Ulrike Sommer

The Appropriation or the Destruction of Memory? Bell Beaker 'Re-Use' of Older Sites

Summary

In Western and West-Central Europe, it is common to find sherds of Bell-Beakers in the uppermost layers of megalithic monuments, sometimes accompanied by bones of a corresponding age. This 're-use' is not restricted to burial-context. Henges and stone circles can contain so-called 'coves' from the Bell Beaker period. This points to a changed use of the structure. The most famous example is Stonehenge. I interpret this as a deliberate attempt by a new elite to erase power-mechanisms of previous generations. The effort put into these acts shows that these structures were perceived as a real threat to the new order. This case study illustrates the difficulty of distinguishing between different ways of using the past, between the use and the intended destruction of memories.

Keywords: Bell Beaker; megalith; memory; burial customs.

In Westeuropa und West-Mitteleuropa findet man in den obersten Schichten megalithischer Monumente oftmals Scherben von Glockenbechern, die manchmal von Knochen derselben Epoche begleitet sind. Diese ,Wiederverwendung' älterer Monumente ist nicht auf Begräbniskontexte beschränkt. Henges und Steinkreise können so genannte ,Coves' aus der Glockenbecher-Zeit enthalten, was auf eine veränderte Nutzung der Anlagen hindeutet. Das bekannteste Beispiel hierfür ist Stonehenge. Ich interpretiere das als einen bewussten Versuch einer neuen Elite, Machtmechanismen früherer Generationen auszulöschen. Die Bemühungen, die sich in diesen Umwidmungspraktiken niederschlagen, zeigen, dass diese Strukturen als eine tatsächliche Bedrohung für die neue Ordnung wahrgenommen wurden. Meine Fallstudie illustriert die Schwierigkeit, zwischen unterschiedlichen Umgangsweisen mit der Vergangenheit zu unterscheiden; zwischen dem Gebrauch und der beabsichtigten Zerstörung von materiellen Erinnerungen.

Keywords: Glockenbecher; Megalithen; Gedächtnis; Bestattungssitten.

1 The transmission of memory

In order to understand possible prehistoric memory places, I am going to look at the transmission of memory in present and past contexts first, to then discuss how memories can be linked to places and monuments.

In modern societies, memory tends to be a personal and family affair, while written sources contain the 'official' record of the past, be it of national history, deeds of property or tax records. Often, only facts that have been documented in writing have legal value. Jan Assmann even claims that cultural memory is dependent on writing.[1] But, as Plato famously claimed in his seventh letter, writing weakens the individual memory. Both historical and ethnographic sources provide evidence for memory specialists who preserved epic cycles, religious lore and genealogy, such as the Greek and Irish bards, or the Griots in Western Africa. Many written texts contain traces of oral transmission, for example parts of the *Old Testament*,[2] the *Ilias*,[3] the Irish *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,[4] or *Beowulf*.[5] Rhymes and other types of formalised speach (*oratio astricta)* help to remember a text literally. There can also be a close social control on the integrity of a text.[6] The Indian *Vedic* texts, keeping the archaic language and even language differences,[7] demonstrate that an oral transmission of sacred texts over several hundred years is possible, even if the traditional dating (1200 BC to 600 BC) is based on circular reasoning and migration myths strengthened by colonial archaeology.[8] The *Rajastani epics* have also been transmitted orally over long time-periods.[9] Some West African genealogies[10] and Medieval Irish genealogies[11] cover several hundred years, to name but two further examples. Even longer oral transmissions have been claimed, reaching back several thousand years,[12] which is impossible to prove and rather unlikely. Caught up in legal (and moral) disputes about landrights and cultural properties of local native populations,[13] there has been a tendency to overrate the time-span that shared memory can survive.

There is thus a difference between a remembrance of the common past that is available to everybody, via conversation, narration, songs, gestures (religious cult, dance), pictures, emotions and empathy (performance), and specific accounts of the past told by memory specialist who addresses a specific privileged audience and may even own certain accounts of the past. However, the boundaries are diffuse. Old persons tend to turn into memory specialists quasi automatically, and privileged forms of remembrance tend to filter down to a more general audience, if in a changed and often reduced form.

1 Assmann 1992.
2 Culley 1963.
3 Janko 1990.
4 Fisher 2003, 115.
5 Magoun 1953, 446–467.
6 C. R. Cooper 2007, ix–x.
7 See Carpenter 1992 for the sociopolitical context.
8 Kazanas 1999; Trautman 1997.
9 J. D. Smith 1991.
10 Miller 1980; Vansina 1985; Henige 2009.
11 Nagy 1986; Ross 1998.
12 Mayor 2005; Mayor 2007.
13 See Henige 2009 for a rather partisan overview.

The choice of events to be remembered is also restricted. Bards and other memory specialists are normally maintained by rulers and powerful families. Their job is the transmission of genealogies and genealogical stories. Priests are trained to remember rites and narratives of religious significance, which may also contain some historical accounts. Again, these memories are linked to power structures, and some events may be 'forgotten' on purpose. Therefore, as Sansom emphasizes, the political and social role of memories and social transmissions has always to be taken into account.[14] Both memory and forgetting can produce social cohesion.[15] While the role of memory has received a lot of attention recently, the role of forgetting is mainly studied in psychology.[16]

2 *Lieux de mémoire*

Memories can be linked to persons and families, but also to artefacts, like heirlooms, armor (as in the *Ilias*) or specific weapons. Specific places, whether natural or manmade, often act as mnemonic devices: they can recall shared memories, normally about what is supposed to have happened there.[17] Myths give meaning to the landscape. In turn, the physical presence of the landscape proves the truth of the myth.[18] The role of specific places in the narrations about the Australian dream-time is well known,[19] and Malinowski described how local myths are grounded in the physical geography of the Trobriand Islands.[20]

Oral history is also often connected to very specific places in the landscape, and stories explaining the names of certain places can be an important part of it. In the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, an Irish epic first known from an 11th century manuscript about a war between the kingdoms of Connacht and Ulster, the last part of the epic is given to descriptions of how specific, if rather uninteresting events led to places receiving a certain name. This could only have been of interest to local people.

There is good evidence for the use of natural features as ritual places.[21] Presumably, many will also have featured in myths. Most prehistoric rock carvings seem rather generalized, with the same items and scenes appearing over and over again, but there are examples of compositions that seem to portray an actual event or a narrative, for example, the skiing scene on the rock carving of Nova Zalavruga in the Vyg area of arctic Russia.[22] On the other hand, the carving may be located where it is because of the physical quali-

---

14 Sansom 2006, 153.
15 Renan 1882.
16 But see Forty and Küchler 1999; Connerton 2009;
    J. Cooper 2010.
17 Harwood 1976; Connerton 1989.

18 Malinowski 1922, 330.
19 Elkin 1964.
20 Malinowski 1922.
21 Bradley 2000; Tilley 1994.
22 Janik, Roughley, and Szczęsna 2007, fig. 4.

ties of the rock,[23] without any link to the specific location. In a somewhat similar vein, Assyrian and Urartian kings created rock inscription to celebrate their victories. While it is generally believed that they are near the actual location of the conquered countries, this does not always seem to be the case. The use of generalized monuments to recall episodes of the national past – with war memorials as the most prominent examples – seems linked to state societies. While they have a fixed location, they are better treated as artefacts, as their location is linked to their function (maximal visibility), and not to a location that is meaningful in the narrative they commemorate.

A change of territory, whether by migration or forced relocation will also presumably affect the transmission of memories linked to a specific place. The Wasco, a tribe of the Chinook had been forcibly settled in the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon in 1855.[24] As recorded in 1919 by Edward Sapir, the Wasco Coyote-circle (trickster tales) was located in the valley of the Columbia River and connected to very specific locations and even individual rock formations. In the version told in the early 1980s by Lucinda Smith, who was born on the reservation and never had the chance to visit these locations, the specific topographic links were missing.[25] How this affects the effect of the stories on the listeners can only be speculated on, but they will probably become further removed from daily practice and loose local color and vividness. They are doubly de-contextualized – both parts of the traditional cultural context, the formalized context in which they were told and the tangible topographic contexts have been removed. Also, visual clues for remembering these stories every time specific locales are visited in the course of everyday activities (males still go to the Columbia River valley for logging)[26] are gone, which is bound to influence the survival of these stories in the oral sphere. The Eastern African Luapula tell specific tales only when they pass the specific point in the landscape these are connected to.[27]

On the other hand, there is good evidence of experienced storytellers linking 'free-floating' stories to local places in order to make them more accessible to the audience.[28] Antii-Arne's King in the Mountain[29] – the king who sleeps in a remote place and will return to save his country in its time of need – can reside in the Kyffhäuser, Alderly Edge, Eildon Hill, in the Etna, Blaník, the Untersberg or in the castle of Kronenburg.[30] Either the motif is far older than the person in question and the significance of the respective mountain, as has been claimed for other motifs,[31] or, more likely, the story has migrated from one mountain to the next. For diasporic communities, real places can become the

23 Janik, Roughley, and Szczęsna 2007, 308; Kelskog 2010.

24 https://warmsprings-nsn.gov/history/ (visited on 31/05/2017).

25 Moore 2013, 18.

26 Moore 2013, 18.

27 Harwood 1976, 792.

28 Moore 2013, 29.

29 Aarne and Thompson 1961, motif 766.

30 Andersen 1845; Rohde 1880, 159.

31 Watkins 1995.

primary focus of collective memory, at the same time changing into a more or less mythical place, removed from any personal experience. The role of Jerusalem for the Jewish diaspora, from the Babylonian captivity (Psalm 137) to modern times, when 'Next Year in Jerusalem' is declared at the end of the Passover Seder can provide an example here. While in some contexts, the focus is on places, in others it can be on eponymous heroes and genealogies (the Catalogue of Ships in the *Ilias*) or on the rules and prescriptions that define a group (Leviticus, Numeri). Often, all three are interrelated, as is evidenced by the *Old Testament*, where said rules and prescriptions are linked to persons and places.

3   The perception of age

There are different types of knowledge about the past:

1. Personal memory, which has a very limited temporal reach;

2. Intergenerationally transmitted narratives and histories, whether formalized and homogenized in some way or not;

3. The simple knowledge about the age of a monument or artefact. This can often be no more than the realization that its origin lies beyond the present people's recollection. The Saxon prehistorian Benjamin Preusker actually used the lack of popular traditions to argue for a great age of a monument, as its origin had been totally forgotten, in contrast to other structures which were linked to dwarves, which he saw as former inhabitants of the country who had shrunk in memory.[32] Often, artefacts were not even recognized as such, for example the 'growing' pots of the Lusatian culture,[33] or prehistoric obsidian tools in Kerinci, Sumatra that simply fell from the sky in the locals' opinion.[34]

4. Grimm and Preusker interpreted the links of prehistoric monuments to imaginary peoples like dwarves, giants or wild women (*Waldweiblein*) as genuine folk memory. Alternatively, these attributions could be attempts to explain enigmatic prehistoric structures and finds. Thus, giants were seen as the builders of megaliths,[35] Roman hypocausts, obviously too low for normal humans to live in as the abodes of dwarves, who also were believed to inhabit the pots in cemeteries of the Lusatian culture in Eastern Germany,[36] while the devil was responsible for numerous standing stones. Alternatively, monuments could be ascribed to great figures from

32 Preusker 1841; Sommer 2004.
33 Sklenář 1983.
34 Own observation, 2006.

35 Picardt 1660.
36 Preusker 1841.

the more recent past, like Julius Caesar or King Arthur.[37] Antiquarians would ascribe prehistoric remains to past tribes or peoples known from tradition, like the Romans, Chatti, Danes or Huns, and it seems probable that prehistoric populations would have done the same.

