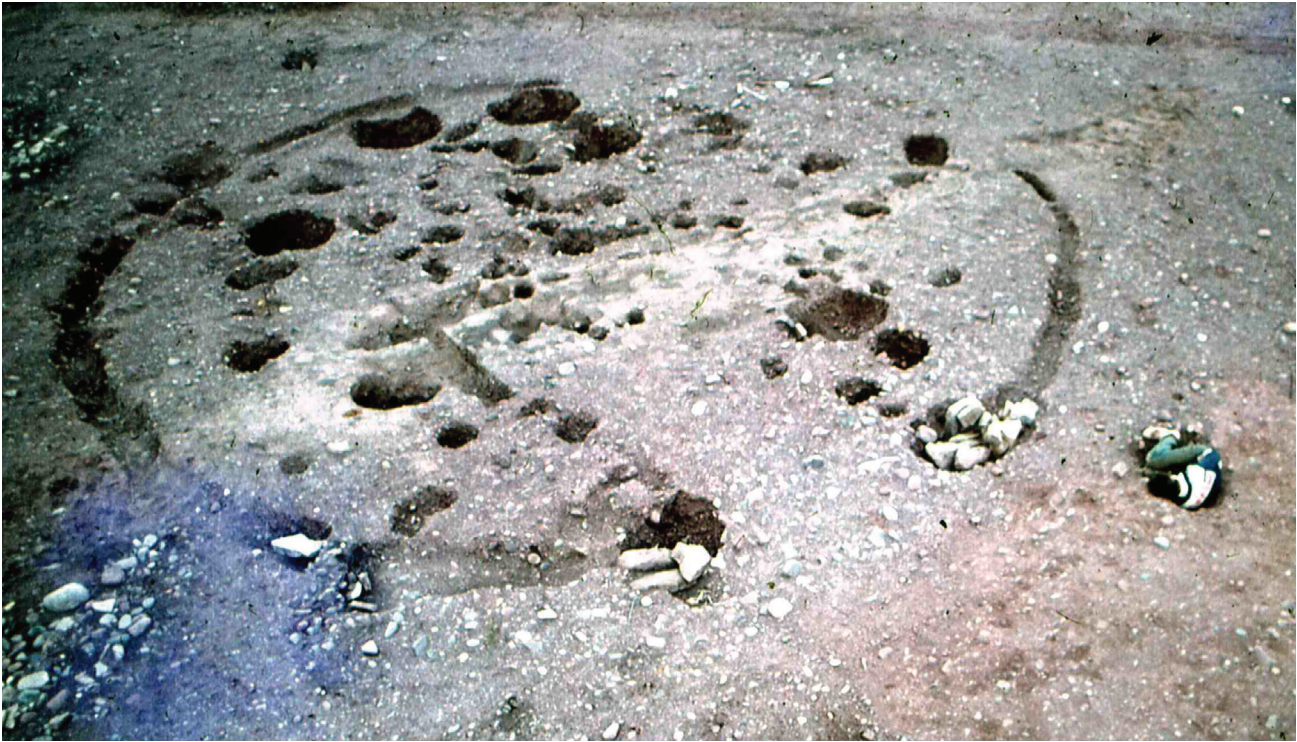
Figure 4.2. *House 2, showing the (Phase 1) burial adjacent to the northern entrance post hole (represented by the crouched individual).*

retention of fabric from previous structures, so that each new roundhouse was effectively cradled within the remains of its predecessor.

The high level of survival and the excellent stratigraphic information within the scooped houses provided the opportunity to look more closely at the biographies of the various structures and the ways in which these may have been intertwined with the biographies of the households which inhabited them. The AMS dating programme, which yielded roughly 45 dates for the Phase 6 roundhouses (in addition to five pre-existing conventional radiocarbon dates), allowed for a rough estimate of the rate of remodelling of the stone-walled structures. Based on the best-preserved stone-walled roundhouse (House 4, see below; Fig. 4.3), wholesale remodelling appears to have taken place roughly every 40–60 years (Büster 2012), that is, on a generational or bi-generational basis. It is likely, however, as ethnographic studies suggest (e.g. Boivin 2004, 172), that other types of modification such as replastering, re-roofing, or the rearrangement of (possibly non-earthfast) internal partitioning and other furniture (perhaps accompanying important events in the life of the household or the community at large), altered the appearance and experience of the roundhouse on a more frequent basis.

