Beithígh ar buaile: Transhumance in 19th and 20th century Ireland

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Abstract

The central aim of this paper is to draw attention to the role played by transhumance, or booleying, in 19th and 20th century Irish farming. Transhumance involves the seasonal movement of people and their livestock from one grazing ground to another and has been practised across the world ever since food-producing animals were first domesticated (Hole 1996). It is a system which varies greatly from region to region, but in Ireland it is usually characterised by the movement of dairy cows from lowland to upland for the summer months. The remains of the summer dwellings, or booley huts, of the cattle herders survive in large numbers on Irish mountain-sides but they have been largely neglected by Irish archaeologists to date bar two brief periods of interest in the 1940s and 1980s. Thankfully however, a good deal of folk information on the system was collected in the first half of the 20th century, before it died out completely. This paper examines what these sources can tell us and presents the results of recent archaeological fieldwork in the Galtee Mountains. Furthermore, indirect evidence is used to support views that 19th and 20th century transhumance is a survival of a practice which was much more widespread and important to Irish agriculture in previous centuries.

Introduction

Transhumance was a practice in decline by at least the 19th century in Ireland. Yet it remained both viable and useful in certain counties until the early 20th century. That this fascinating, though ultimately doomed, system persisted as long as it did is a pressing issue.

The principal reason for transhumance is that it frees up land around the homestead by keeping livestock elsewhere for the summer. This allows more grass to grow, which can be harvested as hay or left as winterage (standing fodder). If livestock are kept at home, the same amount of hay cannot be saved, or winterage provided, since the cattle would need the land for grazing. Extra hay or winterage allowed more livestock to be over-wintered on the home farm, or sold on.

Some of the freed-up land could also have been used for tillage, especially oats which was used for horse-feed (Frape 2010, 102). From 1815 to 1846, tariffs placed on corn imported into Britain and Ireland (the Corn Laws) promoted tillage farming (Ó Moghráin 1943, 163). This in turn made the availability of hill-grazing something worth exploiting, allowing farmers to maximise their grain crop (*ibid*.). However, tillage farming was dealt a blow by the repeal of the Corn Laws, which left more of the lowlands available for grazing allowing dairy cows to be kept at home all year-round. Early 19th century protectionism may, then, have helped prolong transhumance in Ireland.

The hillside-herders naturally needed shelter and the structures which were built to provide this have become known as 'booley huts'. 'Booley', derived from buaile, originally meant 'milking-place' (Lucas 1989, 63). 'Hut' is not an ideal term as it gives the impression that they are poorly-built, make-shift structures, when in fact some were quite substantial. Their layout varies considerably; oval, circular and rectangular with rounded-corners have been observed by Evans (1957, 36-7), while rectangular plans are seen in examples in the Galtee Mountains (see below). Most booley huts tend to be located near the headwaters of mountain streams, or in sheltered hollows close by, so as to allow easy access to drinking water (Evans 1957, 36, 38).

Surprisingly, relatively few booley huts have been properly surveyed, let alone excavated. Remarkably few are officially recorded; 48 in the SMR for the Republic, 46 in Northern Ireland. Four major concentrations emerge: the Comeraghs, Co. Waterford; the Wicklow Mountains; the Dartry Mountains, north Leitrim/Sligo; and 38 in Co. Antrim. None are listed in the archaeological inventories for counties Limerick, Galway, Mayo or Donegal even though these are central to the present discussion. The work of

folklorists, and geographers and placename evidence has been drawn upon to fill these gaps, along with fieldwork in the Galtee Mountains by the author.

Organisation

Booleying endured longest in Galway, Donegal, Mayo and in the Galtee Mountains on the Limerick/Tipperary border, "areas which provided the best physical conditions for booleying" (Graham 1954, 212). In the transhumance system which survived on Achill, Co. Mayo, in the 1940s, cattle were sent to the settlement of Slievemore for two periods of five weeks between May and September, but a much stronger system seems to have existed in pre-Famine times when Slievemore was itself the permanent settlement and smaller settlements such as Sruthán Bun Abhna were used temporarily (Ó Moghráin 1943, 164; McDonald 1998).

For south-west Donegal, folk information gathered from elderly people in the 1930s gives us an insight into the territorial organisation of 19th century transhumance (Morris, Ó Duilearga and Ó Cearbhaill 1939, 296). Each lowland townland, it seems, had the use of another uninhabited townland in the uplands. For example, those in Druim in Gleann Choluim could graze their cattle at Coillte Feannaid and Port (*ibid.*). This system came under increasing pressure in the lead up to the Famine as upland areas were colonized (*ibid.*). According to Séamus Ó Híghne (aged c. 60 in 1936), his grandfather was the first to settle the former transhumant grounds in Mín na Suileach permanently (*ibid.* 297).

The timing and nature of the annual transhumance is clearer in Cloch Cheannfhaola in north-west Donegal where transhumance was practiced up to the 1850s (Ó hEochaidh 1943, 133). According to Niall Ó Dubhthaigh (Ó hEochaidh 1943, 136), the men from home would head up to the summer pastures around St. Patrick's Day to make the booley houses ready for the herders, who would not come down from the mountains until Halloween (*ibid.* 132). On the grazing ground of Ard na Seamar – to which Ó Dubhthaigh's ancestors in Ardaí Móra took their cattle – three households had the use of one booley house (*ibid.* 150). All of the families co-operated and "no part of the hills was marked out for any particular townland or

district" (*ibid*. 152). It is presumed here that each family based their livestock and their herders in roughly the same spot each year (as the people of Ardaí Móra did).

Fig. 1: Distribution map of places and areas mentioned in text.

However, in certain areas where openfield (or rundale) farming operated, periodic re-allotment by the casting of lots is known to have place (Evans

1957, 33); this practice may have resulted in the rotation of booley huts and grazing areas.

On the southern slopes of the Co. Limerick part of the Galtee Mountains, a more limited system of transhumance operated in the townlands of Knocknascrow and possibly also Carrigeen Mountain, north of Kilbeheny, until c.1875. Here, dairy cows were kept on the mountains every year from the middle of April to the start of November (Ó Danachair 1945, 250). It is not clear from the account given in 1940, by the 80-year-old Michael Cunningham (*ibid*.) - a participant in the system as a child - whether grazing on the commonage was limited to farmers in that townland or whether others also had access. Given, however, that there are only three known extant booley houses in Knocknascrow, and that each was used by one household only (John Cunningham, grandson of Michael, pers. comm.), it is likely that it was limited to Knocknascrow farmers. Young people of both genders generally looked after the cattle, but the elderly filled in whenever the young and fit were needed at home (Ó Danachair 1945, 250).

In Connemara, Co Galway, it seems that cattle were not kept on the hill pastures for as long; one herd was taken up in May (Ó Cathasaigh 1943, 159) or July (Ó Duilearga 1939, 35), and another in August (*ibid*.) - neither appears to have stayed more than a month (Ó Duilearga 1939, 35). This system of two spells in the uplands echoes the last transhumance practised in North Achill in the 1940s (see above).

Habitation

Booley huts do not conform to any one design, except that they are relatively small and simple. Those which are best-preserved today are of dry-stone construction, but less durable sod-built sites may have been just as common. Although most of those described below are stone-built, many booley huts in the pre-Famine period are said to have been constructed with "sods and wattles" (Wilde 1849, 89). In 1835 in Bovevagh parish, Co. Derry, a cluster of abandoned huts in a place known as 'Bolies' is described, the walls of which "are built of mud and sods" (Lucas 1989, 61, quoting 1st ed. Ordnance Survey Letters). In both Connemara and north-west Donegal, sod-built booley huts are described, but anywhere stones

were plentiful they were preferred (Ó hEochaidh 1943, 134; Ó Cathasaigh 1943, 159). As for the roof, sods of peat could also be used, as in Connemara and north-west Donegal, where sods were laid on a timber framework and sealed with heather thatch (*ibid.*).

A cluster of stone-built oval examples (known as bráca) averaging 5.5m x 3.6m are found at Sruthán Bun Abhna, north Achill (Ó Moghráin 1943, 169). The sod-built bothógaí of north-west Donegal were rectangular, measuring 5.5m x 3.0m; since they were cut into the hillside, however, only three walls had to be constructed. They had just one door, and a window in the south side (Ó hEochaidh 1943, 134).

In the Mourne Mountains of Co. Down, transhumance does not appear to have survived into the 19th century. Nevertheless, the partial excavation of a booley hut at the Deers' Meadow (Evans and Proudfoot 1958) could well be relevant to the post-medieval period, in light of a reference in 1744 to the poor who grazed their cattle here for at least two months of the summer and erected huts (Harris 1744, 125). No dating evidence was found but the excavation did reveal the layout of the structure. Measuring roughly 3.7m x 3.7m, the hut formed a rough square with rounded corners. The walls were constructed of layers of sods and gravely soil (Evans and Proudfoot 1958, 129).

In the Dingle Peninsula, local tradition suggests the existence of pre-Famine transhumance; Aalen (1964) has argued convincingly that clocháin above the line-of-cultivation were used as transhumant dwellings. Often referred to as beehive huts, clocháin are a characteristic monument of West Kerry. They are of dry-stone corbelled construction and are generally circular and one-roomed. Clusters of them are found however in upland areas with conspicuous placenames, e.g. Macha an Áirí ('Cattle-yard of the milking place'), Macha na Bláthaí ('Cattle-yard of the butter-milk') and Buaile an Mhanaig ('The monk's cattle-enclosure') (1964, 41). In the Garfinny valley, over 80 clocháin occur in 16 clusters and many of these, like booley hut sites elsewhere, are marked-out by green patches of lush vegetation – the result of either naturally good soil or the build-up of domestic and animal waste (Evans 1957, 36). Two main sizes of clochán have been identified (1.2m-1.8m, and 3m-4.6m diameters) (Aalen 1964). Souterrains were found

in association with two of the larger examples - these may have been used to store butter. Interestingly, the folk account from north-west Donegal makes reference to the use of similar subterranean-stores by herders there (Ó hEochaidh 1943, 139; see also Williams' summary 1983).

Answers given to a questionnaire circulated by UCD in the late 1950s attest to memories of transhumance in North Leitrim and west Co. Waterford (Ó Danachair 1983-4, 37). As concentrations of SMR-listed booley huts are indeed found on the Sligo/Leitrim border and in Co. Waterford, these booleys very possibly saw use into recent centuries. The Co. Waterford group is located on the foothills of the Comeragh and Monavullagh Mountains. There are 16 recorded (SMR) in total and they are all of dry-stone construction. Unlike those in the Dingle Peninsula and many in Achill, however, these booley huts are all - bar one - of rectangular shape. They average 5m-8m x 3m in size (Moore 1999, 234-237).

Eleven booley huts are found upon the Dartry Mountains south-facing slopes which straddle the Sligo/Leitrim border. The ruins of two lie in Gortnagran townland, Co. Leitrim (SMR: LE003-036). As in Waterford, these are rectangular and stone-built, albeit slightly smaller.

Fieldwork results

On the southern slopes of the Co. Limerick side of the Galtee Mountains are the neighbouring townlands of Knocknascrow and Carrigeen Mountain. Knocknascrow contains the ruins of at least three booley huts, Carrigeen Mountain at least one. Ó Danachair drew attention to the legacy of transhumance in this part of the Galtees as long ago as 1945 and yet these sites are still not on the SMR.

Knocknascrow 1 is of dry-stone construction and is rectangular in shape, as are the other three, (Fig. 2). It measures 6.7m x 4.78m and 5.1m.

Fig. 2: Knocknascrow 1 from SW, note reconstruction in foreground.

Knocknascrow 2 (Fig. 3) lies 1.1km to the east on the other side of a ridge. Slightly larger than Knocknascrow 1 at 7.4m x 5m and 7.7m x 5.2m, there is a badly ruined annexe at its eastern end which is unconnected with the interior of the main structure. It is possible that this was used as a store for dairy produce.

Knocknascrow 3 (Fig. 4) is located approximately 900m to the north of Knocknascrow 1, in what is known as 'Pigeon Rock Glen'. It differs substantially from Sites 1 and 2, however. Its better preserved eastern rectangular structure measures 5.2m x 2.6m, with no doorway apparent. The adjoining western enclosure is 4.9m x 5.2m, of which only the foundation stones survive.

**Fig. 3:** Knocknascrow 2 from NE.

Approximately 900m to the east, on the opposite side of Pigeon Rock Glen lies the fourth booley in Carrigeen Mountain townland. Though in ruins the remaining spread of stones, 4-4.5m x 7.5-8.5m, is similar in scale to Knocknascrow 1 and 2. Interestingly, this site is enclosed on the north and west by a stone-faced bank (1m in height), and on the south and (partially) the east by an earthen bank. At 16m x 18.5m, this enclosure would have provided ample room for cows. Cultivation ridges run downslope for almost 50m.

The account of local Michael Cunningham (Ó Danachair 1945) informs us that it was potatoes which were cultivated at booley sites such as Knocknascrow 3 and Carrigeen Mountain. The stalks of these 'black potatoes' were fed to the cattle on the mountain, while the tubers themselves were often not all harvested until the end of October (*ibid*.).

Fig. 4: Better preserved eastern part of Knocknascrow 3 from north.

It is important to emphasise the isolation of each of these sites relative to each other. They are not clustered as at Achill or the Garfinny Valley, Dingle, and they are not inter-visible. They were each connected with one farmstead at the foothills of the Galtees and were not shared by a number of families (John Cunningham, pers. comm.). This contrasts with the arrangement in Cloch Cheannfhaola, north-west Donegal, where three households had the use of one booley hut (Ó hEochaidh 1943, 150). The increased co-operation evident in north-west Donegal and North Achill may be the result of a rundale system in operation there (see Yager 2002), which Evans (1957) sees as inextricably linked to transhumance. In the Galtees, however, the latter operated without such a system, because in the surrounding lowlands farmsteads were independent of one another. It remains for future research to demonstrate how long such a situation had prevailed.

Booley hut and enclosure

Potato Ridges

Trackway
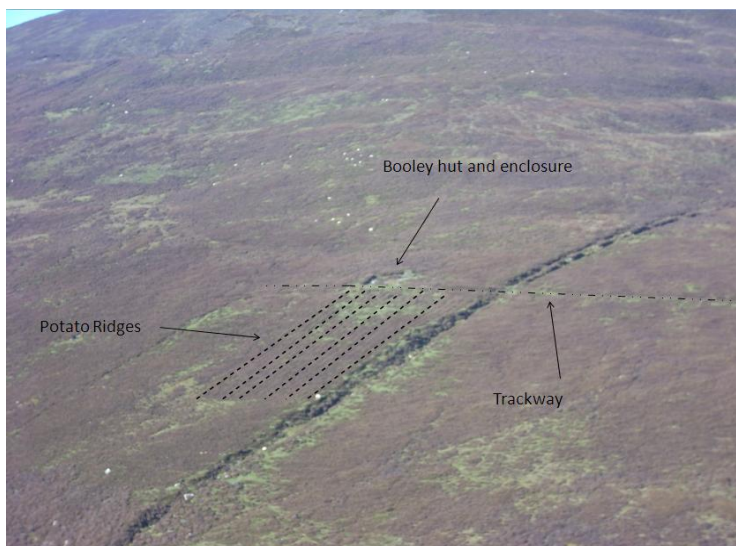
Fig. 5: Carrigeen Mountain site from south-east.