There are different ways of dealing with physical relics of the past as well: they can be completely ignored or not be recognized as such, they could be used for mundane purposes (mummies as medicine, 'elfshot' to treat backpain, thunderbolts to prevent lightning striking), or they could be made part of a group's past and used to enhance present authority. Thus, ruins and barrows could be become places to avoid because they were considered to be the abodes of demons and witches,[38] or because it brings on bad luck to disturb the ancestors.[39] In other instances, traces of the past were systematically destroyed. The best-known practice is probably the Roman practice of *abolitio nominis* (*damnatio memoriae*): the name and the image of the condemned person would be systematically deleted, any reference to the person avoided. Archaeologically, the practice is attested by defaced coins, destroyed faces of reliefs and statues, and defaced inscriptions. However, while the name or face was destroyed, the lacuna remains. The attempt at the destruction of memory thus only draws attention to it and makes it a self-defeating exercise.

More widespread destruction is rare, but is attested for early Christianity, when heathen temples and images were systematically erased. During the French revolution, pictures of saints were smashed and royal graves desecrated. In 1966, during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, a campaign against the Four Old Things *(sì jiù)*, Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits, and Old Ideas, was declared, which led to the public destruction of historic artefacts. The destruction of the Bamiyan Statues in Afghanistan by the Taliban has been widely publicized. In 2014, IS has documented their destruction of museums, archaeological collections and archaeological sites, for example in Hatra and Mossul (Iraq). In the latter case, religious motifs were cited: "We were ordered by our prophet to take down idols and destroy them"[40] – however, an anti-Western impetus seems more likely.

We do have evidence for prehistoric acts of destruction, for example the burning of houses in Vinča tells[41] and in Bronze Age Denmark.[42] Other structures also show evidence of deliberate burning, for example Early and Middle Neolithic timber structures in Scotland.[43] A systematic mass-plundering of graves can also indicate an attempt to destroy certain cultural traditions. The early Bronze Age cemetery of Franzhausen, for

37 Paphitis (unpublished).
38 Picardt 1660; Colgrave 1956.
39 Kalazich 2012.
40 Jones 2015.
41 Stevanović 1997.
42 Rasmussen 2007.
43 Noble 2006.

example, showed evidence of violent and probably simultaneous plundering, maybe by incoming groups,[44] and the systematic plundering of Merovingian graves has been linked to Christianization. In most of these cases, it is difficult or impossible to differentiate between an act of closure as part of the normal biography of a structure – the deliberate "building of memory" in a flashbulb event[45] – and attempts to annihilate the past altogether.

A quick forgetting of the past is possible, as is, for example, illustrated by the Assyrian Empire (see below). However, why this will happen in one case and not in another does not seem wholly clear. None of the violent attempts at destroying the past described here and in the introduction seem particular successful, but of course we will not know about the successful ones. The "Angel of History"[46] turns his back on us. A process of appropriation, where churches are changed into mosques or vice versa, or sacred buildings profaned, but kept in use, may be a more successful way of changing and thus slowly appropriating memory, than attempts to blow them up or bulldoze them.

4 Visible traces of the past

There are numerous instances of prehistoric re-use of past artefacts and features (see below). They can be used to mask a break, establish continuity and thus maintain a specific social order, or to emphasize a rupture and thus demonstrate the superiority of a new dynasty or religious order. The main question is how these different kinds of appropriation can be distinguished from each other.

Tell settlements will form highly prominent landmarks especially in flat landscapes.[47] Flat settlements can be visible as low mounds,[48] as changes in vegetation or as an accumulation of stones, depending on the building material. Remains of waterlogged settlements ('pile-dwellings') are visible as underwater pile-fields even today. Barrows, megaliths, *kjökkenmöddiger* and fortifications often remain visible, especially if the latter have been burned, as the famous vitrified forts of Lusatia and Scotland. Other traces of human activity have also attracted attention, for example the late Neolithic mines on Ross Island in Ireland, which were locally described as Danes' mines.[49]

Visible ancient buildings and monuments could serve, for example, as spatial markers. There are numerous examples of prehistoric monuments, especially barrows used in the descriptions of field boundaries. The Aston Cursus (Derbyshire) influenced the layout of a Romano-British field-system.[50] Howard Williams has described the widespread

---

44 C. Neugebauer and J.-W. Neugebauer 1997.
45 C. Neugebauer and J.-W. Neugebauer 1997, 70.
46 Benjamin 1968.
47 Chapman 1997.

48 Bradley and Williams 1998, 44–45; Bradley 2002.
49 O'Brien 2004.
50 Loveday 2007, 21. – See (http://www.pastscape. org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=1211265&sort=4&

re-use of older barrows for burial. He claims that the Anglo-Saxon elite used these places to establish a link with a mythical past and the re-used monuments would have become "the embodiment of an idealized community of ancestors linked to the distant past and the supernatural."[51]

The interpretations of these traces and monuments are not always stable or fulfil their intended function, however. Herodotus describes the widespread rock carvings of the Egyptian King Sesostris, found from the Phasis on the Black Sea to Syria (*Histories Book II*), which he claimed to have personally observed in Palestine. This account would seem to conflate Assyrian, Urartian and late Hittite monuments, attributing them to a mythical Egyptian king. In 2014 I was told by the local Kurds that the rock carvings in the Bırkleyn caves (so-called *Tigris tunnel*) depicted Iskandar (Alexander the Great), not Salmanasser III.[52] The tell of Nineveh was interpreted as the monumental grave of Ninus by Diodorus, probably following an account by Ctesias, and the 5th century Armenian Historian Moses of Chorene attributed the castle at Van and the Menua canal between Yukarı Kaymaz and Van to the same mythical queen.[53] This illustrates how fast the memory even of powerful empires could be lost once written records were abandoned – sometimes maybe because they were consciously rejected.

Re-use or a re-interpretation is not restricted to monuments, but it is more difficult to identify when artefacts, especially tools and everyday objects are concerned. Prehistoric artefacts sometimes turn up in the 'wrong' context, but often several different interpretations are possible. The curation as memorabilia has been suggested by Woodward,[54] Sheridan and Davis[55] and Frieman[56] for jet and amber necklaces of the British Early Bronze Age, and indeed this phenomenon may be far more frequent than we suspect, as our dating methods are not normally fine enough to trace this kind of behavior. For example, von Richthofen has used wear traces to show how worn Iron Age fibulae were used in the burials of children who presumably did not yet own these dress items.[57] In this case, the chronological difference between different grave gifts is too slight to show up in normal stylistic analyses.

In other cases, artefacts were probably kept as curiosities, for example Bronze Age items in Merovingian graves.[58] Even fossils like sea urchins were collected this way.[59] In the case of the Anglo-Saxon re-use of Roman dress items, both a conscious appropriation of past remnants and the use of 'second-hand goods' has been considered.[60] A Neolithic shafthole axe found in the exceedingly rich Early Bronze Age burial of Leubingen has

search=all&criteria=barrow%20trent&rational=q&recordsperpage=10#aD, visited on 15/02/2017).

51 Williams 1998, 96.

52 Radner 2009.

53 Lauer 1869.

54 Woodward 2002.

55 Sheridan and Davis 2002.

56 Frieman 2012.

57 Von Richthofen 1998.

58 Jockenhövel 2007.

59 Stevenson 1967; Demnard and Neraudeau 2001.

60 Eckhart and Williams 2003; White 1988.

been interpreted by Strahm as "an age old symbol of rule", indicating that the authority of the ruler buried here was derived from distant ancestors.[61] Eight other Neolithic stone axes have been found in other rich graves of the Unetice culture.[62] The Middle Paleolithic hand axes from the Roman temple at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex, were probably brought there for religious reasons, maybe connected to the cult of Jupiter or a related native god.[63] An Iron Age burial found in Cologne above a Roman drain is evidence for the pious reburial of human relics disturbed in the course of building works: in this case, the relics were recognized as such, but treated in the same way as an accidentally disturbed Roman burial.

5 Case study: finds of Bell Beakers in older structures

As has been illustrated by the above, it can be quite difficult to interpret the re-use of past structures and objects, even with the help of oral or written sources. There is an enormous degree of ambiguity – not only can meaning change through time, but it can also fundamentally vary for members of different contemporaneous groups. As a rule, prehistoric re-use has been interpreted as affirmative – the past and its remains are seen to have been used to establish continuity and to bestow authority. As the examples in this volume demonstrate, societies also have to cope with negative events, and certain events of the past can be ignored, denied, or even erased as well as celebrated. Is there any way to distinguish between different ways of appropriating, negating or attempting to destroy the past by prehistoric groups?

In the following, I will look at one special case, the so-called re-use of earlier Neolithic structures during the Bell Beaker period of the terminal Neolithic (in Central European terminology), that is, the period between roughly 2600 to 1880 BC. In this period, the re-use, especially of older graves, is very frequent in Western Europe – Bell Beakers are common in the upper layers of collective tombs wherever their distribution overlaps megalithic traditions. Additionally, there is quite a lot of evidence for the 'closing' and blocking of monuments in a Bell Beaker context. While it has been argued that the re-use of previous monuments indicates a desire to create continuity or to link to the previous inhabitants or rulers of a country, I would claim that in this case we can observe a conscious attempt to break the connection to the past or even to obliterate the past altogether.