Structured deposition

Most of the artefacts recovered from the Phase 6 roundhouses appear to represent deliberately placed items rather than the *in situ* remains of daily activities (Armit 2006, 241, 244; Webley 2007). This suggestion is supported by evidence, in the form of dished floor profiles and the erosion of floor surfaces well below the basal course of their associated walls, for the frequent sweeping out of roundhouse interiors, which would presumably have removed everyday refuse. Most of the evidence for structured deposition survived in the walls and paving of the stone-walled roundhouses, though it also occurred in the negative features (pits, wall-slots and post holes) of both the stone- and timber-walled structures. Much of this is represented by foundation or abandonment deposits associated with the construction or infilling of specific features and, in the stone-walled structures especially, the construction or abandonment of the successive roundhouses themselves (see below). In certain cases, deposits placed between successive walls, or within paving sealing earlier pits and post holes, may have been associated with both the closure of one roundhouse and the foundation of its successor; in these liminal circumstances it is perhaps better to understand them as structured *transitional* deposits.
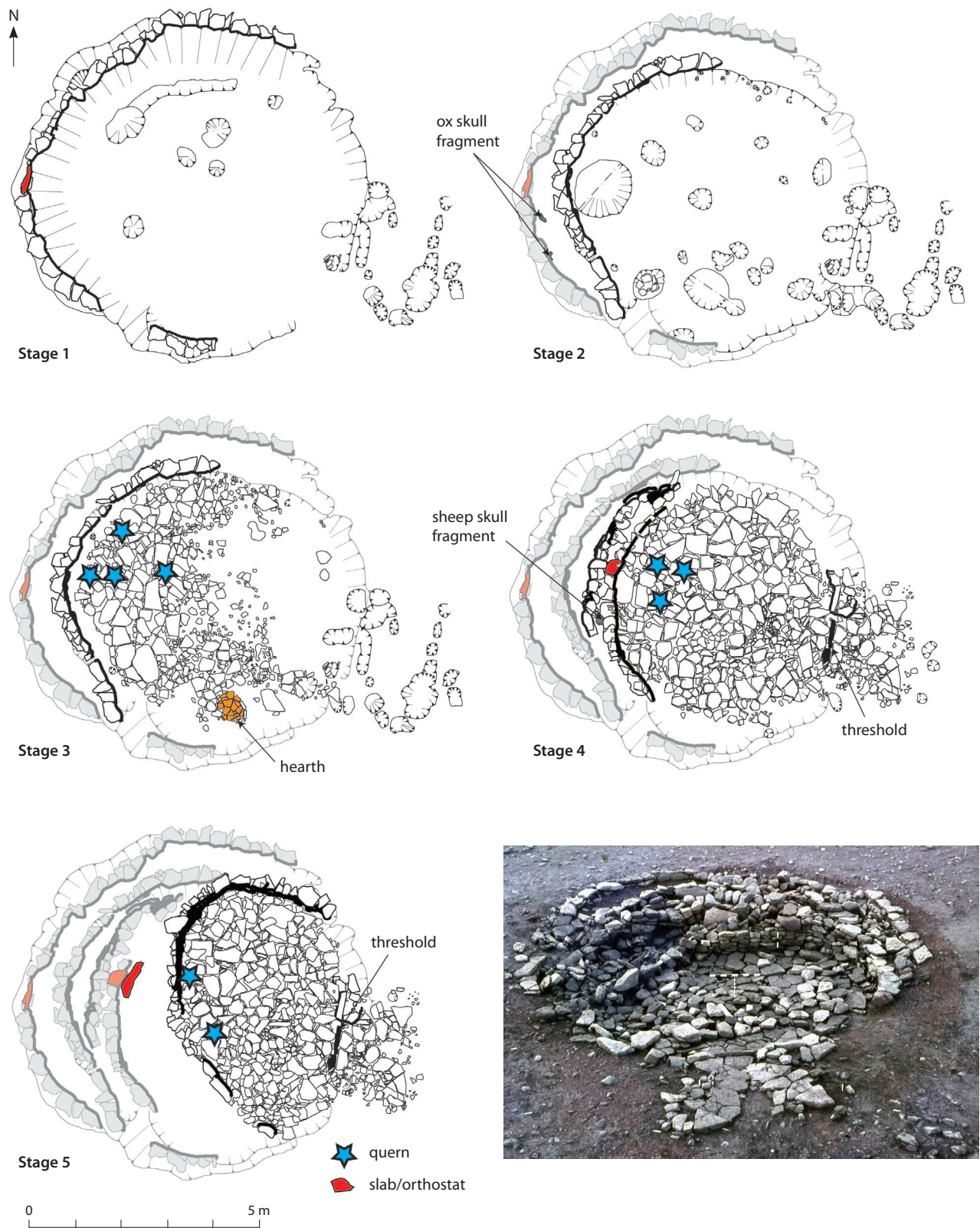
Figure 4.3. *House 4, through its five major structural stages. The photograph shows the final incarnation of the roundhouse, with the structural fabric from previous stages visible in the background.*