Daily activities on the summer pastures

The growing of potatoes for sustenance at booley sites has been mentioned above but other daily activities on the hillsides are also of relevance. The most important was milking the cows, mornings and evenings. The large quantities of milk produced greatly surpassed the needs of the herders so the milk was churned into butter on the hillside itself in most regions. If the distances to the low-lying homestead were too long to make daily, the butter could be stored in an annexe to the booley hut - as in Knocknascrow 2 and Glenmakeeran, Co. Antrim (Evans and Proudfoot 1958) - or in some form of souterrain - as in north-west Donegal and Garfinny valley (see above).

Another, older way of preserving the butter was to store it in wicker baskets in boggy ground before collecting it at the end of the season (Ó hEochaidh 1943, 140). This 'bog butter', uncovered through peat harvesting, occasionally dates as far back as the Iron Age, e.g., Rosberry, Co. Kildare (Earwood 1997, 27). When bog butter is encountered in upland situations

where there is no evidence of permanent settlement, then transhumance ought to be considered a possible factor in its deposition (but see Kelly 2006 for a discussion of ritual deposition in bogs).

Earlier Transhumance

There are several references by early modern writers to transhumance or "booleying" in Ireland (O'Flaherty and Hardiman 1846, 16-7; Spenser 1596, 363). Medieval Irish sources, both early and later, mention the words áirí and buaile. Their meanings vary but usually they are associated with cattle enclosures and milking-places and, depending on context, may also indicate summer grazing grounds (Ó Moghráin 1944; Lucas 1989). Buaile and áirí may also form part of modern placenames. In addition, a few excavated upland sites which may have been used seasonally have produced radiocarbon dates from Co. Antrim, including Ballyutoag (early medieval), (Williams 1984), Tildarg (13th century) (Brannon 1984), and Glenmakeeran (early modern), (Williams and Robinson 1983).

One consideration which ought to be fundamental to any investigation of the importance of transhumance in medieval Ireland is the availability of winter fodder for cattle, principally hay – this is a line of research which has hitherto received little attention (Kelly 1997; Lucas 1989; Kerr, Swindles and Plunkett 2009). As one of the fundamental foundations of transhumance seems to have been to save hay from the ungrazed low-lying grass for winter-feeding, a salient question to ask is how long the practice of haymaking existed in Ireland? The answer is far from clear. Certainly, there is a paucity of words relating to the practice in the Irish language. Hay itself is simply known as féar ('grass'), while coca and píce féir - 'cock' and 'hayfork' - were borrowed from Middle English (MacBain 1911, 92; Gove 1971, 435) and Anglo-Norman French respectively (McCone 1994, 442). Haymaking was certainly practised prior to the 18th century, but its relative importance is difficult to gauge. The earliest (direct) reference to haymaking is probably the mowing of meadows recorded in the Irish Pipe Role of John in 1211-12 near Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim and in Oriel (mid- and south-Ulster, plus Co. Louth) (Lucas 1989, 37). According to the Pipe Roll of Cloyne (1363-76), it was an obligation of betagii to cut and rick hay for the lord (*ibid.*). However, as late as the 19th century haymaking

remained sporadic e.g., in 1837 in the Welsh mountains, Co. Kilkenny, "grass is kept for the cattle into which they are turned in the winter without hay, straw, or shelter" (Lewis 1837). Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell from these scattered references if haymaking was practised widely and continuously throughout the period. Moreover, they all come from Anglo-Norman Ireland - should we assume that haymaking was not practised in Gaelic areas?

The evidence from the early medieval period may bear some influence on this. Haymaking is traditionally thought to have been absent from pre-Norman Ireland. It is not mentioned in the Old Irish law tracts (Kelly 1997, 47) and Gerald of Wales notes that "the meadows are not cut for fodder" (O'Meara 1982, 14). It would be foolish to rule it out completely, though. The law tracts, after all, are thought to date to the 8th and 9th centuries, and the main annalists were based in the north and west of the country (e.g. Four Masters, Ulster, Inisfallen, Loch Cé), so it is possible that haymaking was introduced 'under the radar' into the south-east in the 10th to 12th centuries. Nonetheless, the lack of scythe blades in the archaeological record (Kelly 1997, 47) may well accurately reflect the reality of early medieval and post-1169 Gaelic Ireland. At this point, we may assume that haymaking was absent from early medieval Ireland and remained far from universal in subsequent centuries.

Conclusion

This paper has explored transhumance in Ireland, a practice which played an important, if decreasing role in many farming communities in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Cows were kept and milked on hillsides for most of the summer, tended to by the young or elderly, who lived in booley huts. These do not conform to any one design, but seem to be one-roomed and sometimes contain an external annexe. Further research may reveal a chronology of booley huts for different regions.

Transhumance was in decline from at least the start of the 19th century and probably the end of the 17th, as an increasing population forced the colonisation of the uplands. Though haymaking was not universally practised, the increasing availability of winter fodder made the movement

of cattle away from the homestead for the summer less of a necessity. It is proposed herein that haymaking practices deserve greater study in the context of medieval transhumance.

Co-operation between families in the use of booley areas, which is particularly evident in north-west Donegal and North Achill, is perhaps a reflection of the rundale system in these areas, while in the Galtee Mountains the independence of permanent settlements dictated that co-operation was not essential. Why this was so remains an open question. Thus, it is important that we utilise all available sources of information, from excavation to documentary, to identify the fuller extent of transhumance sites and practices – as of yet we have barely scratched the surface of an aspect of Irish farming hitherto gravely underestimated.

Acknowledgements

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Three Cases of Trauma to the Shoulder From Early Christian County Louth

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Abstract

Pathological indicators of trauma to the human skeleton can be found on archaeological human remains during the course of osteological analysis. The most publicised of these are usually related to violent interpersonal conflict frequently resulting in fractures from blunt or sharp force injury. It is less publicised that a wide range of traumatic injuries also occurred due to potentially less dramatic occupational or accidental activities. Habitual activities related to the normal employment of daily chores can cause low-grade trauma on the skeleton. In some cases, the manifestation of this on the bones is visible as relatively minor pathological changes, often related to arthritic degeneration of the joints. More severe injuries are sometimes seen also and these can be attributed to possible accidents, albeit of unknown cause. This article describes two cases of os acromiale and one case of shoulder dislocation from the preliminary findings of analysis of a skeletal assemblage from an Early Christian site at Faughart Lower, County Louth. Although we can only speculate as to the exact causes of these pathological changes, they are interesting nonetheless as they give a small insight into the daily hardships endured by some of the members of this medieval community.

Introduction to the Site

Site 116 is located in the townland of Faughart Lower, County Louth. It was uncovered during the monitoring phase of the A1/N1 road scheme, a 14.2km stretch of carriageway between Newry and Dundalk. The excavation of this site was undertaken by ADS Ltd. from June 2005 to April 2006 under the direction of Peter Bowen and Giles Dawkes. This

multiphased site of archaeological occupation focuses on a ringfort which appears to undergo several phases of occupation including ditch recutting, the construction of a stone-faced bank, two souterrains and the reuse of the site as an Early Christian cemetery in which approximately 772 individuals were interred. Preliminary radiocarbon dates from skeletal material suggest the burials occurred from 390-1000 AD, and this may suggest that burial and habitation of the site may have coincided (Bowen and Dawkes 2007).

The Human Remains

Osteological analysis of the skeletal remains from this site took place at the ADS post-excavation facility in Kells, County Meath from 2008 to 2010.The vast majority of the individuals buried here were adults and the condition of the bone was generally quite poor (Buckley 2006). Nonetheless, the assemblage revealed an array of interesting pathological conditions from the earliest stages of the analysis. In this article, three cases of possible accidental and occupational trauma to the shoulder will be discussed.

Non-Confrontational Trauma

In a large skeletal assemblage such as this one, it would be expected that a number of individuals would show signs of having suffered trauma to their bones, which in some cases may have contributed to their deaths. Although traumatic indicators on the skeleton are frequently thought of as being associated with interpersonal violence, blunt or sharp force fractures caused by weapon wounds or bare-knuckle fighting – it should be noted that a wide range of injuries are also inflicted by accidental or occupational causes.

Accidents can inflict quite serious injuries that people did not have the facilities to repair and therefore often continued to live with for the remainder of their lives. Low-impact trauma, on the other hand, can be caused by long-term habitual activities, such as would have been carried out on a daily basis in a rural medieval community like this one. The pathological impact of these types of activities on the skeleton often manifest as arthritic changes in the vertebrae and on other joint surfaces, but other more unusual anomalies are also occasionally seen.

Some abnormalities to the shoulder joint are discussed below. One of these cases is a shoulder dislocation and two are skeletons with os acromiale, a particular trait that has been associated with low-grade, habitual trauma to the neck, upper back and shoulder regions.

Os Acromiale

Pathology

Os acromiale or 'bipartite acromion' is a bone defect that affects the scapula (shoulder blade) and results in non-fusion of the acromion process – the upper part of that bone that forms a joint with the clavicle (collar bone) – at the shoulder. This bone usually fuses in late adolescence or young adulthood (Scheuer and Black 2000, 268). The condition, which is more prevalent in males, is usually asymptomatic and can occur in either one or both shoulders. Some studies have found evidence in support of a genetic predisposition for this condition. Prevention of bone union in the acromion has also been associated with fibrous union of a fracture or repeated, occupation-related trauma (Miles 2005; Case, Burnett and Nielson 2005; Scheuer and Black 2000, 268). It has been associated with elevated incidence of injury to the rotator cuff muscles (the muscles of the shoulder) due to continued and heavy loading of the arm (Scheuer and Black 2000, 268; Pacciani 2006). Archaeologically, the condition has been linked to longbow archers in the late medieval period (Stirland 1984; Stirland 2000) and has also been found to occur in workers who routinely carry heavy loads on their shoulders (Wienker and Wood 1988). In clinical studies, os acromiale is often associated with certain sporting activities such as baseball pitching due to the excessive muscular activity in the shoulders. Os acromiale, whether a developmental defect or caused by a fracture or long-term minor occupation-related trauma is not a debilitating condition and may have only caused some minor shoulder pain to the two individuals described below during their lives.

Paleopathology

Case Study 1

One individual exhibiting this trait was Skeleton 1090A, a probable male aged 40-49 years. Although analysis of these remains was unfortunately restricted by their incomplete and highly fragmented state, it was noted during examination that there was some ambiguity in the skeletal features normally used for diagnosis of sex, with most of the traits present displaying ambiguous or inconclusive results. The pelvic traits that were present were more typically male than female but measurements taken from the arm and leg bones revealed that this individual was generally not particularly well built for a male. Evidence from the skull, however, contradicted the limb bones. The back of the cranium displayed a very pronounced 'external occipital protuberance', which is an attachment point for the neck muscles and ligaments and is more prominent in robust, muscular males. That this feature was contrary to the otherwise fairly ambiguous diagnostic traits and was more prominent than those of many other males from this site suggested that this particular individual was involved in some form of habitual activity that caused development or strain to the muscles of the neck.

This hypothesis was supported by the discovery on the right scapula (shoulder blade) of a bipartite acromion. As is typical for this condition, this resulted in a quadrangular piece of separate bone that articulated with the acromial base. It was not clear in this case whether the condition was also present in the left acromion as it was broken. It would be expected that the presence of os acromiale would indicate related changes to other surrounding bones, for example the clavicles. However, in the case of Skeleton 1090A the adjoining bones were too fragmented to analyse for such changes.

Case Study 2

A second, better preserved example of this condition occurred in the relatively complete Skeleton 1022A, a 26-35 year old male. Similarly to the individual above, the left anterior acromial ossification centre in this individual has failed to fuse to the acromial process resulting in a separate ossicle (Fig. 1), with only fibrous attachments to the main scapular bone. In Skeleton 1022A, the humeri (upper arm bones) both had evidence of stress at the attachment points of the subscapularis muscle, a rotator cuff muscle responsible for the medial (forward) rotation of the arm. This muscle helps to stabilise the shoulder joint, preventing its dislocation. In this case, the left bone was more affected than the right, implying that subscapularis was under particular strain on the left side. The bipartite acromion may have contributed to this muscular stress.

Fig. 1: Left scapula (shoulder blade) of Sk. 1022A, showing bipartite acromion process.

In Skeleton 1022A, the condition seems to have resulted in a marked asymmetry of the upper body. In this individual, the collar bones and arm bones were affected. Although both sides are robust and have strong muscle attachments, the bones of the left side were notably shorter than the right. This is contrary to the evidence from the individuals affected with os acromiale on the King Henry VIII's flagship, the Mary Rose (Stirland 1984;

Stirland 2000). Their activity resulted in symmetry of the upper limbs due to the tremendous strength needed in both arms to operate a medieval longbow. Therefore, this condition is unlikely to have resulted from an activity such as archery in individual 1022A.

Shoulder Dislocation: Osteological Description

The second trauma has been caused by a sudden direct or indirect force to the shoulder. The individual involved, Skeleton 1106A, was a female, aged in the 26-35 year age range. The pathology has affected the left glenohumeral (shoulder) joint and involves the scapula, clavicle, and humerus. In an unaffected joint the scapular articulation has a 'teardrop' appearance and articulates with the humerus laterally (at the side). However, in this individual the dislocation of the humerus has resulted in the bone being pushed out of its socket and forwards causing the original joint contour to become distorted into a 'crescent' shape. Instead of articulating at the side of the body the humerus has formed a new joint (pseudoarthrosis) at the front of the scapula (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Left scapula of Sk. 1106A, showing dislocation.

Normal left scapula of another individual shown at right. In the original joint the bones of the humerus and scapula are prevented from coming into direct contact by a layer of cartilage, this is essentially a cushioning system to protect the bones from the general wear and tear of continuous movement. In a dislocation the bones are directly in contact and if the injury is not reduced (set back into its original position) the bones begin to rub against one another causing the outer (cortical) layer of the bone to wear away and become porous. The rounded 'ball' appearance of the top of the humerus becomes distorted and flattened with continued contact with the front of the scapula. Finally, if this direct osseous contact persists, both affected bones develop 'eburnation', which is essentially a 'polishing' of the bone surface that can be detected on dry bone as it shines and glints in the light. The individual in question has the eburnation, porosity and bone contour change described above, suggesting strongly that this was a long-standing condition and that it was probably never reduced.

Common Causes

The shoulder is the most commonly affected joint for dislocation (Seade 2006). It is less stable than the hip for example, but this compromise has to be made to enjoy the range of movement the human shoulder and its multifunctional capabilities (Ortner 2003, 160). In clinical studies this injury is often associated with sports (Seade 2006), particularly rugby and martial arts and is seen most often in young males and older females (generally from falls). The arm is usually in a vulnerable position when dislocated, often abducted and extended (outwards and angled back; for example, the position of throwing a baseball or rugby ball or in the case of a fall, putting an arm behind to break the fall), and in the case of a frontal dislocation the force is exerted from the back. Therefore, to sustain this injury the individual probably fell backwards or received a direct force to the back of the shoulder while the arm was abducted to sustain this injury.