There is a long tradition of viewing the producers of Bell Beakers as a people, colonising Western and parts of Central Europe in search of Copper ore.[64] However,

---

61 Strahm 2010, 168.
62 Strahm 2010, 168.

63 Turner and Wymer 1987.
64 Childe 1940.

it is clear that the Bell Beaker "phenomenon"[65] does not meet the definition of an ar-chaeological culture. While there is a set of items found across the whole distribution – mainly Bell Beakers, wristguards, certain types of arrowheads, copper daggers and but-tons with a v-shaped hole – other elements of material culture, like non-beaker pottery (*Begleitkeramik*), houses, and even burial customs, continue previous local traditions. Most authors would agree that Bell Beakers and the accompanying items mark some kind of elite that is not necessarily linked to an ethnic group. However, the idea of an incoming "Beaker people"[66] has fundamentally influenced the way how Beaker pottery found in older structures has been interpreted. Often, a continuation of use, that is, an unbroken tradition either within the same archaeological culture or over several succes-sive archaeological cultures was differentiated from *re-use*, which implies chronological lacuna or a change of population or cultural tradition. The choice between the two was often not so much based on a detailed analysis of chronology or stratigraphy, but on general assumptions about cultural development. In Britain, for example, the Peter-borough tradition was seen as a seamless continuation of the Early Neolithic Windmill Hill culture, while the "Beaker Folk"[67] were foreigners, missionaries,[68] copper miners or invaders from the continent[69]. In Northern Europe, the Funnelbeaker culture (*Trichter-becherkultur*, short TBK) was interpreted as the native Neolithic population, while the bearers of the Globular Amphora (short GAK) and Corded Ware cultures came in from the East and the bearers of the Bell Beaker culture immigrated from the West.[70] The whole question of re-use could thus be an artefact wholly created by a purely ethnic in-terpretation of material culture. While Middle Neolithic populations simply continued ancestral traditions when burying their dead in Early Neolithic Megaliths (there is evi-dence for the systematic clearing out of human remains from several North-European megalithic monuments), the people using Bell Beakers are described as "squatters in collective tombs",[71] and the removal of the bones of previous occupants is described as an act of occupation.[72] In the following I will therefore try to unravel the various phases of use of megalithic monuments, mainly, but not exclusively on the British Isles, in or-der to understand how changes of use are related to different types of material culture ('archaeological cultures'). The picture that emerges is far more complicated than orig-inally assumed, but does, in my opinion, support the claim of a special treatment of past monuments associated with the Bell Beakers and specific burials containing Bell Beakers.

65 Lanting and Waals 1976.
66 Harrison 1989.
67 Harrison 1989.
68 Childe 1940.
69 Piggot 1954.

70 For the history of this interpretation, see Hakelberg 2001.
71 Chambon 2004, 71.
72 Houot and Gallay 1992.

In British literature, the makers of Bell Beakers are often credited with the introduction of single burial indicative of a society that emphasizes individuality in favor of the group.[73] However, in the western half of the distribution of Bell Beakers, from Spain and Morocco to Ireland, Western Scotland and Switzerland, Bell Beakers are normally associated with communal burials. They are mainly found in structures associated with previous ceramic styles, both megalithic graves and hypogees.[74] In France and Spain, older structures are often re-opened ('broken into' for use). Only in Ireland is there a specific form of megalithic grave specifically associated with Bell Beakers, the so-called wedge-tombs.[75] Stone cists were used for Bell Beaker burial in Switzerland, France, the British Isles and in all of the Eastern part of the Bell Beaker distribution, provided there were suitable stones. In other areas, there is frequent evidence for rectangular wooden coffins, normally only preserved as discolorations in the ground.

6 The use of chambered megalithic tombs

In order to understand Beaker 're-use' and the blocking of megalithic tombs, it is first necessary to understand their regular use. In the acidic soils where the glacial boulders suitable for building megalithic tombs mainly occur in Western Europe, bone preservation is normally not very good. Thus, the kind and sequence of use of those tombs is difficult to elucidate. Fortunately, there have been a number of detailed excavations and re-analyses of previously excavated graves in recent years.

One important question is whether the tombs were left open after the deposition of a body. If at all preserved, the bones of individual skeletons are often widely dispersed.[76] This disarray could be caused either by scavenging animals or by making space for newer additions, as was the case in the Central German mortuary houses.[77] Skulls are often found near the walls of the tombs,[78] which led to the theory of burial of corpses leaning against the walls.[79] Alternatively, they could have been moved there when depositing new bodies, as is often observed in Medieval churches. However, skeletons are often incomplete, and sometimes show signs of animal gnawing, which may indicate scavengers entering open tombs. The human bones from the Cotswold-Severn Tomb of Adlestrop Barrow in Gloucestershire have been extensively gnawed,[80] for example. In contrast, Tim Darvill cites the rarity of animal gnawing at the grave at Rodmarton as evidence for

73 Barrett 1993.

74 Lemercier 2002, 172.

75 Waddell 2010.

76 Piggott 1958, 236; Whittle and Wysocki 1998; Wysocki and Whittle 2000.

77 Feustel 1972.

78 Piggott 1958, 236; Saville 1990; Schirning 1979; M. Smith and Brickley 2004; Thomas 1991, 148–151.

79 Sebire 2007.

80 M. Smith 2006, tab. 1.

temporary blocking.[81] As an alternative explanation for the state of the skeletons, the excarnation of bodies outside the Megalithic tombs has been proposed, for example, at Isbister on Orkney.[82] There is some evidence for excarnation platforms,[83] and definite indications of weathering have been observed on the bones from Le Breos Cwm chambered tomb in South Wales.[84] The lack of smaller bones, for example of fingers and toes that can sometimes be observed can be caused both by excarnation, attrition and loss from animal gnawing.[85] Coldrum in Kent supplied evidence for deliberate dismemberment.[86] There are also claims that specific bones were removed on purpose[87] or that older bones were added to a funerary assemblage.

The detailed excavation of the Cotswold-Severn Tomb of Hazleton North indicates that the dead were deposited as complete bodies.[88] As the tomb started to fill up, older burials were pushed aside and eventually ended up in a very tumbled state, with almost no articulated bones left. In Hazleton North, the skeletons in both chambers were less articulated than those in the passage, with the north passage providing clear evidence for 'successive interment' and a completely articulated burial directly at the entrance.[89] A re-analysis of the West Kennet human bones seems to indicate a similar sequence there.[90] While the Orkney tombs generally contain a high number of burials, in others the number of individuals interred was much lower, and, as the recent data produced by Bayliss and Whittle show, often the actual period of use was shorter than expected.[91] All the people buried in the primary context at West Kennet could have died at the same time[92] or at least during a fifty-year timespan.[93] This would change our view of a tomb serving as the burial place of a community over several centuries. Instead, it could be a monument commemorating a special, probably traumatic event, maybe mass mortality because of an epidemic or warfare, which was quickly closed up afterwards.[94] As there are no data for the actual construction of the tomb at West Kennet, it cannot be proven that the burials inside were the first or only inhabitants of the tomb, however.[95]

All in all, there seems to be a wide range of burial procedures and the observations in a single grave can probably not be generalized. The *Mauerkammergräber* and mortuary houses of the North-European TBK can have quite extended periods of use, 300 years in the case of Odagsen in the Leine valley.[96] The burial of 'vintage objects' has been

---

81 Darvill 2004, 174.

82 Hedges 1983; Hedges 1984.

83 Scott 1992; M. Smith 2006, 671.

84 Whittle and Wysocki 1998.

85 M. Smith 2006, 679.

86 Wysocki, Griffiths, et al. 2013.

87 Piggott 1962, 68; Thomas and Whittle 1986; Bayliss, Whittle, and Wysocki 2007; Ashbee 1970.

88 Saville 1990.

89 Saville 1990, 250.

90 Bayliss, Whittle, and Wysocki 2007, 88.

91 Bayliss and Whittle 2007.

92 Bayliss, Whittle, and Wysocki 2007, 94.

93 Bayliss, Whittle, and Wysocki 2007, 96–97.

94 Scarre 2010.

95 Bayliss, Whittle, and Wysocki 2007, 96.

96 Rinne 2002.

suspected,[97] but there are also examples of forced entry into these structures, which indicate that their use may have spanned several cultural periods.

The Dutch *Hunebedden* show evidence of an organized placement of the dead bodies, including fixtures for draining the secretions of rotting corpses by a paved central depression on the floor.[98] There is evidence for a two-, sometimes multi-layered build-up of bodies.[99]

As in the North German mortuary houses discussed below, in all graves of the TBK Westgroup and in most of the Altmark Group passage graves as well as Nenndorf, Ldkr. Harburg Rade[100] and in Mecklenburg,[101] there is evidence for the use of fire after one layer of burials was completed. This can be manifest as burnt granite, flint or a baked clay floor. Whether this was an attempt to simply remove dead bodies or other accumulated materials or was connected to rituals of closure and cleansing – Jürgen Hoika has proposed that the cracking of burnt flint may have been used to chase away the ghosts of the dead[102] – is difficult to decide. Numerous Irish passage graves show evidence for the systematic use of fire, which may be related to similar rites. In addition, remains of cremated bodies are frequently found in British and Irish megalithic graves, both in passage graves and later structures like the Early Bronze Age Clava tombs.[103] The mortuary houses of the TBK, more specifically of the Bernburg tradition, normally have a better bone preservation than the megalithic structures further north. They are also bigger and seem to contain more dead bodies than the average dolmen.[104] In these wooden structures, for example in Nordhausen[105] and Schönstedt,[106] a rather systematic ordering of bodies in rows is in evidence, with older burials more disturbed than more recent ones. Sometimes, there are several layers of burials, as in Odagsen,[107] where, again, each layer shows evidence of burning.

There are numerous reports about the more or less systematic removal of bones from tombs.[108] In Serrahn, Grave 2 in Mecklenburg an assemblage of disarticulated bones, including several skulls was found in front of the blocked extended dolmen, while the interior contained the more or less articulated skeletons of at least four people.[109]

While this observation cannot be uncritically transferred to the British material, it indicates that dead bodies seem to lose their importance as time goes by, they decay and personal memory of the person fades, and had to make space for more recent interred

97 Rinne 2002.
98 Bakker 1992, 29.
99 Bakker 1992, 47.
100 Bakker 1992, 47.
101 Schuldt 1972.
102 Bakker 1992, 29.
103 Bradley 2005.

104 E. Heege and A. Heege 1989.
105 Herrmann 1989.
106 Feustel 1972.
107 E. Heege and A. Heege 1989; Rinne 2002.
108 Piggott 1958.
109 Schuldt 1972, fig. 47.

corpses. It thus remains difficult to determine whether a particular act of 'cleaning out' is a part of the 'normal ritual' or an appropriation of a structure by later people(s).