In some instances, there was a striking repetition in the type and location of deposits. In the stone-walled roundhouses, querns were frequently incorporated into wall fabric and paved surfaces. The inclusion of worked stone artefacts in these contexts may, in part, simply represent their convenient use as building material, though the apparent votive significance of querns in particular is noted throughout Iron Age Britain (e.g. Heslop 2008). Other types of deposit appear directly to reference each other, either through strikingly similar contexts of deposition, or comprising closely similar artefacts or groups of artefacts, separated by significant periods of time; the latter in particular almost certainly indicates the deliberate curation of items prior to deposition (see below).

House 4: a brief biography

The best preserved of the stone-walled roundhouses at Broxmouth is House 4: this structure also displays the most complex surviving structural history, which involved the substantial remodelling of the roundhouse on at least four separate occasions after its initial construction (Fig. 4.3). These successive rebuilds are referred to here as 'stages 1–5': all date to Phase 6.

The house-stance, as for most of the stone-walled roundhouses at Broxmouth, was scooped, creating a structure with a semi-subterranean internal space. Fabric from each stage was retained as occupation progressed, creating a 'nested' structure, in which each subsequent remodelling was physically cradled within the shell of its predecessor. Indeed, the retention of successive walls progressively decreased the internal area of House 4 to less than 40 per cent of its original footprint in its final incarnation (stage 5), which must have had a significant impact on the use of space, and perhaps the function of the roundhouse. This phenomenon, seen also in stone-walled House 7, is quite different from the treatment of the timber roundhouses where walls were realigned and maintained in piecemeal fashion, with defunct or decaying sections being periodically replaced by newer ones. Indeed, it may have been the very materiality of stone, its durability, and thus its possible association with the ageing process and with the ancestors (Bloch 1995, 215), which led to its retention as a visible and tangible link with past inhabitants of the roundhouse. There may indeed have been a symbolic distinction between the stone-walled and timber-walled structures, the latter of which 'shed their old skins' upon remodelling or 'rebirth' (Parker Pearson & Ramilisonina 1998, 316; Parker Pearson 2004, 73, 75).

The deposition of a bone spoon under the stage 1 wall of House 4, apparently as a foundation deposit, is mirrored by a similar object under the stage 5 wall (Fig. 4.4, a & b). If the deposition of the first spoon (marking the initial construction of the roundhouse) was known by the stage 5 inhabitants, perhaps having been handed down via oral tradition as part of the life-story of House 4, the spoon deposited in stage 5 (the final period of occupation) may represent a deliberate attempt to reference this; in effect, bringing the life-history of the roundhouse full-circle. This pattern of repeated actions is mirrored by the deposition of ox and sheep skull fragments, in almost identical locations, respectively, against the base of the stage 1 wall during construction of the stage 2 roundhouse (Fig. 4.3, stage 2), and between the inner and outer faces of the stage 4 wall (Fig. 4.3, stage 4).