Effect on Living Individual

A dislocation of this nature would cause pain in the living person as the soft tissue (muscle and ligaments) would be damaged or torn (Aufderheide & Rodríguez-Martín 1998, 25). The muscle and ligament damage alone could

cause a 'frozen shoulder' where the movement in the shoulder would be restricted and painful. Secondary to this initial injury the new joint formed and the resultant eburnation indicate that this individual suffered from osteoarthritis. The left humerus does not show any loss of bone density and has strong muscle attachments; this suggests that while this person did suffer as a result of this painful injury, the arm was still in use if only partially. The positioning of the secondary/new joint forwards in the body and the poor muscle attachment of the clavicle suggest that the range of movement of the shoulder was probably permanently impaired, particularly the deltoid muscle which is responsible for the abduction of the shoulder. A further injury to the shaft of the second rib may have occurred in the same episode as the dislocation, the rib has been fractured, possibly due to the force of the dislocated humerus being pushed forwards towards the chest.

Conclusion

These three examples of pathological changes to the bones of the shoulder illustrate the variety of causes and manifestations of trauma on the human skeletal system. Although this article is based on specific case studies rather than a population study per se, it nevertheless gives us some insight into the daily lives of certain members of this Early Christian community. Pathologies visible on these individuals suggest that trauma in the past was not solely caused by interpersonal violence but also could occur as a result of an accident or due to the stress and strain their bodies endured through physical labour in the fields, for example. Further osteological investigation of the human remains from this site, in conjunction with a multi-disciplinary approach to their analysis, will hopefully contribute to our knowledge and understanding of rural early medieval Ireland in the future.

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Did Gadara have a macellum?

Karolina Pawlik

Abstract

Ancient Gadara was one of the Decapolis cities. Its ruins are currently located in the village of Umm Qais in north-western Jordan where the remains of an octagonal building were found (Wagner-Lux and Vriezen 1980, 157). The excavators interpreted this building as an octagonal Byzantine church (Wagner-Lux and Vriezen 1980, 158-159). However other opinions have been put forward, stating the possibility that this structure is a Roman market place, a macellum (Segal 1996, 62). This paper will examine the archaeological evidence and attempt to determine the nature of this building.

Introduction

The modern village of Umm Qeis in north-western Jordan treasures the ruins of Gadara (Fig. 1). This ancient city was listed as one of the Decapolis cities by Pliny the Elder (Pliny the Elder Natural History XVI). The Decapolis was a group or as some believe a loose confederation of about 10 cities in Transjordan and Syria. The cities were united through their culture, language and location. In the Roman period Gadara could have been called the cultural "capital" of the Decapolis. Many Late Roman philosophers and writers were natives of the city (Browning 1982, 45-46). Archaeological research began in 1974, when the German team under Ute Wagner-Lux and Karel Vrienzen started recording and mapping the ruins north of the western theatre (Wagner-Lux *et al*. 1979, 31). The results produced during the subsequent campaigns illustrate the stratigraphy of the site. In the following years teams from other countries, e.g. the Dutch started their projects, but for the purpose of this paper to a large extent, only the German results will be presented and analysed.

Fig. 1: Location of Gadara (Umm Qais) within the boundaries of modern Jordan.

The first campaign of 1974 recorded a large terrace with the remains of several columns (Wagner-Lux *et al*. 1979, 31). A major discovery was made during the working seasons 1976-1978, when an octagonal structure was unearthed (Wagner-Lux and Vrienzen 1980a, 160-161). The excavators identified these remains as a church, probably from the Byzantine period (Wagner-Lux and Vrienzen 1980b, 160-161). There have been other hypotheses regarding the function of this structure. An interesting assumption has been made by Arthur Segal. He debates whether this octagonal structure could be the Roman macellum (Segal 1996, 62). In this paper the author attempts to investigation this hypothesis by analysing the work of the German team and by examining the well-defined Roman macella.

What is a macellum?

The macellum was a food permanent market, where products were sold on daily basis (de Ruyt 2007, 135). It is important to envisage this structure as a building with stalls or tabernea, which can also be called shops, opening on to a courtyard (Frayn 1993, 106). These stalls were usually small rooms with a broad entrance and a large counter. The courtyard can have a circular, octagonal or rectangular shape and the number and allocation of tabernea can also vary. This diversity resulted from the limited space available in cities, thus architects had to adjust the size and shape of the macellum to the already existing urban layout (Frayn 1993, 103).

According to most scholars the origins of a macellum can be derived from the Greek Ἀγορά (agora) (Uscatescu and Martín-Bueno 1997, 84). Initially, the agora had a meeting purpose and political function (Uscatescu and Martín-Bueno 1997, 84). Progressively it acquired another role, place of commerce. However one has to bear in mind that the primary and the acquired purposes were taking place in two separate open areas (Uscatescu and Martín-Bueno 1997, 84). In the Hellenistic period the mercantile agora was a permanent building of cities that considered themselves πόλεις (poleis). The Roman macellum is for the first time recorded in Rome in the 3rd century B.C. (de Ruyt 2007, 135). Macella usually are a feature of cities in the western part of the empire, are uncommon in the East, due to the fact that commercial agoras from the Hellenistic period were still in function (Uscatescu and Martín-Bueno 1997, 85). The examples de Ruyt mentions in the East are: Pergamon (modern Turkey) and Dura Europos (modern Syria), from the mid 2nd century A.D. and 3rd century A.D. (de Ruyt 1983, 133 & 70).

Finally, de Ruyt gives some clues as to what one should look for when trying to identify a market building (de Ruyt 2007, 135). The most obvious method of dating and ascertaining the function of a building is when epigraphical evidenece is associated with it e.g. Jerash (modern Jerash), ancient Gerasa (Uscatescu and Martín-Bueno 1997, 70). If such epigraphical evidence does not exist, one has to look for archaeological remains. De Ruyt argues that macella were used for selling fish and meat. Thus presence of mensae (or tables) and basins, were the food could be

processed, might indicate the function (de Ruyt 2007, 135). In some cases the central courtyard features a fountain, like in Gerasa. The fountain might be one way of honouring Neptune as different forms of dedication are a common trait in macella. As a concluding remark one has to point out that according to de Ruyt this building is an important indication of Romanization (de Ruyt 1983, 269, 279). Thus by examining the structure in Gadara, perhaps more could be said about the social and identity aspects of the local community.

Evidence for a macellum in Gadara

Attempting to trace the origins of suggestions that Gadara could have a macellum are complicated. It seems that one of the first people to propose such an idea was A. Segal in his book *From Function to Monument. Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Province Arabia* (1996, 62). His fundamental argument that the structure excavated in the centre of the terrace in Gadara was a permanent market is its resemblance to the macellum of Gerasa (Uscatescu and Martín-Bueno 1997, 69). Segal's suggestion has become a precedent and several other scholars are now referring to this building as a market place (e.g. Bührig 2008, 108). It is true that both structures are similar and have a peristyle flanked by columns (the ones in Gadara were reconstructed). Likewise both structures have semicircular exedras; however the ones in Gadara are much smaller.

In the final report from the excavations in Gadara one can read that the structure is very similar to the one in Gerasa and it could be interpreted as a market, but its size is too small (Zu'bi and Tawalbah 2004, 55). As Frayn demonstrated through the examination of provincial, Italian macella (e.g. Saepinum) the size cannot be regarded as an absolute criterion for a macellum (Frayn 1993, 102). In this report it has been stated that the octagonal structure had a Roman phase of occupation. However no artefacts or references are present to elaborate on this statement (Zu'bi and Tawalbah 2004, 57). Overall, it seems that the comparative material confirming this hypothesis is at best meagre. In the following sections of this paper I will attempt to indicate why this assumption is false.

Evidence against a permanent market in Gadara

The excavators of the terrace have interpreted the octagonal structure as a church of the central-building type (Wagner-Lux *et al*. 1980, 160). To support their interpretation they present a series of churches in the area, for example the church of St. John in Gerasa (6th century) or the church of St. George in Zor'a in Syria (early 6th century). They based their suggestion on the excavated material. The structure is characterized by a square-shaped interior on the outside and an octagonal interior (Holm-Nielson *et al*. 1989, 600). The floor from the Byzantine phase was characterised by stones tiles composed of hues in different colours. Beneath that was a limestone floor consisting of larger slabs, which covered the entire area of the terrace. In the report from 1993 this limestone phase was dated to the Roman period (Wagner-Lux *et al*. 1993, 391). Other evidence suggesting that this structure is a church includes an apse on the eastern side, the presence of a hexagonal basalt column and an ossuary in the apse (Holm-Nielson *et al*. 1989, 600-601). One can argue why this structure is dated to the Byzantine period. The comparative evidence of other churches suggests a Byzantine dating. Furthermore Byzantine pottery was found in this area (Zu'bi and Tawalbah 2004, 57). This is the summary of the initial evidence composed by the excavators.

However, some scholars still believe that a macellum could have existed there (Uscatescu and Martín-Bueno 1997, 85). The main obstacle to qualify this building as a market is the lack of space for stalls or tabernae. In most cases the stalls were located around the circular, octagonal or even rectangular courtyard (e.g. Pompeii, Gerasa, Thugga, Saepinum) (Fig. 2). This is quite common despite the diversity of sizes and shapes. However, in Lepcis Magna (modern Libya) the mensae were located between the columns of the outer peristyle. This would be evidence suggesting that despite the lack of space to built shops around, a macellum could have still existed. Nevertheless this argument or even an attempt to compare the octagonal building with other markets in the Mediterranean area was never debated.
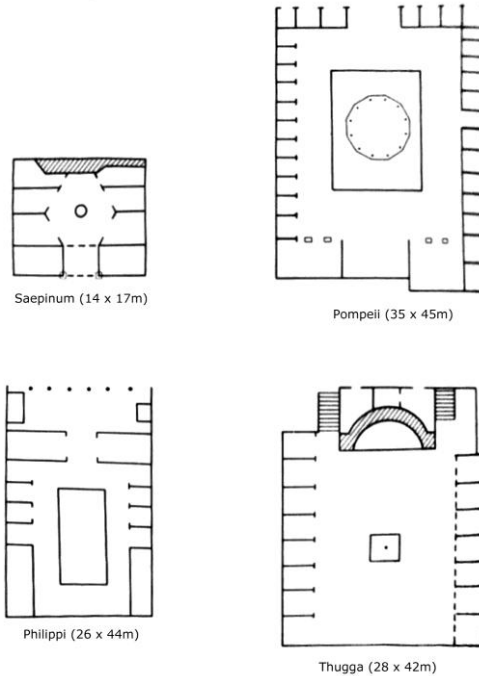
Fig. 2: Other *macella* of different size and shape in Roman Italy (Frayn 1993, 102).

In the final report from Gadara, it was stated that the material used to construct the church was reused from the Roman period (Zu'bi and Tawalbah 2004, 55). In another, the excavators have outlined a detailed timeline of site occupation from the Roman and Byzantine periods (Vriezen *et al.* 2001, 537-546). It seems that in the Roman period the terrace had a monumental entrance from the north and it could have functioned as a lower terrace of the acropolis or as a basilica (Vriezen *et al*. 2001, 540-541). A Roman basilica was a roofed, rectangular hall, where legal, business and partially mercantile activities took place. There is no indication that a macellum was erected in the Roman period. In the Byzantine period there are two subphases.

It could be argued that in the second Byzantine subphase the rooms to the east of the colonnaded courtyard could have functioned as mensae of a market. To the south of the church was found another twin church with the apse featuring in the East direction. There was no indication of shops (Vriezen *et al.* 2001, 540-542). However from de Ruyt's investigation it seems that the latest macella were constructed in the 3rd century A.D. (de Ruyt 1983, 70). Hence this statement rules out the possibility of a market. It could be possible that these rooms functioned as shops but there is not enough evidence to support or deny this claim. Moreover the basilica of the Roman period (if it was a basilica or just a monumental terrace) would partially fulfill the commercial purpose. It seems therefore rather unnecessary to have two buildings which had a similar function. As Frayn pointed out only centres with developed, wide mercantile connections would need a macellum (Frayn 1993, 44). Gadara most certainly was not such a centre; it was more famous for its cultural merits hosting a wealth of well known writers.

Conclusion

To date there is no clear evidence that a macellum existed in Gadara. There may have been a basilica and shops. Basing the presence of a market in Gadara on few similarities e.g. the macellum from Gerasa simply is not a convincing argument. Finally, does the lack of a macellum undermine the level of Romanisation of Gadara's population? Certainly not, as there is evidence of a Roman basilica on the terraces north of the west theatre. Most likely the construction of the terrace occurred after the mid 2nd century A.D. when there was an interest to promote Roman urbanization in the East (Bührig 2008: 98). Finally, it could or even should be pointed out that the analysis of artefacts could shed more light into the purpose of other structures and the extent of Romanisation.

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The Manx Keeill and pagan iconography: Christian and pagan responses to ideological turmoil in the Isle of Man during the tenth-century.

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Abstract

The small, simple Christian chapels, known locally as keeills, which litter the landscape of the Isle of Man have become a defining feature of Manx archaeological discourse. Initial research by local antiquarians during the early twentieth century identified some 170 sites, surveyed surface remains and 'excavated' a considerable number. The quality of these investigations can at best be described as variable and the methodology formulaic; its focus being the search for artefactual dating evidence that would push the establishment of the keeill, and therefore the foundation of Manx Christianity, back to the arrival of Christianity in Britain. More recent analyses, however, suggest that the period of keeill construction began in the late ninth or early tenth century AD; with a terminus ad quem in the late thirteenth century when an ecclesiastical system centred on the parish church was established. This re-dating of the keeill phenomena places its foundation close to, indeed, probably within the period of Scandinavian settlement (c.900AD). Christocentric perspectives have, and continue, to influence conceptions of this relationship with an intrinsic perception of pagan belief systems as weak and ineffectual, with the movement towards conversion seen as inevitable. It is the intention of this paper to propose that the keeill phenomena can be regarded as the response of an extant native Christian tradition to the ideological turmoil brought by an influx of pagan settlers, of Scandinavian heritage, to the Isle of Man. It will highlight that the response to this collision of dogmas was not prejudiced to

Christianity, but was manifest in overt expressions of paganism also seen in the burial traditions of settlers.

Introduction

The early Christian chapels, or keeills, which litter the Manx countryside, have become the defining feature of local archaeology (over 180 in total). The morphology of the keeill is simple comprising a small, rectangular, dry-stone and/or earthen structure, often situated within an enclosure bordered by wall, bank and/or ditch, known locally as a rhullick (or graveyard) (Johnson 2006) (Fig. 1). Despite the 'excavation' of a significant number of these sites, particularly in the early twentieth-century (Kermode 1968; Bruce 1968), understanding remains woefully inadequate due to a dearth of dating evidence. The significance of the keeill for local scholarship during the nineteenth and twentieth-century lay in its perceived association with the advent of early Christianity in the island; an integral element in fledgling Manx identities (Belchem 2000; Maddrell 2006; Moore 2009). As one local antiquarian contended:

> *"...These edifices are chiefly interesting as being, in the absence of all historic record, the only indices in existence of the state of Christianity in the Isle of Man in the primitive ages. They carry us back to periods that have bequeathed no written explanation of their origin, though they show us how gradually, but completely, the influences of Christianity had spread over this island..."*

> (Oliver 1868, 268)

It is the intention of this paper to present a brief review of the keeill evidence in light of more recent re-dating of the phenomena. It will assess the innate ideological, cultural and social conflicts that the keeills, and the contemporaneous Viking memorial stones, represent; and postulate that each can be regarded as a response to these tensions. A central theme in this paper is the intrinsic evidence that conversion was neither a simple or indeed inevitable response of contact with Christianity.

Fig. 1: A typical keeill at Maughold Churchyard, Maughold.