7 Infilling and blocking

For a long time, West Kennet Long Barrow (Wiltshire) was one of the best excavated megalithic tombs in Britain, and the sequence observed there was used as a template to understand the use of megalithic monuments in England in general, especially after the re-analysis by Julian Thomas and Alistair Whittle.[110] The tomb was built during the early Neolithic and associated with Western Carinated Pottery, or, as Stuart Piggott called it, "Windmill Hill ware". The forecourt of the Cotswolds-Severn tomb was blocked by a number of massive sarsens while Peterborough pottery was in use,[111] but only a few sherds were left behind, and no indication of any ceremonies could be observed. The whole tomb was then filled up to the very roof with what Piggott describes as chalk rubble, interspersed "with many seams and patches (up to a foot or so in thickness) of rubble stained brown and black with charcoal dust",[112] containing "soil and rubbish [...] scraped up from the floors of settlement-sites, or perhaps from temporary camping-places connected in some way with the funeral ritual".[113] As the fill contains Peterborough (mainly Ebbsfleet and Mortlake styles but also some Fengate Ware), Grooved Ware and Bell Beaker sherds, this labor-intensive act of deposition has to be dated in the Final Neolithic (in continental terminology) or later. Western Carinated sherds were missing in the fill. Piggott's observation of "[t]he greater part of a fine Bell-Beaker carefully placed upside down in an angle of the north-west chamber at a high level"[114] would suggest that the infilling should be linked to the users of Bell Beakers, as large sherds in general and of Bell Beakers in particular are rarely part of settlement refuse proper. The fill was completely unstratified:

> [F]ragments of the same vessel may be scattered between two or more chambers, and [...] many pots survive only as a group of sherds none of which join. In other words, the pots were not broken in the tomb as a part of funerary ritual, but were brought there as already scattered potsherds.[115]

A series of 31 ^{14}C-dates analyzed by Bayliss et al. revealed that the primary fill of the tomb was introduced between 3670 to 3640 BC, while, after a hiatus of more than a hundred years,[116] seven dates from the secondary fill span the period between 3620/3240

---

110   Thomas and Whittle 1986.

111   Piggott 1958, 238, 241.

112   Piggott 1958, 236.

113   Piggott 1958, 230.

114   Piggott 1958, 239.

115   Piggott 1958, 239.

116   Bayliss, Whittle, and Wysocki 2007.

and 2500 to 2335 cal. BC, roughly a thousand years. The authors follow the model of a gradual infill, probably through the roof,[117] already proposed by Thomas and Whittle in 1986, stating that the sequence of dates follows the stratigraphy of the chamber. The articulated goat skeleton that provided the final date could actually be contemporary with the Beaker of Wessex-Middle Rhine type excavated by Piggott. It is impossible to assess this claim without going into a detailed study of the monument's stratigraphy, but as the authors themselves admit, the dates are not numerous enough to be certain about this claim. However, it seems certain that the monument was backfilled at a time it was already disintegrating.[118]

Numerous megalithic graves were blocked at the end of their use-life. Examples are known from Brittany, on the British Isles, in Northern Germany and Scandinavia. This entailed the closure of entrances and passages by dry-stone walling or the insertion of massive stone slabs. The latter were sometimes made up of smashed remains of orna-mented stone slabs, as in the eastern passage of Petit Mont, Arzon, Morbihan,[119] which calls to mind the destruction of carved slabs for the construction of the megalithic graves of Gavrinis and Table des Marchands in the Gulf of Morbihan.[120] Not all long barrows and megalithic monuments were blocked – Piggott points to Lanhill in Wiltshire[121] as a counter-example. The existence of a temporary blocking is difficult to prove, however. If the blocking is completely removed for a new burial, normally no archaeologically visible trace will remain. Only Ascott-under-Wychwood has provided some evidence for temporary blockings and their repeated removal,[122] even if the interpretation has been doubted.[123]

There are several ways the access to the dead inside a megalithic tomb could be restricted or prevented:

1. Construction of the chamber itself

2. Construction of the mound

3. Infilling of chamber and passage

4. Blocking of passage and entrance by stones.

Additionally, a limitation of access could be caused by the total or partial collapse of the structure itself. In Hazleton North, a collapse of orthostats blocked the north passage and the access to the chamber.[124]

---

117 Case 1995.
118 Bayliss, Whittle, and Wysocki 2007, 97.
119 Lecornec 1994.
120 Cassen 2009; Patton 1993.

121 Keiller et al. 1938, 242.
122 Benson and Whittle 2007, 329.
123 Saville 2007.
124 Saville 1990, 91.

1. Construction of the chamber

   The ingress to all simple dolmens is blocked by the mound or cairn, the only access would be provided by lifting the capstone.[125] While the chambers were normally used for single burials, there is evidence for occasional multiple burials,[126] but without a program of detailed dating it is impossible to tell whether the deceased were interred simultaneously or not. Earthen long barrows or 'chamberless long barrows' preserve no evidence of how the access was managed, but were presumably also closed structures.

2. Construction of the mound

   In several Breton mounds, the entrance to the chambers is either blocked by the original mound, or by an extension of the mound. In Ile Carn, Ploudalmézeau, Finisterre, for example, the entrances to the short passage graves were first blocked, then covered by a large cairn.[127] In contrast, in Barnenez, one of the largest Breton cairns, the passages of the original passage graves were elongated to ensure that access was still possible after the enlargement of the original mound. A number of the Welsh Clyde tombs contain structures that were left without access when the longmound received its final shape, for example Ty Isaf, Pipton and Tinkinswood.[128] In this case, it is difficult to decide if this is a deliberate blocking or part of the normal live-cycle of the mound.

3. Infilling of chamber and passage

   Infilling was observed in West Kennet (see above). There is also some indication that the south chamber and passage of Hazleton-North were deliberately filled in, but the excavator regards the evidence as "not wholly conclusive".[129] Often, a removal of capstones and filling in of the passages in prehistoric times is difficult to differentiate from later collapse.

4. Blocking of passage and entrance by stones

   The blocking of entrances for Cotswold-Severn tombs was already discussed above. It is quite common (Tab. 1).

French Late Neolithic gallery graves sometimes have so-called spirit-holes *(Seelenlöcher)* in the frontal slab. The allée couverte of Bois-Couturier (Guiry-en-Vexin) is one of the rare examples where the 'plug' for the hole has been preserved.[130] Further examples

---

125 Schuldt 1972; Kirsch 1994.
126 Schirning 1979.
127 Patton 1993, fig. 7.3.
128 Lynch 1969.
129 Saville 1990, 88.
130 Arnette and Peek 1965.

	Blocking	incl. possible blocking	n
Chamber blocked	72.73 %	77.27 %	22
Passage blocked	56.25 %	75.00 %	16

Tab. 1 Blocking of Cotswold-Severn tombs.

were found in Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, Epône (Trou-aux-Anglais), Arronville (Seine-et-Oise) and Flavacourt Vaudancourt (Oise).[131] These are obviously special cases, where a constant access (or egress) was envisaged. However, the opening is normally too small for the comfortable handling of a corpse. We have no indication if this was the rule, or how frequent it was.

The north chamber of Hazleton North, blocked off by a collapsing orthostat and thus representing a potential 'frozen' picture of a tomb in use, has a clear zone free of bones in front of the inner edge of the chamber proper.[132] This may indicate some form of organic barrier, or an entirely above-ground blocking slab that had been removed or even smashed. As pairs of bones could be fitted across this boundary,[133] the barrier may have already been removed by the time the chamber became inaccessible. On the other hand, megalithic graves in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern sometimes contained compartments, with low slabs defining distinct areas of burial, that were only around 10 cm high.[134] This illustrates that spatial boundaries or barriers to the movement of bones and artefacts need not always have been barriers to the movement of the living.

Long-mounds with stone chambers like the one at West Kennet are a type specific to southwestern Britain, namely the area between the Gower Peninsula in Wales and the Severn estuary[135] and the North Wessex Downs in Wiltshire and southern Oxfordshire.[136] A number of these tombs have been explored in modern excavations and published in great detail, among them Hazleton North,[137] Gwernvale and Ascott-under-Wychwood.[138] All three provided detailed evidence of the blocking of chambers. The blocking is not always easy to date, unless pottery or organic remains can be securely linked to the event. In Gwernvale (Pembrokeshire), the burial activity is linked to carinated bowls and plain hemispherical bowls of the British Early Neolithic. The blocking occurred in the Middle Neolithic and is connected to the deposition of Peterborough pottery.[139] Not only the actual entrances to the chambers are blocked, but the forecourt is as well. The longcairn of Hazleton North contained two lateral passages with single

131 Arnette and Peek 1965.
132 Saville 1990, 113.
133 Saville 1990, 117–125.
134 Schuldt 1972.
135 Darvill 1982, 5.
136 Darvill 2004, 9.
137 Saville 1990.
138 Benson and Whittle 2007.
139 Lynch 1969; Britnell 1980.

chambers at the end. Both chambers and passages contained burials. The orthostats in the North passage had collapsed at some point, blocking the access to the north chamber, which was closed off by a "blocking slab" in the passage.[140] The orthostat had snapped off at the base,[141] presumably from natural causes. It is thus probable that the blocking slab 366 is a temporary blocking preserved in situ. The bone distribution[142] extends from the chamber into the passage, but does not reach the blocking slab. Burials continued in the north passage. As there are very few grave goods, the dating depends entirely on ^{14}C dates, which indicate the period of one or two generations in the 37th century BC for the use of the tomb.[143] The forecourt is also blocked off in several Welsh Clyde-Tombs. In the case of Parc le Breos Cwm and Tinkinswood, graves with axial layout, this prevents access to the central chamber. In Ty Isaf, Capel Garmon, Pipton and Gwernvale however, the forecourt has been blocked although the chambers themselves were accessed by lateral passages, which are also blocked.[144] This would indicate that the real location of the entrance had already been forgotten and the monument long fallen out of use when the blocking took place.

At Belas Knap, Gloucestershire, the forecourt was infilled and some parts of the exterior drystone wall may have been pulled down intentionally as well. Tim Darvill interprets this as an attempt to change the burial mound from manmade-structures into a naturally looking mound, in other words, to destroy even the memory about the existence of the megalith.[145] Indeed, he calls his chapter on the abandonment of the structures "Blocking barrows and breaking traditions".[146] In this area, both Peterborough and Grooved Ware are linked to the blocking of entrances and forecourts.

In sum, it seems that megalithic graves could be blocked by drystone walls during use, immediately after use and later, in Middle Neolithic times. The evidence for infilling is more uneven, but the practice seems to be at least partly linked to the Final Neolithic Bell Beaker complex. To the best of my knowledge, no systematic study of blocking has been conducted in other areas of northwestern Europe, although the practice is certainly known here, for example in D41-Emmen in the western TBK area.[147]

8 Bell Beakers in megalithic tombs

Unfortunately, the majority of megalithic graves have been emptied without proper observation of the contents, which makes any attempt at quantification extremely prob-

140 Saville 1990, 91.
141 Saville 1990, 92.
142 Saville 1990, fig. 113.
143 Meadows, Barclay, and Bayliss 2007.

144 Britnell 1980; Lynch 1969, fig. 2.7.
145 Darvill 2004, 173.
146 Darvill 2004.
147 Bakker 1992, 59.

	blocking	incl. possible blocking	n
all graves	4.17 %	7.42 %	431
excavated graves	13.18 %	21.71 %	129

Tab. 2 Frequency of blocking and infilling in Scotland.

lematic. In the following, I will look at the situation in Scotland in a little more detail. Scotland, especially the Scottish highlands, have a much better preservation of monuments than, for example, Germany or the Netherlands because of the low population density after the 18th centuries' clearance and the lack of industrial development.[148] Graves were protected by local superstition, much as in Ireland, where they were seen as the abode of the Sidhe. Henshall reports how "uncanny happenings" were observed after a farmer removed skulls from the chamber in Torlinn on Aran.[149] In addition, diverse catalogues by Audrey Henshall and associates provide an exhaustive and easily accessible database.[150] While the Scottish data cannot be generalized over the whole distribution of Bell Beakers, or even its Western part, it gives some idea of the magnitude of the phenomenon.