A further example of apparent structured deposition involves the use of building material rather than portable objects. Firstly, orthostats were incorporated into the stage 1 and stage 4 walls, in roughly the same relative location, opposite the roundhouse entrance (Fig. 4.3, stages 1 and 4; Fig. 4.5). Then, during construction of the stage 5 roundhouse, a non-earth-fast slab was positioned directly in front of the stage 4 orthostat, leaning against it, prior to infilling of the intramural space between the stage 4 and 5 walls (Fig. 4.3, stage 5; Fig. 4.5b); this later slab mirrors almost exactly, in terms of size and shape, the much earlier orthostat incorporated into the stage 1 wall (Fig. 4.5a). These three stones are strikingly different from the rest of the Phase 6 roundhouse fabric, and the thin, square dimensions of the stage 5 slab and stage 1 orthostat (Fig. 4.5) are particularly unusual; their inclusion in the fabric of House 4, directly opposite the entrance (Fig. 4.3), is thus probably deliberate. Once set in position, the slab would have been quickly covered by earth and rubble as the stage 5 wall was constructed, so it was never intended to remain visible during stage 5 occupation; this was clearly intentional, since the slab could just as easily have been incorporated into the stage 5 wall, as in stage 1. House 4 decreases dramatically in size in its final stage (5), and it is therefore possible that the slab was deliberately chosen in order to 'bracket' all House 4 occupation prior to stage 5, and to confine these earlier structures to a combined and amalgamated past; one from which the structure could be reborn (perhaps, given its small size in stage 5, with a different function).

Other deposits in House 4 appear to make direct reference to earlier activity in a more overt and tangible way. Two antler gaming pieces deposited at the base of the stage 3 wall (retained from stage 2)

during the foundation of the stage 4 roundhouse, for example, match another deposited in the infill of a pit during the closure of the stage 2 structure (Fig. 4.4, c–e). The distinctive appearance of these items, not found elsewhere on site, suggests that they belong to the same set. As such, it is likely that the pieces deposited during the foundation of stage 4 had been curated for some considerable time. Likewise, two sherds from the same pottery vessel were deposited during construction of the stage 2 wall and in the infill of a pit at the end of stage 2 occupation; the latter may similarly have been deliberately curated prior to its final deposition, perhaps in direct reference to the former.

Finally, two fragments of human bone (cranial and mandible fragments, from separate individuals) were deposited at the base of the stage 2 wall before it was sealed during construction of the stage 4 roundhouse. The condition of these human remains relative to the faunal bone which accompanied them suggests that they had been curated prior to deposition. The cranial fragment bore evidence for peri-mortem sharp

force trauma, most likely a sword-cut, whilst the isotopic signature of both fragments (as was generally the case for the whole assemblage of 22 human bone fragments recovered from across the site) was distinct from that of the Phase 5 cemetery population, suggesting that these individuals may have been non-local to Broxmouth (Armit *et al.* 2013, 84, 92–3). It would thus be tempting to see these fragments as having derived from trophies displayed in or around the roundhouse (Armit *et al.* 2013, 87, 94); perhaps the ultimate incorporation of these two particular fragments into the fabric of the stage 4 structure signalled the renegotiation of relationships between the Broxmouth community and its neighbours.

Querns also served to link the various stages of House 4; these (predominantly rotary examples) were incorporated into the paved floors which were laid down from stage 3 onwards. Shortly after the abandonment of the stage 2 roundhouse (since there is no evidence for a hiatus in occupation), the paved floor of the stage 3 structure was laid. This included four querns, all located towards the rear of the roundhouse

Figure 4.4. *Paired artefactual deposits. Left: the bone spoons deposited at the base of the stage 1 (a) and stage 5 (b) walls; right: the gaming pieces deposited in the infill of the stage 2 pit (c) and at the base of the stage 2 wall, during the foundation of stage 4 (d & e).*

interior (Fig. 4.3). Two of these sealed the largest of the stage 2 pits (this phenomenon is also witnessed in House 7), whilst the stage 3 hearth sealed another. It is possible that the location of the querns (and hearth) was intended to reference these former features, creating a tangible link between the two stages of occupation, and perhaps between two generations of inhabitants. Such a link may have been strengthened, or periodically renewed, by the pouring of libations or other offerings through the quern feeder-pipes into the features below (Campbell 1991, 133); a particular affordance of rotary querns. The similar relative location of two querns in the succeeding stage 4 paving may also represent an attempt to reference the stage 3 querns, and the stage 2 pits below, or at least provide some physical continuity of function in this part of the roundhouse. The apparent continued visibility of one of the stage 3 querns in the stage 4 paving, and similarly, one of the stage 4 querns in the stage 5 paving, would have strengthened this link with earlier structures.