The dating problem

The principle concern for these early scholars had been the search for definitive dating evidence that could chronologically situate the keeill. A lack of documentary evidence and a poorly understood dedicatory record led scholars to examine the physical remains in order to provide the necessary dating evidence to push the origin of Manx Church to the very foundation of Christianity in Britain.

Discussions concerning the keeill have often celebrated the work of local antiquarian PMC Kermode, and the aborted Manx Archaeological Survey enacted under his purview (Kermode 1968; Bruce 1968), but this work represented the culmination of over a century's worth of research (Radcliffe 1826; Oswald 1860; Oliver 1866; Oliver 1868). Aware of the increasing threats that modern agricultural methods posed to local archaeology, Kermode conducted "a careful and systematic examination" of the island's archaeological remains (Kermode 1968, 3). The programme identified and surveyed some 119 keeills, with the excavation of another 40 or so;

however, any understanding was hampered by a dearth of diagnostic artefactual evidence, leading Kermode to conclude that "their ruinous condition, and the absolute simplicity… make it impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to give their age with certainty" (Kermode 1915, 585 - my emphasis). Despite this pessimism some dating was provided by the stone crosses, recovered at a number of sites, which had earlier been organised into a rudimentary, but relative, chronology (Kermode 1907). This allowed Kermode to support the established theory that dated the keeill to the fifth or sixth centuries

Recent analyses have begun to question the validity of these earlier assumptions. This reinterpretation of the chronology has been influenced by a re-dating of the pre-Viking cross corpus (Trench-Jellicoe 1985, 2002), a reassessment of keeill dedications (Bowen 1969), along with a more thorough understanding of early Christianity in other areas (Blair 2005). Scholars have consequentially been more conservative in dating the keeill; the more pragmatic outlook, has concluded that:

> *"…there is no proof known to us that any of the existing buildings… are older than the Viking settlement…. One has a strong impression that most, if not all, the 'keeills' we see to-day were erected after Irish or Scottish monks had converted the Norse colonists…"*

> (Megaw and Megaw 1950, 154-155; Megaw 1978, Lowe 1988)

Comparative material from elsewhere in Britain has led Wilson to conclude that "[w]hile some of the keeills may belong to the pre-Viking era", the vast majority "are generally of a tenth-century or later date" (2008, 18). This reassessment certainly places the keeill in a well attested chronological and geographical framework (see Edwards 1996; Barrettt 2003; Blair 2005; Turner 2006; Abrams 2007). This need not preclude earlier Christian activity, indeed a monastic presence is certainly attested at Maughold and, arguably, St Patrick's Isle (Megaw 1950; Freke 2002). Archaeological evidence from a number of keeill sites similarly evidences earlier activity suggests that in some instances the construction of the keeill was intended to reaffirm connections with an existing Christian infrastructure (Bruce

1968; Kermode 1968). This impact of the 'new dating' of the keeill has ramifications for the development of the Early Medieval and Viking periods of the Isle of Man, which have yet to be fully explored. Certainly as Basil and Eleanor Megaw have proposed the keeill now seems "no less an integral part of Manx-Viking culture than were the 'Celtic' cross-slabs with runes and the Norse mythological figures" (1950, 155).

Viking settlement and pagan iconography

The arrival of the Viking during the "final years of the ninth-century" was marked by significant political, social and religious upheaval amongst the extant communities of the Isle of Man (Wilson 2008, 52). The earliest evidence for the arrival of Vikings are a series of pagan burials which take a variety of forms from boat burials (e.g. Balladoole, Arbory), to wooden chamber burials (e.g. Ballateare, Jurby) and lintel graves with accompanying grave goods (e.g. St Patrick's Isle, German) (Fig. 2). The distribution suggests that this settlement was widespread, but which also attests to distinctive cultural and religious beliefs systems within these settler groups (see Bersu and Wilson 1966; Wilson 1974, 2008 for a full appraisal). The creation of the barrow, much like the erection of the keeill, represented an opportunity for communities to establish control over the landscape and establish social and cultural power structures (Reilly 1988, Moore 1999). That these burial traditions were short-lived, probably lasting no later than the 940s (Wilson 2008), seems to fit with paganism's declining political capital in other Viking strongholds, namely Dublin and York. But as Crawford cautions this cessation only tells us "that pagan beliefs were changing… not how, when and why the Christian religion was adopted" (1987, 163). The Manx burials would have acted as both ritual and social foci amongst settler communities providing stability and solidarity (Moore 2009); consequently to suggest that within a single generation people felt secure enough to abandon these traditions seems questionable.
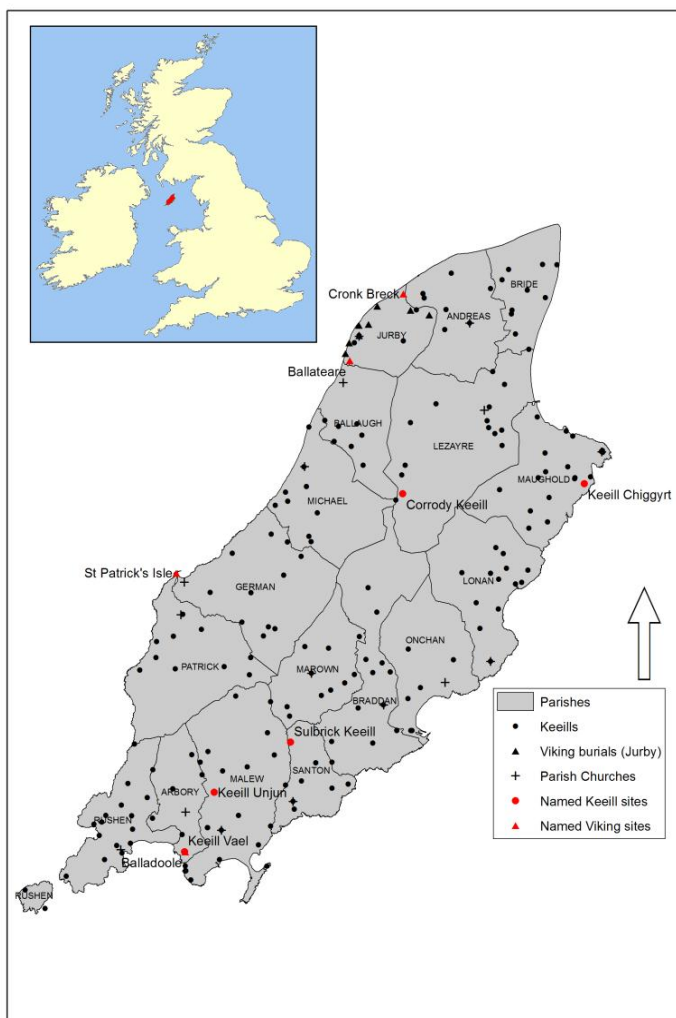
Fig. 2: Map showing keeill distribution and sites discussed in the text.

While these burials attest to an initial pagan activity this presence is quickly obscured within the archaeological record, which some scholars have regarded as evidence of conversion to Christianity. Accounts of the conversion of Vikings in the Isle of Man to Christianity have failed to recognise that conversion was often a protracted process, rather than a singular event (Cusack 1998; Muldoon 1997). Many consider it an inevitable consequence of contact with Christian theology and ignore the complexities of its often nonlinear progression. Wilson, for example, contends that:

> *"...[t]he grave-finds and the sculpture, then, provide a reasonable chronological horizon for the earliest Norse settlement of Man in the period at the very end of the ninth century; and for the conversion of the incomers to Christianity within the succeeding generation…"*

(2008, 86)

Yet accounts of conversion in other areas suggest that it was much more complex. The forced conversion of Iceland, for example, presented as a distinct act within the literary record was in reality much more prolonged (Vésteinsson 2000; Pálsson and Edwards 2006). Understanding of the conversion process has often been impeded by an inflexible dyadic terminology which has focused on the intrinsic dialectic between pagan and Christian, when, in reality, as Hutton observes, medieval Christianity "matched paganism in so many structural respects that it provided an entirely satisfactory substitute for it" (2011, 241). Any differences between these ideologies were "mediated through forms that made it seem more familiar and acceptable in practice" (Hutton 2011, 241). Such similarities contributed to an "interpenetration of paganism and Christianity" (Fletcher 1999, 371), and it seems likely that pagan Viking tradition and ideology had equal impact upon established Christian practice. Simply because Christian doctrine came to dominate, it need not necessary mean that paganism was somehow weaker or less relevant at the outset.

With this in mind it is worth reconsidering the mixed iconography found on the Manx memorial stones that scholars have considered as evidence for

conversion amongst Viking settlers (Wilson 2008), but which may equally reflect the influence of Scandinavian culture, and arguably pagan religion, upon an existing Christian population. The morphology of the iconography and motifs utilised on the memorials stones certainly attest to a complex interaction between Christian ideology and Scandinavian culture. In some instances this relationship is manifest on the single memorial stone; the portrayal of Odin at Ragnarǫk on 'Thorwald's Cross' (Andreas 128), for example, can be contrasted with a Christian cleric (carrying a cross and holding a book aloft) surrounded by stylised serpents on the reverse (Fig. 3). Others, such as the 'Crucifixion Cross' (Michael 129) seem more overtly Christian; showing Christ on the cross with a cockerel (the symbol of resurrection) and a seraph above. Some seem purely Scandinavian in influence, the 'Sigurd Cross' (Andreas 121), for example, shows Sigurð Fáfnisbani and other scenes from Völsungasaga. On many stones pagan and Christian iconographies mingle; undermining the 'traditional' dualist conception of pagan and Christian ideologies, and the debate over the origin of the iconography (cf. Kermode 1904; Margeson 1983).

Fig. 3: 'Thorwald's Cross' (Andreas 128), Andreas Parish Church. On the left a Christian cleric, and on the right Odin at Ragnarö.

The use of pagan iconography has led many to suppose that the erection of these stones was a purely Viking activity, but this need not be the case. Certainly 'Gautr's Cross' (Michael 101), one of the earliest crosses in the corpus, was raised by a Gaelic named son (Mailbrikti) to his similarly named father (Aþakán). That these individuals were almost certainly Christian is reinforced in the terminology employed; Mailbrikti 'raised this cross for his soul' (Page 1992, 142), two concepts central to Christian doctrine. More fundamentally these memorials also reveal little within their iconography that can be regarded as expressly pagan; the portrayal of scenes from Ragnarök or Sigurd cycle may well attest to the pervasiveness of Scandinavian culture amongst extant Christian communities during the tenth-century, as to the religious belief of the individuals or communities raising them. Although chronologically and geographically divorced from the memorials, evidence from skaldic verse, eddic poetry and the sagas (e.g. Íslendinga sögur) attest to the complexities of this relationship (Abram 2011); as Lönnroth observes that the "world picture of the sagas usually appears to modern readers as 'pagan' or at least as distinctly different from that of Christianity", when in reality such a conceptualisation is problematic (2008, 309). It seems plausible, therefore, to regard the iconography of the memorial stones in much the same way. It must also be remembered that the inherent strength of Christian doctrine at this time lay in an intrinsic flexibility that allowed it to be adapted and manipulated to fit a situation (Hutton 2011).

The above discussion has questioned the validity of the use of both the iconographic and inscriptional evidence found on Manx memorial stones as evidence for conversion. It has established that contemporary conception of these ideologies is grounded in a rather simplistic Cartesian duality that fails to acknowledge the inherent complexity of both the iconography and inscriptional evidence. It has shown that both pagan AND Christian were erecting memorials with complex iconographies that drew on both traditions highlighting a multifarious cultural and ideological coalescence. An appreciation of this multifaceted relationship has scarcely been acknowledged in the established literature consequently a thorough reappraisal of the Manx monumental evidence is required before an

understanding can be reached. As a result the keeill phenomenon currently offers the most potential in understanding the conversion process.

The Keeill: a Christian reaction

The re-dating of the keeill phenomenon and placing it close too, indeed probably within, the period of Viking settlement has significant ramification for the understanding of the conversion process. The widespread phenomena of constructing churches in the period from the ninth-century onward, as Blair has observed:

> *"....represent[s] one way in which 'undeveloped' cult sites could be adopted into a more demarcated, hierarchical, and explicitly Christian landscape. A place of popular cult could not easily be suppressed, but by building a church over it it could be controlled... [bringing the site] within a framework of local parochial observance...."*

(2005, 382-383)

The construction of the keeill may therefore be considered an attempt to strengthen and reassert control over earlier Christian sites. At Sulbrick (Santon), for example, the discovery of lintel graves beneath the keeill structure suggests that it was constructed within a pre-existing, 'undeveloped' burial ground. At the same time the reorganisation of older, prehistoric cult sites also seems to have been common. At Corrody (Lezayre), for example, the keeill was constructed within the kerb stones of an earlier Bronze Age barrow; whilst the recovery of prehistoric artifactual evidence is fairly common. This Christianisation of the landscape also involved the reconstitution of 'natural' places. Associations with wells and springs are common; Keeill Chiggyrt (Maughold), for example, has been constructed close to a spring known as 'Chibbyr y Woirrey' (the well of St Mary). The place-name evidence provides tantalising testimony of other 'natural' places whose significance has been lost; the significance of a tree is preserved in the name Keeill Unjun (Malew) meaning 'Church of the Ash' (Fig. 2). As Blair notes this process, often called the "feudal revolution", was widespread throughout Western Europe and reflected the

development of wider social, political and religious changes (Blair 2005; Ó Carragáin 2010). Almost certainly similar influences stimulated keeill construction in the Isle of Man, but the scale of that construction, potentially 150+ chapels in two or three hundred years, is significant. While keeill foundation was probably well underway before the Vikings arrived, it is tempting to connect this influx with a renewed zeal for construction brought about by the wider social and cultural changes brought on by the new arrivals, perhaps most significantly the religious tensions between these ideologies. That these tensions were 'real' is best observed at Balladoole (Arbory) where a pagan boat-burial was raised over an existing, and actively used, Christian burial ground (cf. Bersu and Wilson 1966). This site also evidences an example of the Christian response to this pagan appropriation, with the reiteration of its ideology through the construction of a keeill (Keeill Vael, Arbory), and the creation of a clearly demarcated rhullick (burial ground) (Madden 1999; Moore 2009). These ideological conflicts are also implied at other sites, certainly the discovery of Viking swords and weaponry at a number of the parish churches suggests that these sites were appropriated by both pagan and Christian (Wilson 1974).

Although the use of dedicatory evidence is "very uncertain ground on which to draw firm conclusions", the Manx evidence seems to support those observations made in western Scotland that contend they are the result of "an era of post-conversion church-building by the Norse" (Crawford 1987, 167; Abrams 2007). The distribution of sites dedicated to St. Patrick along the western coast of the Isle of Man attest to the endurance of this cult, and is certainly consistent with the twelfth-century revival seen throughout western and northern Britain (Bowen 1969). The continued significance of the cult of St. Patrick into the thirteenth-century is evident from Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles who attribute the conversion of the Manx to the saint (Broderick 1996).