Beakers are frequent finds in Scottish megalithic graves. The megalithic grave at Clettraval (North Uist, outer Hebrides) illustrates such a re-use of an early Neolithic structure. Blocking is also frequent, but normally only noticed when modern excavations have taken place (Tab. 2).

The cairns of most megalithic graves in the area have been robbed (Tab. 3). When perusing Henshall's catalogues, a constant re-use of stones becomes visible. Stones are in fact highly mobile, migrating from cleared fields to cairns, chamber-tombs and prehistoric houses, on to Iron Age houses and Brochs, then into modern roads, fences and farmhouses, and, with the collapse of these houses back to the fields. Orthostats can serve as convenient door-lintels and fence posts. Only in exceptional circumstances can their life cycle be mapped, however.

Of the 509 monuments of potentially Early Neolithic type (doubtful structures and Clava cairns were excluded), only 121 (23.8 %) still contained finds. Of the mounds with datable artefacts, 30 contained artefacts from the early Neolithic, five finds that could be assigned to the Middle or late Neolithic, 16 to the Beaker Period, 15 to the Bronze Age, the same number to the Iron Age or Early Medieval period, and six contained Medieval or modern finds. The dating is based on Henshall's illustrations and descriptions, and

148 Schirning 1979, 12; Bakker 1992, 1.
149 Henshall 1974, ARN 15.

150 Henshall 1963; Henshall 1974; Davidson and Henshall 1989; Davidson and Henshall 1991; Henshall and Ritchie 1995; Henshall and Ritchie 2001.

Degree of robbing	n	%
none	13	6.07
slight	39	18.22
middle	42	19.63
severe	86	40.19
nearly or totally destroyed	34	15.89
sum	214	

Tab. 3   Robbing of cairns of Scottish megalithic graves.

	EN	MN	BB	BA	IA/EMA	MA/Mod
EN	18	1	8	9	2	2
MN		2	0	0	2	1
BB			6	2	2	1
BA				11	0	0
IA/EMA					9	0
MA/Mod						4

Tab. 4   Finds in megalithic structures of potentially Early Neolithic date, abbreviations: EN=Early Neolithic, MN=Middle Neolithic, BB=Bell Beaker period, BA=Bronze Age, IA=Iron Age, EMA=Early Middle Ages, MA=Middle Ages, Mod=Modern times.

probably suffers from overconfidence. Still, it provides a general picture. Tab. 4 provides a breakdown by period and shows that several episodes of re-use were possible.

There are also finds of Bronze Age food vessels, collared urns and items connected to the Wessex-horizon, such as jet spacers and beads. The Iron Age sees a mainly domestic use, which is also possible in Norse times and the early Middle Ages in general. No preference of specific cairn types can be claimed with any certainty, as the numbers are generally low (Tab. 5).

The distribution of Beaker-type artefacts in relation to grave types indicates an avoidance of the late Neolithic Hebridean tombs (Tab. 6). There are also no Bargrennan-type tombs with Beaker-type finds, but their general number is low in the sample. Other than that, it seems no selection was made according to grave type – but of course, the past perception of graves may be different from the archaeologist's. There may be a preference for earlier Neolithic tomb types, but better data would be needed to test this supposition.

As no catalogue or database exists that covers the whole distribution area of Bell Beakers, a systematic comparison with other areas would be a major undertaking. In

Form of mound	all	with BB	% BB
long	118	7	5.93
round/square	155	5	3.23
oval	18	3	16.67
horned	38	1	2.63
heel-shaped	24	1	4.17
type indeterminate	102	4	3.92
all (includes rare types not listed here)	450	19	4.22

Tab. 5   Form of mound in relation to finds, BB=Bell Beaker artefacts or cists.

Type	all graves	with BB	% BB
Bargrennan	11	0	0.00
Passage Grave	29	2	6.90
Clyde	77	5	6.49
Orkney-Cromarty	145	5	3.45
Hebridean	28	0	0.00
Other	2	0	0.00
unknown/unclassified	131	7	5.34

Subtypes OC			% of subtype
OC Bookan Type	5	1	20.00
OC Camster	33	1	3.03
OC polygonal	39	2	5.13
OC rectangular	10	0	0.00
OC stalled	1	0	0.00

Tab. 6   Type of chamber in relation to finds, BB=Bell Beaker artefacts or cists, OC=Orkney-Cromarty.

Lower Saxony (Germany) about half of all megalithic graves of TBK type contain finds of Bell Beakers or Corded Ware, often both.[151] Later additions are common in other

151   Tempel 1979, 121.

Type of grave	number
einfacher Dolmen	1
erweiterter Dolmen	12
Großdolmen	27
Ganggrab	19
Steinkiste	4
Langhügel	1
Megalithgrab	8
Grab	1

Tab. 7 Later Neolithic materials in TBK-megalithic graves, Mecklenburg.

areas of northern Germany as well.[152] In southern France, Bell Beaker burials are found predominantly in dolmen, but there are strong differences between different styles.[153]

In the East, this re-use of older structures is common in other cultural traditions that are often interpreted as intrusive as well, namely by the Globular Amphorae (GAK) and Corded Ware (CW) cultures. In Mecklenburg, many TBK graves contain GAK-vessels, Corded Ware vessels are also common.[154] In the Western TBK area, all three groups can be observed as well (Tab. 7). "Although we often accuse Bell Beaker people of being squatters in collective tombs, we have to admit that they did not initiate that habit".[155]

Out of 76 known and 37 excavated graves of the Western TBK,[156] eight contain later finds, four of them between one and seven Bell Beakers (Tab. 8).

In Ostenwalde, Ldkr. Emsland, Germany, the basic fill of the extended dolmen contained predominantly TBK sherds, but also some *Tiefstich* and several early Corded Ware vessels, as well as seven cremation burials interpreted as 'later burials' *(Nachbestattungen)*. This basal layer was covered by a 40 cm thick layer of stones, which also contained *Tiefstich*-sherds. The upper layer contained later Corded Ware, Bell Beakers of several types and a *Riesenbecher*. Access for the later burials was presumably gained by digging away the original barrow, the drystone fill between the orthostats providing the material for the stone layer.[157] This sequence runs partly counter to the accepted sequence of cultures in the area, but it also does not show the expected clear division between burials from different archaeological cultures.

Several interpretations of this re-use of older graves have been advanced. Often, it is seen as expediency or laziness, as re-use required less effort than erecting a new building.

152 Laux 1979.
153 Lemercier 2002.
154 Jacobs 1991, 17.

155 Chambon 2004, 71.
156 Bakker 1992, 1.
157 Tempel 1979.

Nr	Site	TBK	GAK	EGK	BB
D21	Bronneger	Brindley 1–3 Brindley 2–5		late	2 pot beaker
D28	Buinen	x		3 herringbone beakers	x
D26	Drouwenerveld	Brindley 2–7		2 amphorae, 2 battle-axes	no
835	Ostenwalde 1	x		4 vessels	6–7 Beakers
958	Kleinenkneten	x		no	no
686	Oldendorf 4	x	x	7 Graves	no
684	Oldendorf 2	x		2 Graves	no
807	Sieben Steinhäuser B	x		1	Riesenbecher?

Tab. 8 Finds from TBK-West Graves, TBK= Funnelbeaker culture, GAK=Globular Amphorae, EGK=Single Grave Culture, BB=Bell Beaker.

While this is certainly true, the examples of El Alto de la Tejera[158] and Ostenwalde show that the effort involved was still considerable: the mound had to be partly dug away and heavy capstones lifted. Digging a single grave would presumably involve less labor, but the adventage would increase with the number of subsequent burials. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to assess the number of secondary burials. In addition, the skeletons associated with beakers tend to be relatively complete, which again would indicate some kind of blocking.

As already mentioned, Alain Gallay has interpreted the sequence of use in Sion Petit Chasseur in Wallis, Switzerland, as the aggressive defacement of tombs by an invading somatically different ethnic group.[159] These graves have been excavated and published in great detail, and they are very well preserved. Dolmen MVI had been cleared of bones, a stela of Remedello type broken, replaced by a Bell Beaker-type stela. A change from trapezoid dolmens with communal burial to smaller stone cists accompanied this change. There is also evidence of the removal of skulls. Gallay interpreted the event as an upheaval organised by incoming Bell Beaker people, who practiced a different religion, centered on the veneration of the sun. He believed these incoming people cleared out the skulls of the previous population on purpose and inserted the bodies of their own dead instead. In other scenarios, local 'megalithic' people take over the material culture

158 Fernandez Moreno and Jimeno Martinez 1992.   159 Gallay 2004.

of the invading Bell-Beaker group but continue to bury their dead in the graves of their ancestors.[160]

9 Beakers in other structures

The re-use of structures in the Bell Beaker period is not, however, restricted to tombs. Henges like Avebury, Mount Pleasant,[161] and the Castlerigg Stonecircle in Cumbria received additions in the form of 'coves', high, box-like stone structures of unknown function. Similarly, Stonehenge was totally changed by the addition of the monumental sarsen trilithons and the bluestone horseshoe.[162] This indicates that (some) sites of previous ritual importance maintained their special status, but probably with a changed emphasis. As most monuments were not static in the preceding periods, it is of course easy to over-emphasize the importance of these changes. As henges are uniquely British monuments, no comparison with the continent is possible.

The Down Farm Shaft, a natural solution pipe in the chalk of the South Downs that opened up in the late Palaeolithic and was the location of deliberate deposition from the Mesolithic onwards, was filled in and blocked by a thick Beaker deposit.[163] There is also evidence that mining shafts of early Neolithic date were closed and Bell Beakers deposited there, although we have to rely on data from excavations by John Pull in the 1930s, which are not entirely clear.[164] Maybe even the curious buried stone circle in Trebbichau, Sachsen-Anhalt[165] as well as the buried stone row at Beltz-Kerdruellan (Morbihan)[166] can be linked to these attempts to obliterate past monuments, but this is sheer speculation without any good evidence for dating yet.

The infilling of the West Kennet long barrow with Middle Neolithic settlement material is echoed by a Beaker Barrow at Woodhouse End in Cheshire that contains large amounts of Peterborough sherds (Ebbsfleet and Mortlake styles). It has been interpreted as the accidental use of earlier domestic refuse,[167] but both could also be interpreted as a conscious attempt not only to obliterate traces of the past, but also to symbolically control them by an association with a dead body and the pottery vessel that marked a special social status, namely, the Bell Beaker.

160 Tempel 1979.
161 Wainwright 1979.
162 Darvill 2008.
163 Allen and Green 1998; Green and Allen 1997, fig. 3.
164 Russel 2002.