Upon abandonment, House 4 became infilled with a mixture of rubble and midden, at least some of which derived from the partial structural collapse of the roundhouse walls. AMS dates of 350–50 cal. bc (2135±30 bp; SUERC-33364) and 400–210 cal. bc (2270±30 bp; SUERC-33368) indicate that some elements of this infill material could have pre-dated construction of the roundhouse by up to three centuries. It is possible that material, including animal bone, was deliberately deposited as part of the structured 'closure' of House 4. Alternatively, this material may derive from the turf/earth cores of the stone-faced walls that surrounded House 4 in its various incarnations. In either case, this material probably pre-dates the

construction of even the first (stage 1) roundhouse to occupy this stance by a significant period; since the construction of House 4 is undated, it is impossible to be sure exactly when its initial construction began, but the balance of probability is that it was constructed in the early first century bc along with the rest of the Phase 6 settlement. If the use of this material was deliberate, it may have been intended once again to create tangible links with a genealogical or mythical past. If deliberately deposited during the infilling of the house-stance, it may have signalled the final incorporation of the abandoned house into the realm of the community's ancestors.

Discussion

The evidence from the Late Iron Age settlement at Broxmouth suggests that a biographical and materiality-based approach to the study of roundhouses can offer insights into the lives of later prehistoric households. The materials used in roundhouse construction were chosen for more than simply practical reasons, governing, perhaps, the ways in which individual roundhouses subsequently developed. At Broxmouth, in the stone-walled roundhouses at least, reference to former inhabitants appears to have been important in everyday life. The generational (or near-generational) reconstruction of roundhouses that appear to have been structurally viable, and in no particular need of such drastic remodelling, suggests the periodic renegotiation of household identities, perhaps upon the death of the head of the household, or some other major event in the life of the community. The same generational tempo for change is true of the Broxmouth settlement sequence more generally, with
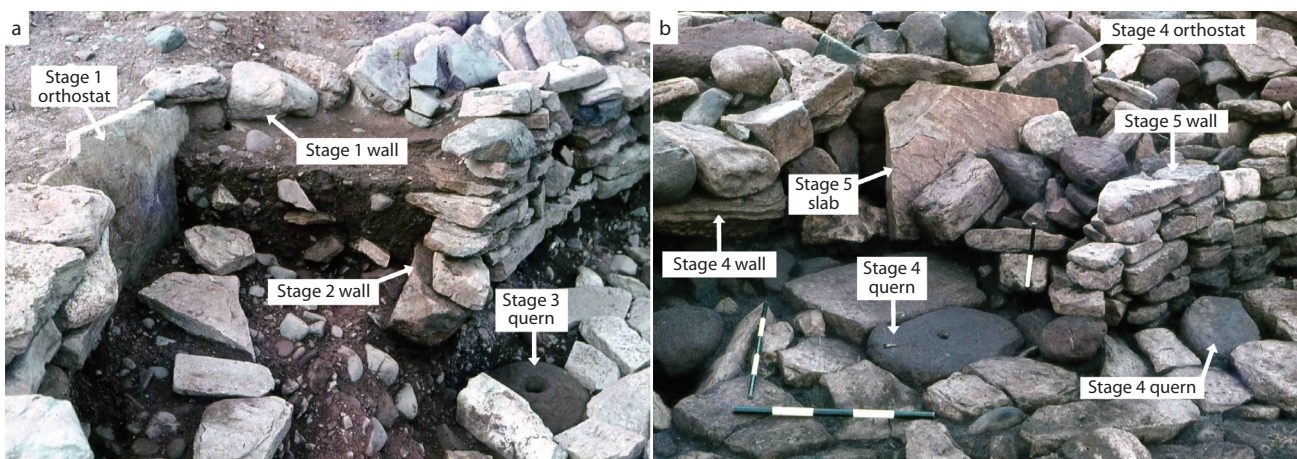
Figure 4.5. *The orthostat incorporated into the stage 1 wall (a), and the slab, of similar proportions, leant against the stage 4 orthostat during construction of the stage 5 roundhouse (b).*

AMS dates suggesting generational modification of the entrance gateways and the enclosing ditches of earlier occupational phases (Armit & McKenzie 2013).