The group of pagan burials that extends for 6km from Ballateare (Jurby) to Cronk Breck (Jurby) along the coastal cliffs have come to be regarded as evidence of a discrete Viking group in that area (Megaw 1978; Reilly 1988 and Moore 2009, see map); a notion supported by burial evidence which suggests a cohesive identity amongst this community (Bersu and Wilson

1966). Significantly, however, while this area boasts a concentration of seven pagan burials (Megaw 1978; cf. Reilly 1988 who proposes up to thirteen) there is also an apparent dearth of keeills. The Manx Archaeological Survey report three, two of which situated at Ballaconley and Ballacurry are almost certainly undeveloped cemeteries, whilst the third at West Nappin is a later fourteenth-century structure, and perhaps earlier parish church (Kermode 1968). This lack of keeills, particularly when they are so ubiquitous elsewhere, may tentatively be put forward as evidence of a lingering pagan presence in that area. Unfortunately, there is little definitive evidence to support this thesis, so it must remain speculative. Significantly the highest concentrations of memorial stones are found in the areas that border this proposed pagan enclave (the parishes of Andreas and Michael); these stones are geographically and ideologically positioned at the 'front line' of Christian/pagan belief systems in much the same way as the pagan burials are. While Megaw and Megaw felt able to conclude that "[p]agan customs evidently soon lost their hold on the newcomers" (1950, 146; see also Wilson 1974, 2008); there seems to be distinct evidence, or more accurately lack of it, to suggest that pagan traditions continued to be play a significant role into the late tenth-century and perhaps even later.

Conclusion

The evidence from the keeills and memorial stones certainly suggest that religious interactions during the tenth-century were complex. The mixed motifs and iconographies of the memorial stones certainly suggest that interactions were not unidirectional; they highlight an intrinsic flexibility, liberalism, and arguably a 'creolization' of Christian beliefs during that time. The memorials suggest a landscape of tolerance. This is particularly evident in Jurby, where a pagan, Viking community seems to have lingered for a considerable time after settlement, with little evidence of an aggressive policy of conversion. At Balladoole (Arbory), the tensions between world views are unmistakeable. The construction of the keeill can be regarded as an attempt to reinforce and reaffirm control over existing Christian sites, and reconstitute natural or prehistoric sites of significance into a Christian form. Its primary concern does not seem to have been conversion of the pagan per se. This evidence seems inherently contradictory, but serves to

highlight that conversion was neither simple nor singular; it was a long and often complex process. This process affected individuals and communities in very different ways.

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Secondary Burial in Prepalatial Crete: Embodiment and Ancestorhood

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Abstract

This paper seeks to analyse secondary burial practices in Prepalatial Crete to ask what they can tell us about Minoan conceptions of death and the body. It also questions if our current understanding of the term as something enacted exclusively in a funerary context is suitable. Examples of secondary burial practices are drawn from 'house tombs' at the site of Phourni, Archanes and the tholos tombs of the Mesara region.

Introduction

The study of secondary burial through the human remains has often been neglected with these sites, both because of earlier scholars' emphasis on architecture and the poor preservation of many looted tombs. Yet a study of the human remains involved in such practices has much merit in creating *an archaeology* of embodiment for Minoan Crete. Comparative material from other times and places reveals the variety of ways in which the body can be thought of and how this can be perceived in the archaeological record. There are examples of definite postmortem choice, selection and manipulation of bones and their study may lead us to a clearer idea of Minoan ideas about the body.

Aspects of such manipulation imply continuous ritual practice, involving these human remains in later ritual. The idea of a possible Minoan 'ancestor cult' or 'cult of the dead' has been discussed before and study of the human remains involved in secondary burial may be of use in examining the concept.

Introduction to the Prepalatial material

The term 'house tomb' refers to a form of rectilinear burial structure consisting of multiple stone-built chambers (two sub-forms, rectangular and square: the former on average 5m by 8m, the latter around 3m by 3m) found predominantly in the north and east of Crete. It is a term whose coining is tied to secondary burial: Harriet Boyd Hawes, during the excavation of the settlement of Gournia between 1901 and 1904, defined this as being a building "full of bones and skulls in disorder" (Soles 1992, 8), reflecting early excavators' conception of the Minoans' treatment of human remains. The cemetery of Phourni is located in north-central Crete (Fig. 1), near the settlement of Archanes and to the east of the area's dominant geographical feature, Mt. Iuktas. The cemetery was in use for a remarkably long period, with pottery finds from the Early Minoan IIA to the Late Minoan IIIC (ca. 2500 – 1100 BC) but is of particular interest for its wide variety of funerary architecture and burial practices within the same space and, during the Middle Minoan IA period chronological horizon.

Throughout the Early Minoan III (ca. 2100 – 2000 BC), a period characterised by abandonment of many Minoan sites, we find that Phourni remains small, with only a single tomb in use (Soles 1992, 131). At the beginning of the Middle Minoan IA period (ca. 2000 – 1900 BC), however, the cemetery grows substantially to include tholos tombs, more house tombs and various other buildings associated with the burial process (McEnroe 2010, 32). The process seems to have increased in elaboration also, as conical cups abound as finds, and pithoi (large ceramic container vessels) and larnakes (clay coffins) become ubiquitous as internment vessels (Soles 1992, 246). It is difficult to concretely attribute this to any ethnic shift in the population however (Maggidis 1998, 98) but it may indicate that attention was being paid to the kinship-based identity of the deceased, as I will discuss.

Tholos tombs (above ground circular tombs) are the second major form of burial structure of the Prepalatial (ca. 3500 – 2000 BC) and are predominantly found in relatively close proximity to the settlements of the Mesara Plain in south-central Crete. There are about 40 cemeteries containing tholos tombs in the Mesara, with some tombs clustered together,

as at Koumasa. These cemeteries exhibit impressive continuity of use over millennia, with some, such as Lebena, dating from the late Neolithic and others remaining in use until the Postpalatial period, such as Kamilari (Branigan 1970, 126). Only a handful of sites appear to be abandoned during the Early Minoan III period (Soles 1992, 155) and the architectural form remained broadly consistent over time. The main structure of a tholos tomb is a circular central chamber, ranging in diameter between sites from 3.5m to 12m, but they typically have an antechamber of between 1.16m² and 8.05m² at the entrance. Most have attached rectilinear 'annexes' or outer rooms. These were often present from the tombs' initial construction and where they were not, they were added during the Middle Minoan IA period, as at Lebena (McEnroe 2010, 32). These annexes vary greatly in number, size, arrangement and probably use from site to site, though the common presence of human remains from their later periods of use can obscure their variety (Branigan 1970, 96). Many tholoi also have paved areas and boundary walls outside them, as at Koumasa and Kamilari (*ibid*. 132), which may suggest gatherings and cult activity. It is now broadly accepted that most tholoi roofs were vaulted in stone (Watrous 1994, 711).

Admittedly, in comparing the forms of house tomb and tholos tomb there is a risk of blurring two broadly separate regional traditions of funerary buildings, as not even each individual tomb need have had the same burial process, being used by small kin groups with varying societal organizations and trajectories of development (Legarra Herrero 2009, 49). Nor should we presume a static tradition through time, despite the long working lifespan of the tombs. Yet similarities in the evidence for specific funerary practices exist, including secondary burial, burial vessel form and broad tomb layout. These appear both within regional traditions (Branigan 1970, 104) and between them (Soles 1992, 250), and as such have been widely taken to suggest a set of "similar underlying ideas about death" (Goodison 1989, 43), at least for the final phase of the Prepalatial period.

Another issue with studying burial practices in the Prepalatial is the often poor state of preservation and publication of sites and human remains. Many of the Mesara tombs were looted extensively in antiquity and Xanthoudides, the original excavator of Koumasa, notes "… the state of the

bones was such that no single skeleton could be recognised as complete in situ; and where bones were found not entirely rotten they were not found in their original positions, but had obviously been disturbed and mixed up ...” (Xanthoudides 1924, 7). His dismay applies elsewhere; direct association of grave goods with individual burials, primary or secondary, is hindered by the lack of undisturbed deposits. The unfortunate effect of this upon study of this field is compounded by many earlier researchers' focus on architecture. Systematic osteological study of bones in terms of sex and age is very rare and, where carried out, has been focused on much later periods (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 258-60) or is still awaiting publication (Alexious and Warren 2004, 9).

Burial as a process

Though it is impossible to presume one static set of burial rituals for every Prepalatial tomb throughout the entirety of their use, certain elements appear to have been consistent in light of the limited amount of people who could enter a tomb at any one time; tholoi have small doors and low passages, and house tombs also tend to be constrictive (Maggidis 1998, 96). These elements are distinguishable in the archaeological record and we can produce a loose model in which bodies undergo a minimum of six stages of treatment:

    i.   prosthesis, or laying out of the deceased, in an annex or antechamber;

    ii.   a primary internment in the central chamber;

    iii. decomposition;

    iv. removal of the disaggregated body;

    v.   retention of the skull;

    vi. relocation and placement of that skull in a different part of the tomb.
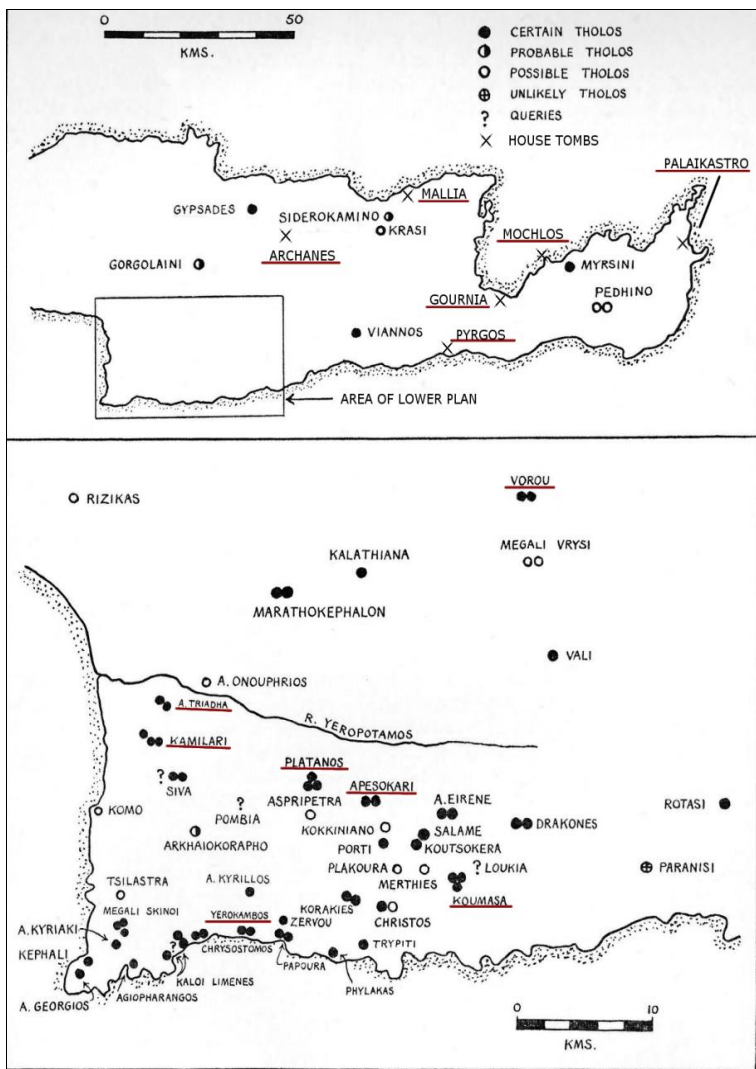
Fig. 1: Distribution map of Prepalatial tombs in Crete; lower plan is Mesara Plain. Significantly documented sites are underlined.

Articulated remains have been found at Phourni and the tholos tombs at Vorou and Agia Triada. As the bones, though burnt, were not cremated, we can presume traces of burning represent fumigation, which would have been periodically necessitated by the decomposition of the corpse (Branigan 1970, 108). Based on surviving grave good distributions these primary burials appear to have taken place in the central chambers (*ibid*. 88). Soles suggests that larnakes may have been used for repeated primary internments, the bones sans decomposed flesh being cleaned later, removed and placed elsewhere in the tomb (Soles 1992, 246). He cites the Agia Triada sarcophagus as a possible example, with some skulls being associated with a nearby unpainted larnax. Though it is dated to the Late Minoan IIIA and is thus over a millenium younger than the larnakes of the Prepalatial, it highlights the various potential uses of such containers. The use of the annex rooms is also interesting and there appears to be quite a distinction between those used to hold skulls and other bones, and those containing conical cups and other vessels. These latter annexes remained free of human remains despite their neighbours filling up (Branigan 1993, 98). The annexes may also have been used for prosthesis or other preparatory rituals for burial.

In certain cases, such as at Phourni, it seems that different elements of this hypothesized process took place in various structures (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 202). Throughout the Mesara tholos tombs, as in the tombs at Phourni, we see the relocation and deliberate placement of certain skulls that had been retained after decomposition. This kind of practise, as carried out between structures, can be seen as denoting a movement or circulation of human remains (Thomas 2000, 662). It seems clear that this relocation was undertaken in a deliberate and ritual manner; it was not a trivial or 'mechanical' act. This relocation may have occured at a prescribed, fixed point in time from the initial internment, in line with the soft tissue's decomposition.

Thinking about the Prepalatial Minoan body

In studies of burial in the British Neolithic (Shanks and Tilley 1982; 1987), a specific link between bodies disaggregated during secondary treatment and communal tombs has been brought up as the possibility of an

"...ideological imperative by which the individual is denied and the collective asserted.."

(Parker Pearson 2003, 52)

where the body is a metaphor of society. Though this may be true in some cases of disaggregated Minoan bodies – and we must remember that tholos and house tombs were used by relatively small units of society, where issues of kinship and lineage were paramount (Branigan 1998) – it seems to lack nuance when applied broadly to Prepalatial contexts of secondary burial. When discussing the Egyptian and Mayan material, Lynn Meskell and Rosemary Joyce start from the observation that these societies existed prior to and untouched by the specific Western tradition of thinking about the body historically born of Plato and Descartes, just as with Minoan Crete (Meskell and Joyce 2003, 17). Julian Thomas, in his work upon Neolithic Britain, notes that this tradition ultimately underlies modern archaeology:

"Archaeology, as a practice of modernity, materializes ancient bodies through a medico-scientific mode of understanding…."

(Thomas 2000, 658)

Even seemingly value-free concepts as the idea of a clear division between the soul and the physical body is an interpretation grounded in a modern Western phenomenology (Meskell and Joyce 2003, 67). That the disaggregation of the body should be interpreted in terms of dissolution or destruction is not a given; this is an interpretation drawing on a Western conception of the body.

This paradigm of thinking is pervasive to the point of seeming intuitive and has influenced much of the older interpretations - the opinion generally held by scholars of the tombs is that the treatment of the bodies after their primary burial was curt, 'mechanical' and consisted of cleaning the chamber with minimal regard for the state of the remains when enacting the secondary burial: the bones were brushed away as part of the "sweeping up and disposal" of the tomb's contents (Soles 1992, 249) or "jammed into the small cells or trenches around the tholos" (Goodison 1989, 25) and similar

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statements (Branigan 1970, 107; Marinatos 1993, 27). This perceived lack of interest in the unity of an individual's corpse by the Minoans was taken to imply

> *"... that there was no concern for the physical body of the dead, once it had decomposed and become a skeleton..."*

<div align="right">(Branigan 1970, 109)</div>

and that such practices

> *"...are unlikely to be the actions of a society who held to the concept of a physical after-life..."*

<div align="right">(*ibid*. 117)</div>

Implicit here is the assumption of a dichotomy between the decomposing physical body and the intangible 'soul', and that this unimportance is tied to the corpse's disaggregation, that the corpse is rendered unimportant by being partible. Even critics of such earlier interpretations themselves continue to work within this 'blinkered' view: Marinatos, though rejecting Branigan's interpretation, comments that after a certain period of time the soul may have been seen as having left the body, rendering the physical corpse unimportant; the corpse could then be swept aside to the recesses of the tombs (Marinatos 1993, 27). Again we see a Cartesian dichotomy in place and the presumption that the partibility of the corpse implies disregard.