165 Homann 2015.
166 http://www.inrap.fr/les-menhirs-de-belz-9102 (visited on 15/02/2017).
167 Mullin 2001, 533.

10 The function of graves

Graves can be places of commemoration and communication with the dead, and that is their main function in the modern Western world. They are also places of change: they transform a dead body into dead bones or let it disappear altogether – modern cemeteries are preferentially located on soils that are not conducive to bone preservation.[168] They provide a place to deal with traumatic personal loss and help to change this loss into less threatening or disruptive memories, and they can change a dead person into an ancestor.[169]

Visibility may be one of the ways to differentiate between places of commemoration and places of change. Different types of megalithic tombs and other communal graves tend to inhabit very different places in the landscape, with passage tombs often being highly visible, while, for example, portal dolmens and *Mauerkammergräber* often lurk in hidden locations. A generalizing account is difficult and probably misleading here. In general, a memorial is destined to be visible forever, while a place of transformation can, and maybe should be shut down once it has fulfilled its remediating function.

The concept of ancestor has been much misused in archaeology recently, not only in a generalizing, but also in an exoticizing way.[170] The idea of a dead near relative looking down benevolently from heaven on the acts of the bereaved or watching out for them in other ways is common to many central European cultures, particularly as a way for children to deal with bereavement.[171] It would be useful to separate this concept of a dead relative watching out for his or her progeny from the concept of ancestor as the founder of a noble lineage, and the 19th century idea of ancestor worship in 'primitive' societies,[172] but this is a task beyond this essay. For present purposes, I am going to differentiate between personal, family and communal ancestors. Personal ancestors are close relatives looking over their descendants for a limited period, probably until a new social state has been achieved (marriage, transition from childhood to adulthood etc.). A family ancestor would correspond to a founder of a family or an eponymous hero, that is, a named personage with a remembered history at the root of a family tree. Communal ancestors are taken to be persons of influence, normally of advanced age that will help to maintain the power of the tribal elders after they have passed away. In this case, it is less the personality of the deceased than his or her power that persists beyond death.

As a first approximation, Early Neolithic tombs can be seen as open systems that transform the bodies of the dead into communal ancestors (Fig. 1). A dead body enters a tomb, where, in due course, it is transformed into an ancestor residing somewhere

---

168 Sabel 2007.
169 Chapman 1994.
170 Whitley 2002.

171 For example, in Cinderella or the Goose Girl in the Grimms' fairy tales.
172 Fortes 1964; Tyler 1981.
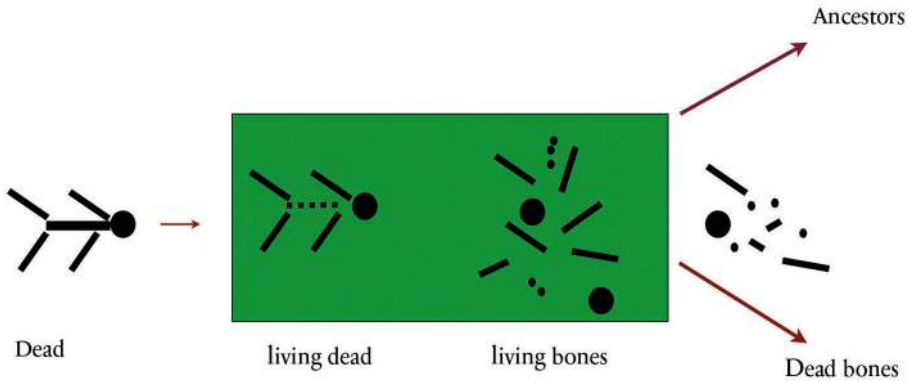
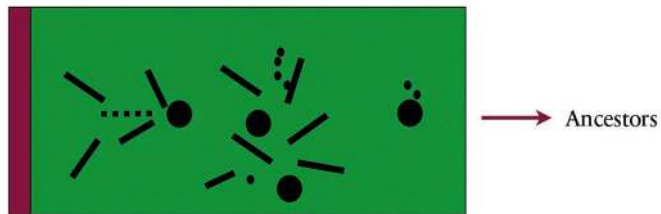**Fig. 1** Megalithic tombs as machines to create ancestors.

Fig. 2 Neolithic Blocking a megalithic tomb: shutting down the machine, but maintaining the mechanism. Dark red bar: blocking.

beyond the tomb, and dead bones that can be discarded once their 'essence' has passed on.

Blocking the entrances of a tomb means that no new bodies can enter, the *machine* is shut down (Fig. 2). Blocking will limit the number of ancestors and thus assure that the present ancestors remain in living memory and are not slowly forgotten in favor of newer entities (telescoping of genealogies).[173] Blocking is therefore possibly linked to practices of dominance.

The single flat Bell Beaker graves in the eastern part of the distribution area (like Corded Ware Graves), in contrast, were destined for a single person and closed (backfilled) after burial. They were clearly not intended to create ancestors in the way me-
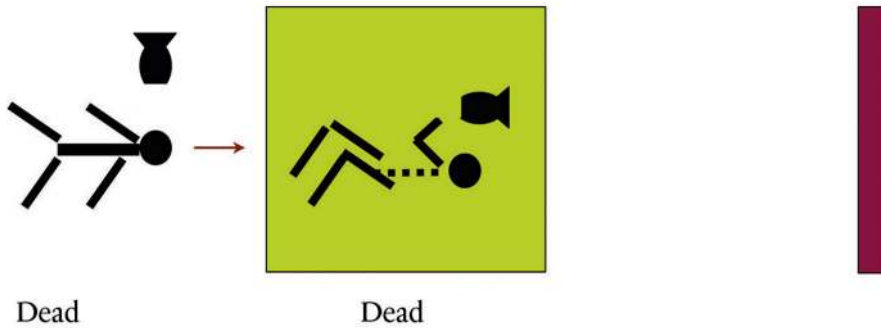
173 Miller 1979.

Fig. 3 Bell beaker burial.

galithic tombs did (Fig. 3). A different religious ideology is to be presumed, with different ideas about the afterlife, and different social structures as well. Ownership of bell beakers, bows, copper daggers and possibly also special clothing[174] marked the members of a ruling class. The Bell Beaker and its contents almost certainly held a special symbolic meaning as well as announcing group membership.[175]

The bid for social domination by this new group was not only to rule the living, but also to neutralize the dead of previous dominant groups. As the bones of bodies that have been dead for a longer period were not treated with any special veneration, the power did presumably not reside in the bones as such, but rather the places that had transformed them and still held them. Once an ancestor has come into being, her or his actual bones cease to matter. The way to achieve ascendancy is thus not to simply get rid of the bones, but to control the place where the transformation into this powerful status takes place. Introducing a burial accompanied by the emblematic Bell Beaker and related artefacts into an older barrow may have been seen as a way to destroy the machine, to close the way out of the grave into whatever special place the ancestors normally resided (Fig. 4). In the case of the Welsh long barrows, the exceptional care taken to close every possible or suspected access underlines the importance of that act – and at the same time, the chronological distance. Whoever put the blocking in place had some understanding of the structure, but was not entirely familiar with the setup. Mullin also reports cases of Beaker burials in natural hills, for example at Feltwell in Norfolk,[176] and of the deposition of special food vessels in a similar situation in Hill Close in Cheshire. While Mullin links this to an attempt at forgetting, "wiping the slate clean and allowing new associations to be forged, or invented",[177] one could also interpret it as the active attempt to destroy the past that takes no chances, and tries to dominate each possible

174 Harris and Hofmann 2014.
175 Sherratt 1997; Rojo-Guerra et al. 2006.

176 Mullin 2001, 356.
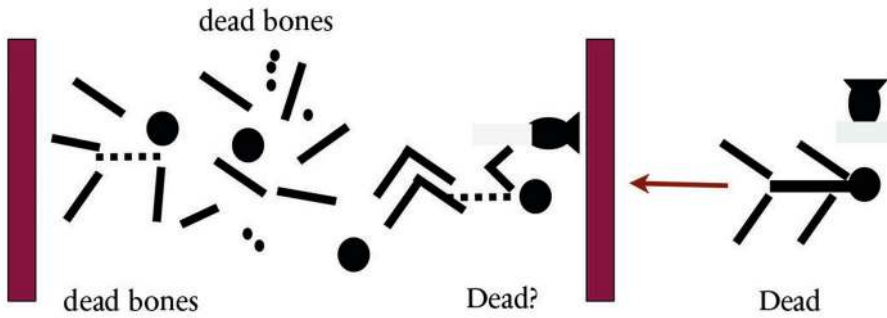177 Mullin 2001, 357.

Fig. 4   The machine destroyed: Blocking of a megalith with a Bell Beaker burial.

manifestation. If we accept that passages underground may be seen as connections to an-other, 'nether' world,[178] megalithic graves that presented a passage under the earth were blocked as well as any other opening into the depth, like the Down Farm Shaft and Early Neolithic flint mines. The mortuary houses of Northern Europe are far less visible than megalithic mounds, so any re-use of them also indicates an amazing local knowledge and familiarity with the practices taking place inside of them and their meaning. As Darvill puts it in the context of the Cotswold-Severn tombs,

> preventing admittance to the inner concealed areas of a long barrow implies the existence of an abstract knowledge about the contents of barrows generally, and realization of deliberate attempts to hide, mask or to restrict that knowledge at particular sites.[179]

Darvill supposes that the blocking of the barrows presents an attempt to "prevent the spirits of the ancestors leaving the sanctuary of their 'house of the dead.'"[180] In contrast, I would see the blockings introduced in Bell Beaker times as an attempt to protect the living against the dead.

In many other cultures, barrows are perceived as dangerous places. The pagan Anglo-Saxons, for example, saw them as the abode of monsters,[181] as illustrated by Beowulf and the Life of St. Guthlac. The people using Bell Beakers knew of the old traditions of burial and their meaning, and consciously opposed it by putting in their own dead, maybe as a guardian against any entity trying to creep back to the world of the living. If my inter-pretation of the Bell Beaker 're-use' of older structures is correct, this would represent an attempt not to dominate, but to destroy all manifestations of a certain past and to neutralize its power. Far from being seen as imposing and desirable localities, the old

178 Whitehouse 2001.
179 Darvill 2004, 173.
180 Darvill 2004, 173.
181 Williams 1998, 91.

megaliths would have been remembered as dangerous places that needed to be blocked and guarded – by a different kind of dead person, accompanied by a very specific type of material culture. Only then could its memory be erased.

Bibliography

Aarne and Thompson 1961
Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson. *The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*. Folklore Fellows' Communications 18. Helsinki: Academia Scientarum Fennica, 1961.

Allen and Green 1998
Michael J. Allen and Martin Green. "The Fir Tree Field Shaft: the Archaeological Potential of Solution Features in Chalk". *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History & Archaeological Society* 120 (1998), 25–38.

Andersen 1845
Hans Christian Andersen. "Eventyr 32: Holger Danske". In *Nye Eventy. Første Bind Tredie Samling*. Reitzel, 1845.