Just as the Phase 6 settlement was cradled within the denuded earthworks of the earlier hillfort, which must have represented a visible reminder of past inhabitants, the retention of defunct structural fabric with each reincarnation of the stone-walled roundhouses suggests a desire to contextualize new household identities within the broader life-history of the house: as such, it was the house that became the link between generations (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1982). At Whetu-kairangi (the Maori *pā* described in the opening quote), the *name* of the enclosure and its houses provided a means by which continuity was established between past, present and future inhabitants; these names perhaps serving as mnemonic aids for stories regarding the origins of the settlement and its ancestral inhabitants. The same appears to have been true at Broxmouth, not just for the Phase 6 roundhouses, but for the settlement sequence more generally.

Within the roundhouse interior, the same tangible links were reflected in the curation and deposition of artefacts, or sets of artefacts, within and between structures. Many of the deposits within the Phase 6 roundhouses may best be understood as *transitional*, deposited when the structure and household were in a liminal state; times when social relations within the community would have been reordered and renegotiated in relation to what had gone before.

Whilst some of the artefacts would have become invisible shortly after deposition, the referencing of former internal features by, for example, querns and hearths, is likely to have had considerable influence over the way the subsequent structure was organized and experienced. As such, the stone-walled roundhouses represent a microcosm of the Phase 6 settlement itself, cradled as it was within the ruinous Phase 3 enclosure works and organized along an arterial route-way which continued to use the long-established southwest entrance into the settlement. In this way, the roundhouses, and the Phase 6 settlement more generally, served as mnemonic devices through which the biography of Broxmouth and its inhabitants was played-out, remembered and renegotiated in daily life.

The curation of items or the transmission of memories relating to specific (depositional) events across several generations, spanning several hundred years, may stretch our modern notions of what is realistic in a world without documents. Ethnographic studies indicate, however, that oral tradition in non-literate societies is far more integral to the social cohesion of a community than in those where written documents have become repositories of tradition and communal history. As such, oral tradition is capable of transmitting genealogical histories and origin myths over considerable periods. Indeed, amongst communities in the Tari Basin of Papua New Guinea, genealogical histories could extend over some 500 years (Ballard 1994); the same scale order as has been claimed for the Maori traditions quoted at the start of this chapter.

The creation of these memories is enabled not just by the manipulation and deposition of objects, but by the performative nature of these acts. As Wells (2012) has pointed out in the context of, for example, funerary performances, the physical movement of people and objects acts to turn experience into memory. As with Bradley's (2005) conception of ritualization, the formality of such performances (perhaps accompanied by orations, invocations to the supernatural, extravagant gestures, etc), with material objects frequently at their centre, makes certain moments in the life of communities special and memorable. At Broxmouth, we might envisage the placing of the two bone spoons into the wall foundations of House 4, probably several generations apart, as being accompanied by exactly these sorts of elaborate performances, fixing them in the communal memory of the household. Since many of the deposits were subsequently buried, or obscured by later structural material, their presence and location would not have been obvious to those unfamiliar with the life-history of the roundhouse. Witnessing or having knowledge of their burial, their 'making hidden', may indeed have played a central role in the perception, understanding and legitimization of an individual's inclusion within the household.

Over very long periods of time (perhaps beyond around 400–500 years), broadly factual accounts are inevitably replaced by 'mythical histories', where real, named ancestors give way to supernatural beings (Gosden & Lock 1998, 5–6). For the Phase 6 inhabitants of Broxmouth, their Phase 1 ancestors had most probably slipped into this mythical realm, and the inclusion in the Phase 6 roundhouses of limpet-scarred stones (from the nearby coast), which bear a superficial resemblance to Neolithic and Bronze Age cup-and-ring marked stones, may represent a desire to reference an even deeper mythical past. The young man buried at Broxmouth in the early medieval period (cal. AD 400–540; 1606±27 BP; combined determinations GU-1142 and SUERC-21989) attests to the likelihood that the memory (mythical or otherwise) of Broxmouth lived on, far beyond the physical abandonment of the site, and that it continued to play a sufficiently significant role in his, and his community's, social identity to warrant its choice as his final resting place.