Yet this model of personhood is recognised as being difficult to apply to secondary burial in Prepalatial Crete and to reconcile with the earlier stages of the burial process - Goodison describes the issue in both the Mesaran tholos tombs and the house tombs of the east as:

"…one of the major contradictions in the burial practices of this period: the contradiction between the care apparently taken on the occasion of burial, and the subsequent extreme disregard shown for the bones of the deceased…"

(Goodison 1989, 25).

I would contest the view that Prepalatial secondary burial practices displayed a lack of care for the remains of the deceased. Large concentrations of skulls have been found gathered in specific rooms of Mesara tombs like Platanos, Koumasa and Agia Triada (Branigan 1970, 107-8), as well as Phourni's house tombs (Soles 1992, 138-48), suggesting their systematic retention. Though Branigan (1970, 107) takes this as a by-product of the tombs' cleaning, it seems clear that selection of certain body parts for retention qualifies as a form of attention being paid to the physical remains. However, this kind of postmortem manipulation need not imply a belief in a 'soul' having left the corpse. The assumption that distinct divisions between 'body' and 'soul' are a universally applicable way to conceive of personhood is not necessarily useful when considering how ancient, pre-Cartesian cultures may have conceived of the self. It can obscure other views of personhood that, while no less historically-situated and culturally-constructed, may be more appropriate in light of what we can glean from the archaeological record (Thomas 2002, 34; Meskell and Joyce 2003, 66). One alternate model for understanding personhood is that of the body as a corporate entity (Meskell and Joyce 2003, 66-70). The Egyptian body was made up of various elements described in textual sources: one's heart, name, shadow and 'personal magic' in addition to one's non-physical *ba* (loosely glossed as 'character' or 'individual identity') and *ka* ('doppelganger' or 'vitality'); these components had varied but tangible "trajectory after death" (*ibid*. 68). None of these elements correspond closely to either the modern Western idea of the soul, or to the dualism inherent in Cartesian mindset.

In terms of physical remains, at Phourni the predominance of skulls over other bones is notable. A particular aspect of Minoan personhood may have been made manifest in the skull, as may be suggested by the association of specific types of high status artefacts such as sealstones with skulls

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(Maggidis 1998, 93). Interestingly, the skulls of particular individuals over others were placed in larnakes or pithoi following the Middle Minoan IA phase (ca. 2000 – 1900 BC). We may also note prominent placement of certain skulls within chambers, such as in Burial Buildings 5 and 6 at Phourni, where they were positioned on and around stone slabs in association with conical cups and other vessels. This placement in a seemingly significant part of the tomb - many of Phourni's burial buildings having changed use from annexes to tombs over the site's lifespan - again appears to indicate prioritisation of skulls over other parts of the body.

Transformation, Ancestorhood and Embodiment

The presence of such varied forms of burial within a single context and chronological horizon may be an indicator of social status, gender, membership of exogamous or endogamous kin groups or other qualifiers. In his work on Phourni's Burial Building 19, Maggidis lays out a set of eight variables that could be taken to indicate social ranking (*ibid.* 90-1). Of these, three (differential postmortem treatment; prominent position of burials; demographic evidence from osteoarchaeological material) are connected to the treatment of the corpse. Assuming a correlation between social stratification and controlled differentiation in burial practices and that this is visible through grave-goods (*ibid.* 98), Maggidis discusses the social ranking of individual bodies and distinct family, kin or ethnic groups. This approach is problematic for the purposes of secondary burial however: association of grave goods with individuals is difficult when studying disarticulated remains. Frequently it is still in question whether the communal or individual is being stressed (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 248). Although many conical cups (Soles 1992, 248) and sealstones (Maggidis 1998, 93) can be associated with skulls separated from other remains in secondary treatment, there is rarely enough remaining – particularly in those tholos tombs that have been looted - to conclusively indicate an individual's status or indeed grave-goods rather than traces of the funerary rites.

Rather, viewing the process of secondary burial, including the disaggregation of the corpse, as a transformation or transubstantiation from one state to another, a transformation involving different parts of a

corporate body, seems a more rounded, revealing method (Marinatos 1993, 26-7; Goodison 1989, 25; Meskell and Joyce 2003, 128-9); we need not project the modern conception of death being 'the end' on a biological basis into Minoan beliefs. Thus, in a Prepalatial context, it is worth considering the metaphorical aspects of two common forms of interment: larnax and pithos burials, which often contain multiple skulls (Goodison 1989, 42-8). Ceramic vessels are themselves involved in two clear forms of transformation: that of raw to cooked food, and that of soft clay to hard pottery (*ibid.* 43). Goodison suggests the possibility of these vessels being viewed symbolically as wombs, literal bearers of seed when used for storing grain, on the basis of the 'foetal' contracted position of primary internments (Soles 1992, 244) and the frequent occurrence of anthropomorphic libation vessels at Phourni and in the Mesara (Branigan 1970, 80). She proposes that the Minoans thought about death in terms of regeneration and a shift-in-state using this metaphor (Goodison 1989, 43).

Another form of transformation suggested by Prepalatial secondary burial practices is that into an ancestor. Ancestors and the attention paid to them are a feature of many cultures, and tend to be especially important in kinship-based societies as a form of authority (Parker Pearson 2003, 130; Soles 1992, 256). Just as there exist various conceptions of the body, so too does there exist various conceptions of being an ancestor. These different forms are perhaps easier to imagine when we consider the possibility of a partible Minoan body consisting of non-physical elements (see above). The movement of the body through the tomb and the selection of the skull following disaggregation may indicate a form of transubstantiation. The individual now existed as a different arrangement of the 'elements' than they consisted of while alive, visible as a skull.

We can see various kinds of post-decomposition treatment of skulls in house- and tholos tombs in which the proposed application of the 'transformative paradigm' may bear fruit, with varying degrees of significance:

(i) Relocation among dozens of other skulls, perceived by scholars as a dissolution into a homogenous 'ancestor-mass' (Platanos A, Koumasa B, Agia Triada A, Mochlos I and Burial Building 9 at Phourni). Here skulls

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were stacked on top of others over a lengthy period of time, from EM II to MM, often simply characterised as 'sweeping aside' (Branigan 1970, 112-6; Soles 1992, 49). However, as these skulls were placed in the same chamber as further primary internments, such fresh interments would have been literally surrounded by their ancestors - this may have affected thought about the process of decomposition and transformation into a disaggregated corpse.

(ii) Relocation to a place separate from primary internment (Kamilari 1, Burial Buildings 5, 6 and 19 at Phourni; all Middle Minoan IA, ca. 2000 – 1900 BC). These rooms had a clear function and importance, being kept free of other artefacts or uses. Again there is the possibility of the dissolution of individual identity into the broader collective of ancestors; these skulls are grouped together in specific spots and not differentiated spatially. However, one particular skull in Burial Building 5 had an inverted conical cup placed next to it in a similar fashion to those found next to primary burials only a few rooms away, as well as in Burial Building 7 and 8 (Soles 1992, 248). This may have formed a part of primary internment ritual, with each cup being found with an individual corpse, and here may show an awareness of this individual as separate from the other skulls in the room. We may also note that relatively personal grave-goods, including scrapers and sealstones – particularly significant markers of individual identity (Maggidis 1998, 95) - were found in association with various skulls in this room.

(iii) Relocation to within a container or vessel, a very obvious form of spatial separation for certain internments (see above). Could there be significance in the skull of the deceased being added not just to a communal tomb of their ancestors but to a specifically bounded subset of those ancestors?

(iv) Relocation to a space in association with an altar or other cult paraphernalia. Maggidis suggests Phourni's Burial Building 19, where five skulls sit atop a large flagstone/altar with inverted conical cups, may indicate the remains of the founder of a lineage: an altar dedicated to him/her, surrounded by descendants (*ibid*. 96). A more startling practice may be visible in room 89 in Myrtos, the 'Room of the Hearth and Skull',

where a man's skull was found placed next to the tripartite shrine structure and central hearth, deliberately so in the opinion of the excavator for some function in the rites (Warren 1972, 83). That this was a non-funerary context only accentuates the agency and influence the deceased ancestors were thought to exert in the world of the living.

Conclusion

Marinatos comments that "[t]he dead are remembered only by the generation who buried them. Emotions wear away with time." (Marinatos 1993, 27). I believe this underestimates the significance of the role and memory of ancestors, that some of the identity of the deceased was retained even after secondary burial. The skull in particular is the embodied manifestation of a deceased person, be it a metonym for the person as a whole or the seat of a specific aspect of a partible body (Maggidis 1998, 93; Soles 1992, 256). This lends it certain 'immediacy', the "extension of bodily connections into the future" (Meskell and Joyce 2003, 142). Indeed, the significance of the particular deceased participating in these rituals may have been drawn from their identities while alive, identities more specific than simply that of 'ancestor'. If we accept that these rituals were carried out by kin, possibly removed by several generations, then further meaning may have been added by having a particular 'named' ancestor or founder of a lineage take part. This may account for the lengthy usage of the tombs of Phourni and the Mesara.

Whilst the corpus of human remains, tombs and other material variously survives poorly and is published poorly, we can nevertheless see that many of the practices involved in secondary burial and connected rites at these tombs do not fit the conceptions of death, of personhood and of the body that exist in modern Western culture. In light of this, the differential treatment of certain body parts and of our reconstruction of a multi-stage burial process, the 'transformative paradigm' is an avenue worth pursuing to explain some of these practices. Though I do not believe we can create a comprehensive schema of Prepalatial Minoan thought about these topics, what we can gather from this evidence is of worth and aids our understanding of Minoan religious life and development into the Palatial periods.

Acknowledgments

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Looking for ways forward: overcoming fragmentation in Irish archaeology

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Abstract

This paper discusses the excessive level of fragmentation that characterises every sector of Irish archaeology. At a time when a severe financial crisis is having an increasingly heavy impact on Irish archaeology, identifying areas of potential improvement within its organisational and funding frameworks is essential to face the challenges posed by these unprecedented circumstances. Elements of fragmentation within the State, university and commercial sectors of Irish archaeology are reviewed and analysed, particularly in order to detect their possible causes and most direct consequences in terms of funding and organisational inefficiencies. The complex patterns through which archaeological research is funded are also called into question. The paper concludes with a series of proposals to address the issues highlighted. These proposals entail a far-reaching reform of the archaeological State services, stronger co-operation across the university sector of archaeology, as well as the reorganisation and reorientation of commercial archaeology.

The author's 2010 MA thesis, Archaeology Funding in the Republic of Ireland (Ciuchini 2010a), examined archaeological funding at a national level. Among other results, this analysis highlighted that the way in which Irish archaeology is managed and funded is affected by a series of issues that largely pre-date the current economic crisis. This paper will discuss one of the most far-reaching of these issues, namely the high level of fragmentation that characterises every sector of Irish archaeology. On a sector-by-sector basis it will review the elements of fragmentation present

within the State, university and commercial sectors of Irish archaeology. The issue of unionisation, which in many respects can also be considered as an issue of fragmentation of the archaeological labour force, will not be addressed in this paper. In doing so, it will highlight the possible causes of the current situation, as well as the more significant consequences in terms of funding and management. To conclude, this paper presents a series of proposals that, by aiming to reduce fragmentation and its negative effects, could contribute to putting Irish archaeology on a more sustainable footing.
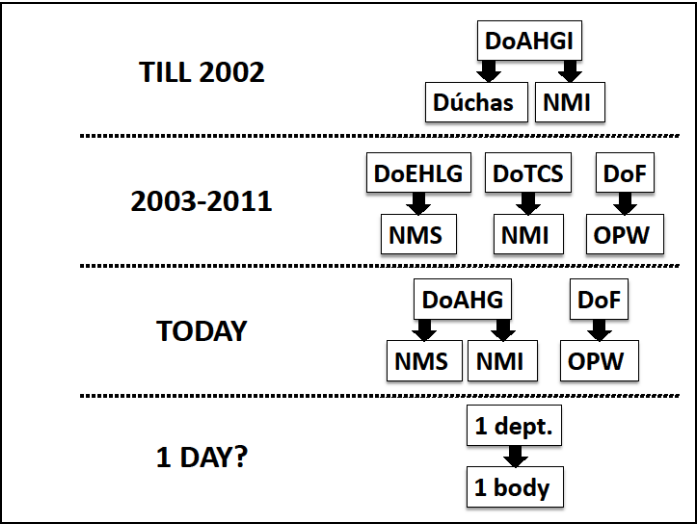
Fig. 1: Irish Government Departments and public bodies with primary archaeological responsibilities.

The issue of fragmentation is most evident in the State sector (Fig. 1). Until 2002 all of the responsibilities for the protection and management of the country's archaeological heritage rested with a single department: the Department of Arts, Heritage, the Gaeltacht and the Islands (DoAHGI). The Department exerted its powers on such matters through Dúchas – The Heritage Service - which was an executive agency in charge of national monuments, historic properties, national parks and wildlife, and partly through the National Museum of Ireland (NMI). The efficiency of this centralised system of heritage management was praised by heritage

operators and large sectors of public opinion. Nevertheless, the DoAHGI was split during a cabinet reshuffle in the spring of 2002, and its functions in relation to the areas of arts and culture were transferred to the Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation (DoTSR) (See Arts and Culture (Transfer of Departmental Administration and Ministerial Functions) Order 2002 (S.I. No. 302/2002)). Dúchas itself, which significantly had never been put on a statutory basis, was abolished by the Irish Government in the spring of 2003, again for essentially political reasons. Indeed, the immediate cause of this move was the mobilization of large groups of Irish landowners against restrictions on farming within Special Protection Areas (SPAs) and Special Areas of Conservation (SACs) that Dúchas was at that time designating in accordance with the 1979 EC Birds Directive (CEC 1979) and the 1992 EC Habitats Directive (CEC 1992) respectively. It is important to stress the fact that by abolishing Dúchas and therefore weakening statutory heritage protection, the Government pandered to the country's landowners, but also, as was suggested at the time, to the then-rising lobby of constructors and developers (IAI 2003). As a consequence of these retrograde moves, responsibilities for archaeological heritage have since been divided between three different bodies that are the aforementioned NMI, the National Monuments Service (NMS) and the Office of Public Works (OPW). Moreover, from 2003 to the beginning of 2011 these three bodies fell under the remit of three different departments: the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government (DoEHLG); Department of Tourism, Culture and Sport (DoTCS); and the Department of Finance (DoF) respectively. A particularly striking aspect of the reforms of 2002 and 2003 is the fact that they occurred at a time when many other European countries were moving in exactly the opposite direction by setting up new archaeological and heritage bodies or by strengthening existing ones. To a significant extent this was driven by the need to cope with an increasing volume of development-led archaeological activity. The Irish overhaul, by contrast, led to an overall reduction of the system's efficiency and to a confusion of responsibilities (Cooney *et al.* 2006, 24). By fragmenting the financial and human resources of the State services, it has limited their ability to fulfil their functions appropriately in relation to licensing and monitoring of archaeological activities. The different bodies now

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responsible for the country's national heritage are often bound to seek permissions and advice from each other, therefore producing unnecessary bureaucratic work and delays in decision-making processes. Drawbacks and delays in interdepartmental communication are liable to be compounded by the progressive implementation of the Decentralisation Programme launched by the Government with the 2004 Budget 2004 (DoF 2003). The fact that State bodies with heritage responsibilities do not depend on a single Government department hinders the formulation and implementation of consistent strategies for archaeology and for the heritage sector as a whole. The Heads of Bill in relation to a new piece of legislation, that is expected to replace the 1930 National Monuments Act and subsequent amendments, were approved in April 2010 (Maxwell 2010; McDonald 2010). The Bill, principally concerned with streamlining and optimizing the archaeological processes in relation to all types of public or private development, is intended to provide answers to some of the problems which emerged during the construction boom of the 'Tiger Years' (NMS 2009). Despite representing an important update of existing legislation, it is not expected to contain provisions to reduce fragmentation within the State archaeology sector. A step in the right direction was, however, taken in the context of the formation of the current Government cabinet, which was announced by the new Taoiseach Enda Kenny on the 9th of March 2011 (BreakingNews.ie 2011). While several Government Departments have been reconfigured and renamed, the most significant innovation for archaeology has been the establishment of a Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht (DoAHG) (Carroll 2011). Crucially, like its quasi-homonymous DoAHGI abolished in 2002, the newly-formed DoAHG has been put in charge of both the NMS and the NMI. This reform represents a partial reversal of the fragmentation that took place in 2002 and has the potential to improve co-operation and co-ordination between the two main State bodies with archaeological responsibilities. This positive change, however, has come about as a by-product of a broad overhaul determined by essentially political factors, and as yet there is little indication that it might represent an initial step in a new Government strategy aimed at reducing fragmentation in the heritage sector.