Arnette and Peek 1965
Simone Arnette and J. D. Peek. "The Guiry Cork-Stone". *Antiquity* 39.156 (1965), 291–294.

Ashbee 1970
Paul Ashbee. *The Earthen Long Barrow in Britain: an Introduction to the Study of the Funerary Practice and Culture of the Neolithic People of the Third Millennium B.C.* London: John Dent & Sons, 1970.

Assmann 1992
Jan Assmann. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis, Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992.

Bakker 1992
Jan Albert Bakker. *The Dutch Hunebedden: Megalithic tombs of the Funnel Beaker Culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Barrett 1993
John C. Barrett. *Fragments from Antiquity: an Archaeology of Social Life in Britain, 2900–1200 BC*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.

Bayliss and Whittle 2007
Alex Bayliss and Alasdair W. R. Whittle. "Histories of the Dead: Building Chronologies for Five Southern British Long Barrows". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17.1 (2007), 123–147.

Bayliss, Whittle, and Wysocki 2007
Alex Bayliss, Alasdair W. R. Whittle, and Michael P. Wysocki. "Talking about My Generation: the Date of the West Kennet Long Barrow". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17.1 (2007), 85–101.

Benjamin 1968
Walter Benjamin. "Theses on the Philosophy of History". In *Illuminations. Walter Benjamin – Essays and Reflections*. Ed. by H. Arendt. Trans. by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1968, 253–264.

Benson and Whittle 2007
Don Benson and Alasdair W. R. Whittle, eds. *Building Memories: the Neolithic Cotswold Long Barrow at Ascott-Under-Wychwood*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007.

Bradley 2000
Richard Bradley. *An Archaeology of Natural Places*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

Bradley 2002
Richard Bradley. *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Bradley 2005
Richard Bradley. *The Moon and the Bonfire: an Investigation of Three Stone Circles in North-East Scotland*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2005.

Bradley and Williams 1998
Richard Bradley and Howard Williams. "The Reuse of Ancient Monuments". *World Archaeology* 30 (1998).

Britnell 1980
William J. Britnell. "Radiocarbon Dates from the Gwernvale Chambered Tomb, Crickhowell, Powys". *Antiquity* 54.211 (1980), 147.

Carpenter 1992
David Carpenter. "Language, Ritual and Society: Reflections on the Authority of the Veda in India". *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 60.1 (1992), 57–77.

Case 1995

Humphrey Case. "Some Wiltshire Beakers and Their Contexts". *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 88 (1995), 1–17.

Cassen 2009

Serge Cassen. "La Simulation des Faits Imaginés: Phases, Séquences, Scénarios Historiques Autour d'Une Barre de Stèles et d'Une Tombe à Couloir". In *Autour de la Table. Explorations Archéologiques et Discours Savants sur des Architectures Néolithiques à Locmariaquer, Morbihan (Table des Marchands et Grand Menhir). Actes du Colloque International, Vannes, Université de Bretagne-Sud, 5–7 Octobre 2007*. Nantes: Laboratoire de Recherches Archéologiques, Université de Nantes, 2009, 881–909.

Chambon 2004

Philippe Chambon. "Collective Graves in France during the Bell Beaker Period". In *Graves and Funerary Rituals during the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in Europe (2700–2000 BC). Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Cantonal Archaeological Museum, Sion (Switzerland) October 4th–7th 2001*. Ed. by M. Besse and J. Desideri. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1284. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004, 69–78.

Chapman 1994

John Chapman. "The Living, the Dead and the Ancestors: Time, Life Cycles and the Mortuary Domain in Later European Prehistory". In *Ritual and Remembrance: Responses to Death in Human Societies*. Ed. by J. Davies. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994, 40–85.

Chapman 1997

John Chapman. "Landscape in Flux and the Colonisation of Time". In *Landscapes in Flux: Central and Eastern Europe in Antiquity*. Ed. by J. Chapman and P. M. Dolukhanov. Colloquia Pontica 3. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997, 1–22.

Childe 1940

Gordon V. Childe. *What Happened in History*. Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1940.

Colgrave 1956

Bertram Colgrave. *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956.

Connerton 1989

Paul Connerton. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Connerton 2009

Paul Connerton. *How Modernity Forgets*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

C. R. Cooper 2007

Craig R. Cooper. *The Politics of Orality*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.

J. Cooper 2010

Jerrold Cooper. "'I Have Forgotten My Burden of Former Days!' Forgetting the Sumerians in Ancient Iraq". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130.3 (2010), 327–335.

Culley 1963

Robert C. Culley. "An Approach to the Problem of Oral Tradition". *Vetus Testamentum* 13.2 (1963), 113–125.

Darvill 1982

Timothy C. Darvill. *The Megalithic Chambered Tombs of the Cotswold-Severn Region*. Highworth: Vorda, 1982.

Darvill 2004

Timothy C. Darvill. *Long Barrows of the Cotswolds and Surrounding Areas*. Stroud: Tempus, 2004.

Darvill 2008

Timothy C. Darvill. *Stonehenge: the Biography of a Landscape*. Stroud: Sutton, 2008.

Davidson and Henshall 1989

James L. Davidson and Audrey S. Henshall. *The Chambered Cairns of Orkney: an Inventory of the Structures and their Contents*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989.

Davidson and Henshall 1991

James L. Davidson and Audrey S. Henshall. *The Chambered Cairns of Caithness: an Inventory of the Structures and their Contents*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.

Demnard and Neraudeau 2001

Francois Demnard and Didier Neraudeau. "L'Utilisation des Oursins Fossiles de la Préhistoire à l'Epoque Gallo-Romaine". *Bulletin de Société Préhistorique Francaise* 98.4 (2001), 693–716.

Eckhart and Williams 2003

Hella Eckhart and Howard Williams. "Objects without a Past? The Use of Roman Objects in Early Anglo-Saxon Graves". In *Archaeologies of Remembrance. Death and Memory in Past Societies*. Ed. by H. Williams. New York: Kluwer, 2003, 141–170.

Elkin 1964

Adolphus P. Elkin. *The Australian Aborigines*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1964.

Fernandez Moreno and Jimeno Martinez 1992

Juan J. Fernandez Moreno and Alfredo Jimeno Martinez. "El Dolmen de 'El Alto de la Tejera' (Carrascosa de la Sierra, Soria). El Fenomeno Megalitico en el Alto Duero". *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 49 (1992), 155–188.

Feustel 1972

Rudolf Feustel. "Die Walternienburger/Bernburger Totenhütte von Schönstedt im Thüringer Becken". *Alt-Thüringen* 12 (1972), 31–58.

Fisher 2003

John J. Fisher. "Epic or Exegesis? The Form and Genesis of the Táin Bó". *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 23 (2003), 112–132.

Fortes 1964

Meyer Fortes. *African Systems of Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Forty and Küchler 1999

Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler. *The Art of Forgetting*. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

Frieman 2012

Catherine Frieman. "Going to Pieces at the Funeral: Completeness and Complexity in Early Bronze Age Jet 'Necklace' Assemblages". *Journal of Social Archaeology* 12.3 (2012), 334–355.

Gallay 2004

Allain Gallay. "Á propos du statut épistémologique des travaux publiés sur la nécropole du Petit-Chasseur à Sion (Valais, Suisse)". In *Graves and funerary rituals during the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age in Europe (2700-2000 B.C.)* Int. Conference (Oct. 4–7th 2001; Sion, Switzerland, Cantonal archaeol. Mus.); BAR: Int. Series 1284. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004, 79–97.

Green and Allen 1997

Martin Green and Michael J. Allen. "An Early Prehistoric Shaft on Cranborne Chase". *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 16.2 (1997), 121–132.

Hakelberg 2001

Dietrich Hakelberg. "Ernst Wahle im Kontext seiner Zeit". In *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft. Deutsche Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995*. Ed. by H. Steuer. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2001, 199–310.

Harris and Hofmann 2014

Susanna Harris and Kerstin P. Hofmann. "From Stones to Gendered Bodies: Regional Differences in the Production of the Body and Gender on the Copper Age Statue-Menhirs of Northern Italy and the Swiss Valais". *European Journal of Archaeology* 17.2 (2014), 264–285.

Harrison 1989

Richard J. Harrison. *The Beaker Folk: Copper Age Archaeology in Western Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Harwood 1976

Frances Harwood. "Myth, Memory, and the Oral Tradition: Cicero in the Trobriands". *American Anthropologist* 78.4 (1976), 783–796.

Hedges 1983

John W. Hedges. *Isbister: a Chambered Tomb in Orkney*. British Archaeological Reports 115. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1983.

Hedges 1984

John W. Hedges. *Tomb of the Eagles: a Window on Stone Age Tribal Britain*. London and New York: John Murray, 1984.

E. Heege and A. Heege 1989

Elke Heege and Andreas Heege. *Die Häuser der Toten: jungsteinzeitliche Kollektivgräber im Landkreis Northeim*. Hildesheim: Lax, 1989.

Henige 2009

David Henige. "Impossible to Disprove yet Impossible to Believe: the Unforgiving Epistemology of Deep-Time Oral Tradition". *History in Africa* 36 (2009), 127–234.

Henshall 1963

Audrey S. Henshall. *The Chambered Tombs of Scotland*. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963.

Henshall 1974

Audrey S. Henshall. "Scottish Chambered Tombs and Long Mounds". In *British Prehistory: a New Outline*. Ed. by C. Renfrew. London: Duckworth, 1974, 137–164.

Henshall and Ritchie 1995

Audrey S. Henshall and James N. G. Ritchie. *The Chambered Cairns of Sutherland: Inventory of the Structures and Their Contents*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995.

Henshall and Ritchie 2001

Audrey S. Henshall and James N. G. Ritchie. *The Chambered Cairns of the Central Highlands: an Inventory of the Structures and Their Contents*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001.

Herrmann 1989

Joachim Herrmann. *Archäologie in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik. Denkmale und Funde*. Stuttgart: Theiss, 1989.

Homann 2015

Anne Homann. "Ein Grabhügel gibt Rätsel auf". *Archäologie in Sachsen-Anhalt* 8 (2015), 1–4.

Houot and Gallay 1992

André Houot and Alain Gallay. *Le Soleil des Morts. Chroniques de la Nuit des Temps*. Brussels: Editions du Lombard, 1992.

Jacobs 1991

Jörn Jacobs. *Die Einzelgrabkultur in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*. Schwerin: Archäologisches Landesmuseum Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, 1991.

Janik, Roughley, and Szczęsna 2007

Liliana Janik, Corinne Roughley, and Katarzyna Szczęsna. "Skiing on the Rocks: the Experiential Art of Fisher-Gatherer-Hunters in Prehistoric Northern Russia". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17.3 (2007), 297–310.

Janko 1990

Richard Janko. "The 'Iliad' and Its Editors: Dictation and Redaction". *Classical Antiquity* 9.2 (1990), 326–334.