Conclusion

Not all later prehistoric sites display the same longevity of occupation as Broxmouth, or indeed the level of preservation observed in its Late Iron Age roundhouses. The evidence from this remarkable site does, however, allow us to glimpse the ways in which prehistoric communities, here and elsewhere, could draw upon the world around them (their landscapes, their settlements, and their houses) to rationalize and renegotiate their place and role within it. Like the Maori *pā*, Iron Age places like Broxmouth would have had their own names, histories, characters, and personalities, and at least some of the buildings within them probably did too. Though Broxmouth occupied a low rise in the landscape, this was not a prominent natural feature: settlement could easily have drifted off elsewhere over the centuries, if some strong force had not acted to hold it there. The sheer persistence of occupation in this one location demonstrates that it retained meaning for the local community throughout its various incarnations, and suggests that the materiality of the settlement itself, and the stories it told, were central to the identity of the successive generations who called it home.

Acknowledgements

Note

1. All italicized radiocarbon dates and date ranges quoted in this chapter are based on Bayesian modelling, full details of which can be found in Hamilton *et al*. 2013.

Gardening time

Gardening may seem worlds away from *Nuraghi* and brochs, but tending a garden is a long process involving patience, accretion and memory. Scholars argue that memories are also cultured, developed and regained. The monuments in Scotland and Sardinia are testament to the importance of memory and its role in maintaining social relations.
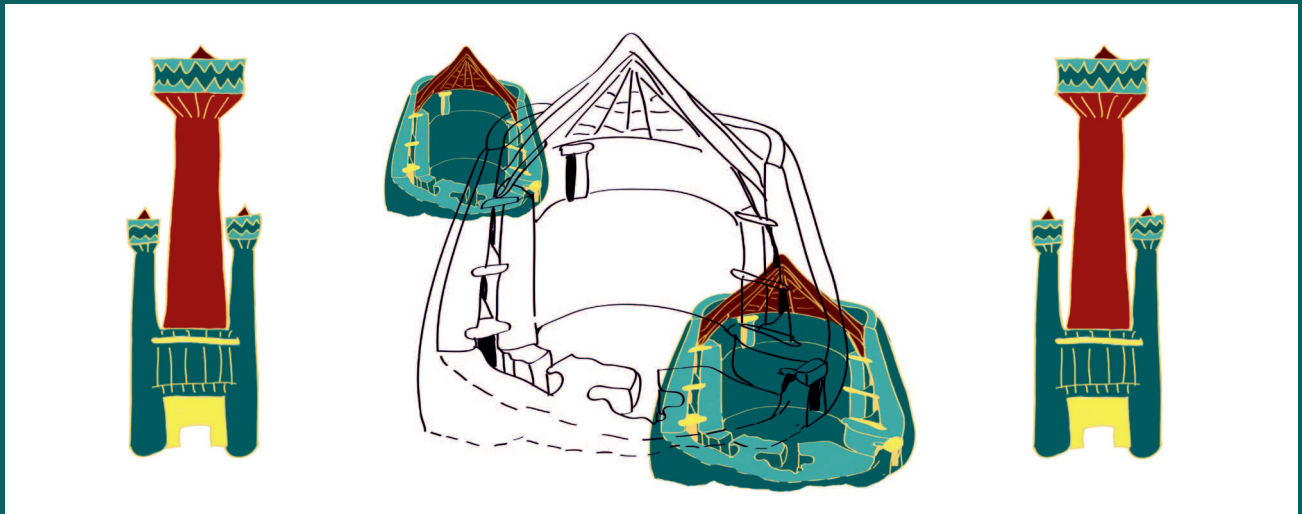
This collection of twenty-one papers addresses the theme of memory anchored to the enduring presence of monuments, mainly from Scotland and Sardinia, but also from Central Europe and the Balkans.

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