A considerable level of fragmentation in archaeology also affects the University, limiting in particular its ability to manage existing resources and to obtain research funding. A small group of leading academic archaeologists, representing almost all of the island's universities, north and south, where the discipline is taught, are members of the Committee for Archaeology of the Royal Irish Academy (RIA). This committee plays an important role in Irish archaeology; however, its existence does not make up for the absence of some form of association, network or forum focused on issues concerning university sector archaeology. Over the twenty years leading up to the recent financial crisis, archaeology departments underwent a remarkable growth in terms of student numbers, research output and, to a lesser extent, staffing levels. In addition, archaeology courses were tentatively set up in some education institutions where the discipline had never been taught before. The ability of academic archaeologists to engage with the wider society improved significantly, and archaeological researchers gained access to an unprecedented amount of funding from a widening range of sources. As demand for archaeologists and research funding seemed set to continue to grow, each archaeology department felt it legitimate to formulate and follow its own independent strategies. However the possibility of discussion to agree common and more cost-effective development plans with other archaeology departments was rarely seriously considered. These attitudes can also be partly explained by persistent divisions between some archaeology departments, based on different views on a number of issues, mostly revolving around the relationship between academic archaeology and market forces (Cooney *et al*. 2006, 7-8; Ronayne 2008; Waddell 2005, 7). If serious efforts are not made to bridge differences and develop cooperation, archaeology departments in Ireland will find it very difficult to cope with the strained circumstances imposed by the current economic downturn.

The underlying tendency towards fragmentation of Irish archaeology is not limited to its State and university sectors and a lack of long-term and coordinated strategies also characterises the commercial archaeology sector. Many archaeological companies were caught completely unprepared by the financial crisis, despite the fact that a fall in demand for archaeological services from 2007 onward had been forecast as early as 2002 (CHL

Consulting 2002, 30). In most cases, few attempts had been made to diversify the services provided, to expand the pool of potential clients and to create money-saving synergies with other companies. The impact of the downturn on private archaeological contractors has also been compounded by the absence of a dedicated forum to discuss managerial and business issues and organise lobbying activities. The majority of the company directors are members of the Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland (IAI), and some companies are registered as corporate members. It should be noted, however, that the IAI is an all-Ireland organisation that aims to represent archaeologists active in all sectors of the profession, not just the commercial sector. Consequently, as was seen with the RIA in relation to the university sector, the existence of the IAI does not offset the absence of a strong representative body for all archaeological contractors. One initiative in this direction was the creation of the Association of Archaeological Consultants of Ireland (AACI). This organisation was introduced at the 2007 IAI Autumn Conference (Halpin 2007), but has thus far proved unable or unwilling to establish a visible public presence or to engage in new strategies. The health of the commercial archaeology sector in the post-crisis age will depend on the companies' abilities to adopt more effective managerial approaches, to strengthen sectoral co-operation and to speak with one voice in order to influence decision-making processes.

The identification of existing problems, while a worthwhile exercise in itself, also represents a significant step towards the formulation of proposals to address issues identified. The next part of this paper considers some possible measures aimed at reducing fragmentation and therefore improving the prospects of Irish archaeology, while realistically taking into account the limitations imposed by the current economic and political context.

At State level, considerable improvements could be achieved through the unification of responsibilities for archaeological heritage - currently divided between the NMS, NMI and OPW - under a single body, which in turn should be placed within the remit of a single government department. In addition to reversing the negative effects of the reforms of 2002-2003, this overhaul should also go a step further, by eliminating the unnecessary division of archaeological responsibilities existing between the NMS and

the NMI. The resulting body should be put on a statutory footing in order to ensure a suitable degree of autonomy and, crucially, to prevent it from being dismantled for political expediency as happened to the non-statutory Dúchas in 2003. In the context of such a re-organisation, it would be appropriate to establish regional archaeological offices, through which the State archaeological service could fulfil its licensing and supervisory functions in the respective areas. At present, given the current economic restraints, the possibility of placing small clusters of State archaeologists within existing local offices of other public bodies could also be considered as an interim step. Each of the eight decentralised offices, one for each of the Republic's Regions, would also act as a direct contact point for Local Authority Archaeologists and local museums housing archaeological collections. In this scenario, the reform of the State archaeological services should ideally be accompanied by the appointment of at least one archaeologist by each of the remaining country's County and City Councils where one is not currently engaged. This overall reform would increase the system's efficiency and avoid confusion, as well as reducing bureaucratic work and delays in decision-making. Crucially, it would finally enable the State services to monitor in a direct and regular manner all archaeological excavations undertaken in the country. Overhauling the State sector would cost public money, but it is important to stress that the potential to deal with all archaeological matters at a local level, alongside an overall decrease in red tape, would in the long run translate into direct and indirect financial savings for the State itself, Local Authorities and even the developers.

The university archaeology sector would benefit significantly from an increased level of co-operation between the country's archaeology departments, schools and smaller academic clusters. Given the emergence of common concerns brought about by the increasing shortage of public funding and, less directly, by the sharp decrease in development-led archaeological activity, the establishment of a consultative group to discuss problems and perspectives specific to academic archaeology in Ireland would be particularly timely. This group could be set up along similar lines to the Subject Committee for Archaeology (SCFA), which represents the c. 30 archaeology departments and sections in UK universities. Closer co-operation between archaeology departments would represent the most

effective way to recalibrate the general education they offer and teaching programmes, as well as fund-raising and fund-management strategies. Crucially, this co-operation would enable departments and schools to better exploit complementarities in respective strengths and assets. It would also enhance the ability of the university archaeology sector to speak with one voice and to lobby against further cuts to archaeological research and against the ongoing shift of funding away from the humanities and social sciences in favour of research sectors perceived as more likely to produced direct and immediate economic returns. Some gains could have been achieved, for instance, by making a joint submission to the Strategy Group that has recently drafted the National Strategy for Higher Education (NSHE) (HESG 2011). Improvements can still be achieved by representations to the Higher Education Authority (HEA) on the shared concerns of archaeology departments regarding the position of the discipline within the Subject Price Groups (SPGs) that underpin the authority's Recurrent Grant Allocation Model (RGAM) (see also TCD 2010). Given the increasing shortage of funding for publication, archaeology departments should also collaborate to find ways to publish and circulate research results by more cost-effective means. This could be achieved, for instance, through the creation of an electronic journal dedicated to archaeological research in Ireland. One model for such an online periodical could be the half-yearly Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries (JALC). The pooling of efforts and resources within the archaeological academic community would also translate into an overall increased ability to identify and access sources of research funding at a European level.

Heavily hit by the freefall of the country's construction industry, the commercial archaeology sector is currently in a significantly worse situation than the State and academic sectors. The establishment of an active and visible country-wide representative body, along similar lines to the Dutch Association of Archaeological Contractors (Vereniging van Ondernemers in Archeologie, VoiA) or the British Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers (FAME), would boost the sector's ability to formulate co-ordinated policies, to create synergies and to conduct lobbying actions. A focused effort should be made to reduce the level of reliance of the sector

on the construction industry, by widening the range of services provided and expanding the pool of potential clients. In particular, the possibility of creating partnerships with organisations involved in tourism and education should be further explored. In the near future archaeological contractors could also play an important role alongside archaeology departments and in partnership with the IAI, with the provision of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) for the archaeological profession (Cooney *et al*. 2006, 53-54; Cooney 2009; IAI 2011; Sullivan 2009), particularly in relation to areas of expertise directly connected to fieldwork and archaeological practice. Financial support to carry out these activities may be secured through the Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation (DoJEI), FÁS, and possibly also through other bodies such as Enterprise Ireland, the Irish Business and Employers Confederation (IBEC), and the Irish Small and Medium Enterprises Association (ISME).

Acronyms

AACI	Association of Archaeological Consultants of Ireland
CEC	Council of the European Communities
CoE	Council of Europe
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DoAHG	Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht
DoAHGI	Department of Arts, Heritage, the Gaeltacht and the Islands
DoEHLG	Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government
DoES	Department of Education and Skills
DoF	Department of Finance
DoJEI	Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation
DoTCS	Department of Tourism, Culture and Sport
DoTSR	Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
FAME	Federation of Archaeological Managers and Employers
FÁS	Foras Áiseanna Saothair
HEA	Higher Education Authority
IAI	Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland
IBEC	Irish Business and Employers Confederation
IFJ	Irish Farmers Journal

ISME	Irish Small and Medium Enterprises Association
HESG	Higher Education Strategy Group
JALC	Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries
NMI	National Museum of Ireland
NMS	National Monuments Service
NSHE	National Strategy for Higher Education
OPW	Office of Public Works
RGAM	Recurrent Grant Allocation Model
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
SACs	Special Areas of Conservation
SCFA	Subject Committee for Archaeology
SI	Statutory Instrument
SPAs	Special Protection Areas
SPGs	Subject Price Groups
VoiA	Vereniging van Ondernemers in Archeologie

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Book Review

Glendalough: City of God edited by Doherty, Charles;

Doran, Linda and Kelly, Mary.

Four Courts Press. Hardback. Pp. 448; large format, colour illustrations. 2011. Price €50.

Reviewed by Brí Greene

Glendalough is a site known to many as a tourist, rambler, religious and scholarly destination. The publication, 'Glendalough: City of God', edited by Charles Doherty, Linda Doran and Mary Kelly, is a collection of the proceedings given at a conference held by the Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland in 2008. This resulted in the first collaboration of an in-depth detailed study on Glendalough.

The first section of the book introduces the reader to the space and organisation of the religious structural model in Ireland. Maddox, who specialised on the Anglo-Saxon and Irish ideal of the church *ciuitas,* discusses in chapter one, the *civitas* of Glendalough's status and importance, in comparison to the ideals that Rome and Jerusalem embodied in religious orders. She explains according to the authors of the *Lives of St Kevin*, that Glendalough was just as important as those religious communities as those mentioned in the biblical sources. In chapter two Etchingham, a specialist in church history, Vikings civilisations and early Irish law and society, discusses the physical and structural episcopal and monastic model that operated in Ireland and concludes that the 'monastic' element was just one component in a multi-functional ecclesiastical site created within a community. In chapter three Picard, a specialist in Irish hagiography, identifies and explains the layout of the administrative jurisdictions. He proposes however that the *platea* was undetermined by

size and orientation but was a well-known functional area governed by respected laws (Picard, 2011, 63). Ó Carragáin, in chapter Four, discusses the site of St Kevin's House, a double-vaulted church and highlights the possible reliquary function of the church. Also suggested is the possibility of the church as a marker for the Saint's grave.

Ó Floinn from the National Museum of Ireland, whose interests include reliquaries and the early medieval Irish church, has researched and written on what he describes 'as the finest and least understood market cross' (Ó Floinn, 2011, 80, 92). The development of the cross and the figure of the crucified Christ was discussed through comparison with other known market crosses and pointed out to closely resemble the market cross in Tuam. He questions the original location and function of the 'market cross', as some have been sited with association to other buildings. In comparison to other crosses in the vicinity, the market cross appears to have had a special function due to its elaborate decoration. Photographs and drawings of the cross are located in the Visitor Centre and aid the written description. Harney, currently a researcher for EMAP in University College Dublin, has discussed in chapter six the cross slabs of Glendalough. There are over 120 recorded examples. However, as pointed out, very few studies have been completed on the collection. The crosses slabs are discussed in relation to their form, decoration and distribution. From the study carried out by Harney, the number of cross slabs located at the Reefert cemetery identifies it as a location of high status and importance.

Much of the information that we have regarding Glendalough is derived from the *Lives* of the saint and is the basis of the following chapters by P Ó Riain, Ó Riain-Raedel, Lacey, D Ó Riain. Manuscripts on the saint's life are found in broader European context. P Ó Riain points out the loss of evaluated texts in one volume but highlights the fact that no Irish saints have undergone any comprehensive study (2011, 130). This chapter is an attempt to inform the reader of the previous study relating to Saint Kevin. Ó Riain-Raedel follows upon the work carried out in the previous chapter by discussing the manuscript records of the saint's *lives* found on the Continent. This paper explores the reasons why St. Kevin was mentioned in these collections. Lacey, discusses the lives of the saint through the analysis

of one Latin and three Irish versions of manuscript texts dealing with stories of the saint and a monster. He notes that as Glendalough developed and expanded from the upper lake to the lower lake, as this occurred the stories were changed also. At this stage, the water had become part of the 'economy' of Glendalough. It was now views as a cure by those undertaking pilgrimage to the site. The research carried out for these chapters shows that these manuscripts are an invaluable resource. D. Ó Riain discusses the lives of those saints who lived and worked in Irish monasteries, who were also resident, for periods of time in continental monasteries. One manuscript source shows, a bishop, resident in Glendalough who finished out his life in the Irish monastery situated in Germany.

Pozdechova has tried to convey, through images of the monastic site of Glendalough, the serenity of the religious site. The images depict the monastery that attracted people to live, work and practice their religion in this valley. They also show the tranquil location that is still visited by tourists and scholars, for their own reasons to this day.

MacShamhráin discusses the political and religious relationship between the Uí Máil dynasty and Glendalough. He explains the expansion of the monastery through the alliance of religious and political powers. The expansion of the monastery was allowed into the lower lake because of this alliance. Etchingham continues the political theme of the area discussing the effect the Vikings had on Glendalough. He notes that there was a dramatic impact, as the Vikings were influential in the development of trade due to alliances made with the political dynasties of the region.

An interesting chapter by Murphy, discusses the use of numbers and the nature of computations (2011, 229). This analysis, using the Drummond tract '*De ratione paschali',* explains the development of the calendar. Casey, in chapter fifteen, has carried out the study of music in relation to Glendalough. This research is also based on the Drummond Missal and aims to understand how monks worshipped using chants and liturgies. Casey also describes the history, origins and production of the Missal which are believed to have connections with the monastic sites of Glendalough and Armagh (2011, 244).

Doherty, in chapter sixteen, explores the idea of Glendalough as a scholarly institution. Doherty investigates an individual named 'Sulien', a member of an ecclesiastical family from Wales, to see if he had ever studied in Glendalough. This would suggest that Glendalough was an important scholarly institution. It appears that it would be possible as there were strong connections between Ireland and Wales. He has concluded that Sulien existed within a Welsh community and within the elite social circles of the region.

The chapters of Moss, Harbison and Ní Cheallaigh relate to how Glendalough is perceived through sculpture and antiquarian drawings. Moss identified, that sculpture at Glendalough is of significant artistic creativity and found in great abundance. It has survived through periods of cultural and political activity which in turn further signify its importance (2011, 278). These latter elements are discussed in previous chapters of this publication. The earliest known images of Glendalough dating from 1775 and 1777 by Lerberghe and Dawson, respectively are described in detail here (2011, 303-305). Also the expeditions to the valley by Col. Burton in 1779 are also outlined. Beranger, Wheatley, Bigari, Petrie and Wakeman did many of the other known drawings of Glendalough. The artists created these images when the site was uncovered. Ní Cheallaigh discusses the importance of the monastic site after its 'discovery' in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries bringing visitors once again to the location. The monastery was a location the 'polite and reading public' could visit for its scenic beauty. It was appreciated for its natural beauty, views and splendour as evident in the antiquarian drawings discussed in the publication (2011, 314, 315). These romanticised ruins back up the assertions by Edward Ledwich regarding Glendaloughs inevitable decline that was discussed by Ní Cheallaigh.

The role of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in the conservation, preservation and examination of the monastic site of Glendalough is outlined. The organisation has been involved in the preservation and illustration of antiquities since its inception in Kilkenny in 1849. These aims have been broadened to include all ancient monuments. The society's preservation aim enabled it to conserve and restore endangered buildings.

The objectives of the book, presented in a multidisciplinary approach which utilise research from various backgrounds, enables the reader to understand Glendalough's siting, function, history, economy, folklore, pilgrimage and much, much more. It therefore enables the reader to understand and interpret the monastic site of St. Kevin. The volume is written by a multitude of authors from various academic backgrounds in a style that is easy to comprehend. As the publication is presented from a multidisciplinary approach, it therefore appeals to a wide audience from those who have either a passing interest or undertaking a particular interest study in the site.

Book Review

Landscapes of Cult and Kingship edited by Schot, Roseanne;

Newman, Conor and Bhreathnach, Edel.

Four Courts Press. Pp. 322; Illustrations, colour plates. 2011. €50.

Reviewed by Claire Kavanagh

Landscapes of Cult and Kingship is the result of an idea formed following a conference held in NUIG Galway, June 2009, relating to 'Landscapes of Cult and Kingship: archaeology and text'. The result is a collaborative collection of thirteen well written, interesting papers discussing various evidence relating to royal and ritual landscapes. This volume has a massive scope, ranging from prehistory to the medieval period, a time span which obviously includes massive shifts within Irish history and the Irish landscape including the transition from that of a pre-Christian society and a sacral form of kingship to that of a Christianized society in which kingship had to itself, adapt for survival. Landscapes discussed include those at the four well known Royal sites: Tara, Emain Macha, Rathcroghan and Dun Ailinne, then move to the landscape at Uisneach, and from there to Nepal where an international dimension is added for a comparative role and on to northern sites including Donegal and Fermanagh with reference to many other locations. The essays included are not limited to the physical landscapes but also examine literature with royal associations.

The introduction begins by tracing the history of academic comprehension of the nature of kingship in Ireland through prehistory and into the Early Medieval period. Both Geoffrey Keating, writing in the 1620's or 30's and his contemporary Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, one of the chroniclers of the Annals of the Four Masters, based their chronologies stretching back into prehistory on an idealized version of a centralized kingship of Ireland. This idea persisted in antiquarian and historical writings into the twentieth century

although scholars often questioned its validity. Archaeology was carried out with focus on literary known places associated with kingship. Early excavations carried out at Tara in the late 1950's and early 60's produced spectacular archaeological material but yet the concept of archaeological landscapes was not understood: sites and monuments were considered on their individual merits. In the 1980's the concept of cultural landscapes began to emerge. One example given is the link between Emain Macha at Armagh, seat of the Kings of Ulster, and that of nearby Loughnashede where votive offerings were made. Emainia, a journal dedicated to royal sites was launched at this time, out of controversy regarding the alteration of the landscape at Emain Macha for development purposes. The 1991 initiated Discovery Programme's 'Tara Project' provided a further evolution in the study of landscapes of cult and kingship, highlighting the potential of modern surveying techniques for understanding the Tara landscape and showing potential for their application at other sites and landscapes.

In the first paper presented, Marion Deane examines marriage as a metaphoric idiom in relation to the representation of the sacred marriage between king and realm. The Comport Conculainn (Birth-Tale of Cú Chulainn) is examined under four headings; agriculture, exogamous marriage, kingship and client-ship, and origins of society. King and land are shown to be inextricably linked and the tale flows through the seasons. It is clear that once the King allows the wasting of his land, his kingship also begins to decline. An incestuous relationship between the brothers Conchobar and Lug with their sister Deichtre is symbolic of the dependence of economic welfare on interaction outside of a kin group. The end of the tale shows that Conchobar proves himself as an able king by giving Deichtre in marriage to Súaltain thus ensuring that the land (represented by Deichtre) is tended and resulting in a Christian compatible client-ship between king and people. The kingship has become a dispersed political structure based on reciprocal interaction with his people though the sacred nature of kingship remains.

Three other papers focus on historical literature relevant to cult and kingship. In Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin's paper, 'Death-tales of the early kings of Tara', she quotes Basso stating, "Placeless events are an impossibility",

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illustrating that literature of mythical origin is linked to places within the landscape. Though Irish sagas contain vibrant descriptions of the otherworld but little of the Irish landscape, they can often be tied to places in the landscape through physical features and place-names. Ní Bhrolcháin carries out an analysis of the death tales of four iconic kings of Tara showing that the events of their deaths occur in opposition to the events of their accessions. Some kings die a three-fold death, which is mainly found in a Christian context, some through drowning when the liquid that confers them turns against them. The connection between king and land again emerges and their demise is frequently associated with landscape destruction or otherworldly revenge for deeds they have committed. To briefly refer back to place-names and features within the landscape, Kay Muhr later presents an essay based on this topic. Muhr explains that it was a poet's job to remember each place of significance in Ireland and its origin story. She examines three locations in Ulster and their associated myths, which can be seen to have endured in both their names and local folklore. She also carries out a detailed discussion on sites linked with Queen Medb, which are frequent through place names in Ulster and a large number of other areas and appear to represent the sovereignty goddess.

Bridgette Slavin's paper is another based on literature and looks at 'Supernatural arts, the landscape and kingship in early Irish texts'. She sees two patterns in these texts, protection of a king from supernatural powers along with censure-ship of kings through words of power by poets or druids. She sees change occurring within the texts beginning with druids acting as intermediaries between supernatural and sacral kings when prehistoric and Early Christian periods are referred to within the texts but this is modified by the seventh century to include a Christian world view where religious individuals such as St. Patrick have the power to install a king for as long as he and his descendants remain loyal to the church. To jump ahead to the final essay of the book written by Ann Dooley and based on a group of bardic poems, 'inauguration odes': rituals associated with the inauguration ceremony of a king are identified while she argues that it is difficult to state that any poem is an official inauguration ode as such for use during the ceremony. She believes that between nine to twelve poems

have a relationship with the occasion itself and examines some of these to assess their possible use in the actual inauguration ritual itself.

A number of papers within this volume examine specific landscapes with royal association. Conor Newman looks at the nature of the ritual landscape at Tara along the route of the Gabhra with Lagore representative of the southern boundary. Newman states that sacral landscapes evolve over time in a manner similar to the myths and religions from which they arise. He supports this with sites of varying periods within the sacral landscape at Tara. Roseanne Schot's contribution regarding Uisneach, suggests a 'landscape' evolving from a cult centre to one of a royal site. She points out the differences in nature between the major royal associated centers of Tara, Emain Macha, Rathcroghan, and Dún Ailinne compared with the early medieval royal residences such as Lagore and Cró Inis, then further with other royal associated multi phase sites, Uisneach, Tailtiu and Knowth. Schot states that there is an incorrect perception that periods of activity at the four major royal centres were focused on their prehistoric phases with little activity or complete abandonment during the early medieval period while evidence shows that the natural and ancestral, ritual and settlement characteristics of these landscapes endured. Parallels can be drawn between the amazing Nepalese natural fire features discussed in the paper of Marie Lecomte-Tilouine's and the curious watery features at Uisneach referred to by Schot. She suggests that Uisneach may have initially been associated with druids and inextricably linked with an early Irish Kingship sacral in nature and that the character of the site later evolved. She provides a fantastic international comparison between Uisneach and the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. This deity site was viewed as the 'naval' of ancient Greece while Uisneach is often referred to as the 'naval' of Ireland. She suggests Uisneach may have functioned as a central place of neutrality outside contemporary socio-political divisions.

Brian Lacy discusses the location of three royal sites of Ailech, Tullaghabegley and Croaghan Hill. This is an important paper within the volume as such sites echo the fragmented nature of Irish kingship. As Lacy himself points out, discussion of royal sites frequently focuses on the same highly visible centers of royal association and yet as there were at least 150

tuatha in existence at any one time during the Early Medieval period, the three sites presented by him provide a tantalizing glimpse into similar sites invariably situated all over the country. A collaborative paper in this book (Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, Eileen Murphy, Ronan McHugh, Colm Donnelly and Claire Foley) looks at the landscape of Sgiath Gabhra in Ulster, an inauguration place of the Méig Uidhir (Maguires) during the sixteenth century, which is situated within a concentrated landscape of monuments with an extended history. The focal mound of the site is of an unusual morphology and size for the area and it has not yet been dated. A suggestion that it may be a passage tomb is discounted as unlikely in this paper as there are only two passage tombs in this county out of 230 countrywide. Another suggestion is that it is an unusually large Bronze Age cairn. However, the paper states that only further examination and excavation of this and other monuments in the landscape will provide a possible chronology for its development. Activity is confined to the Sgiath Gabhra landscape with a dearth of monuments in the surrounding area, which places a further emphasis on the significance of the presence of these monuments. The horse present on the cover of the book is symbolic of a theme running through a number of papers. The authors of this paper engage in a very interesting discussion regarding the significance of the white mare to inauguration and kingship.

This volume also includes a paper by Edel Bhreathnach examining the impact that conversion to Christianity had on major Irish sites and rituals of royal association. Bhreathnach analyses the evidence for Christianisation of the landscape and states that it was necessary for the Christian church to both steer people away from the strongest non-Christian practices, while also allying itself to those dynasties with Christian sympathies. Tara and Tailtiu are used as an example of possible power transfer with Tara, and its king Lóeghaire mac Néill being cursed in patrician literature while Tailtiu receives church approval. She believes that attitudes of the new institutions to the ancient power centres defined their survival or transformation, but also agrees with Schott that complete abandonment of sites not approved of by the Church was an impression intended to be created while the reality was much more complex. In fact continuity and preservation of links with a prehistoric past for political means whether non-Christian or Christian with

regard to burial at both of those sites, Tara and Tailtiu, are further mentioned in Waddell's paper 'Continuity, cult and contest' with Rathcroghan, Roscommon suggested as a further example. He states that there is strong evidence that major and minor non-Christian sites were centres of activity well into the medieval period. Through the archaeological record it is increasingly accepted that conversion to Christianity was not the clear-cut event so often depicted in the past. The following paper by Ger Dowling explores multivallate monuments in Ireland and the possible roots of their origins. Again Tara and Teltown are referred to, as they have the densest occurrences of these monuments. Rathcroghan is mentioned as the site of the impressive quadrivallate enclosure of Rathra. A large morphology of monuments of domestic and ritual nature can be classified as multivallate and Dowling sees two configurations, those with internal and those with external ditched banks with a discussion on possible Roman influences on the development of these sites.

It can be argued that at a time when modern geophysical techniques at royal associated sites are increasingly in use, providing further evidence and expanding histories and chronologies, this book and any further publications will be extremely relevant. The combined use of the wealth of Irish literature and archaeological evidence to examine the theme of cult and kingship is integral to understanding the extent to which ideals of power as envisioned by an emerging Christian culture were a reality and the effects they had on existing power structures. The INSTAR Mapping Death project is already an important element in understanding the critical period from the first to the eighth centuries AD, ranging from prehistory through Christian conversion and impacts on society and landscape. This volume expands comprehension of transitions of ritual aspects occurring within the Irish landscape. It also provides a very interesting examination of pre-Christian sacral kingship and cult before kingship became inextricably linked with Christianity. This book is suitable for students and individuals interested in Archaeology, Early Irish history or folklore and while the papers work extremely well to complement each other within the book, any of the research contained within could, and will most likely in the near future, justify a volume in its own right.

Reflection

An Accidental Urban Archaeologist

Rebecca Yamin

When I was an undergraduate studying Mesoamerican archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania I could not have imagined myself digging through nightsoil at the bottom of an eighteenth-century privy wearing a hard hat. In fact, I didn't imagine myself digging at all. Bill Coe, my favourite Penn professor, didn't appear to do much digging and I assumed I wouldn't either. All I needed to do was supervise "the workers" and think lofty thoughts about Mayan monuments that hadn't been translated yet. Torn between modern dance and archaeology at graduation, I tried dance first and didn't get around to the archaeology until I was divorced and the mother of two children. Digging there would be, but it had to be close to home which was in New Jersey. I worked for Joel Grossman at the Rutgers Archaeological Survey Office and ended up getting a dissertation out of a project that started with a storm sewer in a blizzard. We were charged with finding buried remains of the long forgotten eighteenth/nineteenth century river port of Raritan Landing and I have been digging on and off there ever since.

While finishing my Ph.D. at New York University and supporting my children by working as a writer/historian for a civil engineering company in New York City, I got a call from Anne Yentsch. She needed someone to develop a public education program for a landscape archaeology project she was heading up at Morven in Princeton, New Jersey. Her backhoe trenches were making a mess of the grounds around the house of a Signer of the Declaration of Independence and my job was to make it seem okay. I learned a lot from Yentsch, who was trained by James Deetz, and carried away from the project a commitment to making archaeology "mean" something. It's a lucky thing because when I found myself in charge of one of the most visible, to say nothing of huge, archaeological projects in the U.S. in the 1990s, I needed to do it justice.

As an employee of John Milner Associates, I took over the analysis of the approximately 850,000 artifacts that had been excavated on a block that was once part of the infamous Five Points, New York's most notorious nineteenth-century slum. This was a great project because the picture of the neighborhood we could draw from the finds was so different than the picture drawn by the yellow journalism of the day or even by Martin Scorsese's recent movie, *The Gangs of New York*. I used something I call narrative vignettes to bring Five Points residents to life and I took that narrative approach back to Philadelphia after the Five Points project ended. The National Park Service had just begun a re-make of the Mall in front of Independence Hall in Philadelphia and, with John Milner Associates, I got to excavate the sites of two major buildings on the Mall. There were many privies with lots of artifacts and lots of hours in that hard hat I thought I would never wear. There was also the challenge of making the finds "mean" something, bringing Philadelphians to life the way we had brought Five Pointers to life. Even in the context of contract archaeology it is possible to be interpretive. Thank goodness, because otherwise, it would not be worth doing.

Related readings

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