Jockenhövel 2007

Albrecht Jockenhövel. "Zur Interpretation wertvoller Altstücke". In *Forschungen zur Vorgeschichte und Römerzeit im Rheinland. Hans-Eckart Joachim zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Ed. by H. Kelzenberg, P. Kiessling, and S. Weber. Bonner Jahrbücher, Beihefte 57. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2007, 47–58.

Jones 2015

Ch. Jones. *Assessment of the ISIS. Deconstruction at the Mosul Museum*. 2015. URL: http://etc.ancient.eu/2015/03/09/destruction-mosul-museum/ (visited on 01/24/2017).

Kalazich 2012

Fernanda Kalazich. "A Participatory Approach to Archaeology in the Atacaman Community of Peine, Chile". Unpublished dissertation, London. 2012.

Kazanas 1999

Nicholas Kazanas. "The R̥gveda and Indo-Europeans". *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 80.1/4 (1999), 15–42.

Keiller et al. 1938

Alexander Keiller, Stuart Piggott, Arthur D. Passmore, and Alexander J. E. Cave. "Excavation of an Untouched Chamber in the Lanhill Long Barrow". *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 4.1 (1938), 122–150. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0079497X00021150.

Kelskog 2010

Knut Kelskog. "From the Tyranny of Surfaces to the Interrelationship between Myth, Rock Art and Their Surfaces". In *Graves and Funerary Rituals during the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age in Europe (2700–2000 B.C.)* Ed. by G. Blundell, C. Chippindale, and B. Smith. Johannisburg: Wits University Press, 2010, 79–97.

Kirsch 1994

Eberhard Kirsch. *Beiträge zur älteren Trichterbecherkultur in Brandenburg*. Potsdam: Brandenburgisches Landesmuseum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, 1994.

Lanting and Waals 1976
Jan N. Lanting and Johannes D. van der Waals. "Beaker Relations in the Lower Rhine Basin". In *Glockenbechersymposium Oberried 1974*. Bussum and Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1976, 1–80.

Lauer 1869
Max Lauer. *Des Moses von Chorene Geschichte Gross-Armeniens*. Regensburg: G. J. Manz, 1869.

Laux 1979
Friedrich Laux. "Nachbestattungen in Großstein-gräbern: Die Kugelamphorenkultur". In *Großstein-gräber in Niedersachsen*. Ed. by H. Schirnig. Veröf-fentlichungen der urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover 24. Hildesheim: Laux, 1979, 117–121.

Lecornec 1994
Joël Lecornec. *Le Petit Mont, Arzon, Morbihan*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires, 1994.

Lemercier 2002
Olivier Lemercier. *Le campaniforme dans le Sud-est de la France, de l'archéologie de la historire du troisieme millenaire avant nôtre ère*. Aix-en-Provence: Univer-sité de Provence, 2002.

Loveday 2007
Ray Loveday. *Inscribed across the Landscape: the Cur-sus Enigma*. Tempus, 2007.

Lynch 1969
Frances Lynch. "The Megalithic Tombs of North Wales". In *Megalithic Enquiries in the West of Britain*. Ed. by T. G. E. Powell. Liverpool: Liverpool Uni-versity Press, 1969, 107–174.

Magoun 1953
Francis P. Magoun. "Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry". *Speculum* 28.3 (1953), 446–467.

Malinowski 1922
Bronislaw Malinowski. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London and New York: Routledge, 1922.

Mayor 2005
Adrienne Mayor. *Fossil Legends of the First Americans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Mayor 2007
Adrienne Mayor. "Place Names Describing Fossils in Oral Traditions". In *Myth and Geology*. Ed. by B. Masse and L. Piccardi. London: Geological Society of London, 2007, 245–261.

Meadows, Barclay, and Bayliss 2007
John Meadows, Alistair Barclay, and Alex Bayliss. "A Short Passage of Time: the Dating of the Hazle-ton Long Cairn Revisited". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17.1 (2007), 45–64.

Miller 1979
Joseph C. Miller. "Kings, Lists, and History in Kasanje". *History in Africa* 6 (1979), 51–96.

Miller 1980
Joseph C. Miller. *The African past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History*. Folkestone: Dawson, 1980.

Moore 2013
Robert Moore. "Reinventing Ethnopoetics". *Journal of Folklore Research* 50.1–3 (2013). Special Triple Is-sue: Ethnopoetics, Narrative Inequality and Voice: the Legacy of Dell Hymes, 13–39.

Mullin 2001
David Mullin. "Remembering, Forgetting and the Invention of Tradition: Burial and Natural Places in the English Early Bronze Age". *Antiquity* 75.289 (2001), 533–537.

Nagel 1985
Erika Nagel. *Die Erscheinungen der Kugelamphoren-Kultur im Norden der DDR*. Berlin: Akademie Ver-lag, 1985.

Nagy 1986
Joseph Falaky Nagy. "Orality in Medieval Irish Narrative: An Overview". *Oral Tradition* 1/2 (1986), 272–301.

C. Neugebauer and J.-W. Neugebauer 1997
Christine Neugebauer and Johannes-Wolfgang Neugebauer. *Franzhausen. Das frühbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld I*. Fundberichte aus Österreich, Material-heft A5 (1). Wien: Bundesdenkmalamt, Abteilung für Bodendenkmalpflege, 1997.

Noble 2006

Gordon Noble. *Neolithic Scotland: Timber, Stone, Earth and Fire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.

O'Brien 2004

William O'Brien. *Ross Island: Mining, Metal and Society in Early Ireland*. Bronze Age Studies 6. Galway: Department of Archaeology, National University of Ireland, 2004.

Paphitis (unpublished)

Tina Paphitis. "The Place of Folklore in archaeological Landscapes: Narratives and Identity in Medieval to Modern Britain". Dissertation at Institute of Archaeology, University College London 2014. Unpublished.

Patton 1993

Mark Patton. *Statements in Stone: Monuments and Society in the Neolithic of North-Western France*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Picardt 1660

Johan Picardt. *Korte Beschryvinge Van Eenige Vergetene en Verborgene Antiquiteten Der Provintien en Landen Gelegen Tusschen De Nord-Zee, De Yssel, Emse en Lippe. Waer by Gevoeght Zijn Annales Drenthiae, Dat Zijn Eenige Aenteyckeninghen en Memorien, Van Sommige Gedenckwaerdige Geschiedenissen, Gepasseert in Het Antiquiteet-Rijke Landschap Drenth, Van De Geboorte Christi Af, Tot Op Desen Tijdt*. Leiden: Sidestone, 1660.

Piggot 1954

Stuart Piggot. *Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954.

Piggott 1958

Stuart Piggott. "The Excavation of the West Kennet Long Barrow 1955-6". *Antiquity* 32.128 (1958), 235–242.

Piggott 1962

Stuart Piggott. *The West Kennet Long Barrow: Excavations 1955–6*. Archaeological Reports 4. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1962.

Powell 1969

Thomas George Eyre Powell, ed. *Megalithic Enquiries in the West of Britain, a Liverpool Symposium*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969.

Preusker 1841

Benjamin Preusker. *Blicke in die vaterländische Vorzeit: Sitten, Sagen, Bauwerke und Geräthe, zur Erläuterung des öffentlichen und häuslichen Volkslebens im heidnischen Alterthume und christlichen Mittelalter der sächsischen und angränzenden Lande*. Vol. 2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1841.

Radner 2009

Karin Radner. "Die assyrischen Königsinschriften an der Tigrisgrotte". In *Assyriens Könige an einer der Quellen des Tigris: Archäologische Forschungen im Höhlensystem von Bırkleyn und am sogenannten Tigris-Tunnel*. Ed. by A. Schachner. Istanbuler Forschungen 51. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2009, 172–202.

Rasmussen 2007

Marianne Rasmussen, ed. *Iron Age Houses in Flames: Testing House Reconstructions at Lejre*. Studies in Technology and Culture 3. Lejre: Lejre Historical-Archaeological and Experimental Centre, 2007.

Renan 1882

Ernest Renan. *Qu'est-ce Qu'une Nation? Conférence Faite en Sorbonne, Le 11 Mars 1882*. Visited on 24/01/2017. 1882. URL: https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Qu%E2%80%99est-ce_qu%E2%80%99une_nation_%3F.

von Richthofen 1998

Jasper von Richthofen. "Gebrauchsspuren an Fibeln der älteren Römischen Kaiserzeit und Ergebnisse der Materialprüfung". In *Römische und germanische Bunt- und Edelmetallfunde im Vergleich. Archäometallurgische Untersuchungen ausgehend von elbgermanischen Körpergräbern*. Ed. by H.-U. Voß, P. Hammer, and J. Lutz. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 79. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998, 242–254.

Rinne 2002

Christoph Rinne. *Das Kollektivgrab Odagsen I*. 2002. URL: http://www.jungsteinsite.uni-kiel.de/2002_leinetal/od1/od1.htm.

Rohde 1880

Erwin Rohde. "Sardinische Sage von den Neunschläfern". *Rheinisches Museum Für Philologie* 35 (1880), 157–163.

Rojo-Guerra et al. 2006

Manuel A. Rojo-Guerra, Rafael Garrido-Pena, Íñigo García, Jordi Juan-Treserras, and Juan C. Matamala. "Beer and Bell Beakers: Drinking Rituals in Copper Age Inner Iberia". *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 72 (2006), 243–265.

Ross 1998

Bianca Ross. *Britannia et Hibernia: nationale und kulturelle Identitäten im Irland des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1998.

Russel 2002

Miles Russel. *Flint Mines in Neolithic Britain*. Tempus, 2002.

Sabel 2007

Karl-Josef Sabel. *Bodenkundliche Anforderungen an das Anlegen und Erweitern von Friedhöfen*. Umwelt und Geologie, Böden und Bodenschutz in Hessen 8. Wiesbaden: Hessisches Landesamt für Umwelt und Geologie, 2007.

Sansom 2006

Basil Sansom. "The Brief Research of History and the Limitations of Recall in Traditional Aboriginal Societies". *Oceania* 76 (2006), 150–172.

Saville 1990

Alan Saville. *Hazleton North. Gloucestershire, 1979–1982: the Excavation of a Neolithic Long Cairn of Cotswold-Severn Group*. Archaeological Reports 13. London: Historic Buildings & Monuments Commission for England, 1990.

Saville 2007

Alan Saville. *Book Review of: 'Building Memories: the Neolithic Cotswold Long Barrow at Ascott-Under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire', edited by Don Benson and Alasdair Whittle. Oxbow Books (Cardiff Studies in Archaeology)*. 2007. URL: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/prehistoric/reviews/07_12_benson.htm (visited on 05/31/2017).

Scarre 2010

Chris Scarre. "Rocks of Ages: Tempo and Time in Megalithic Monuments". *European Journal of Archaeology* 13 (2010), 175–193.

Schirning 1979

Heinz Schirning, ed. *Großsteingräber in Niedersachsen*. Veröffentlichungen der urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover 24. Hildesheim: Lax, 1979.

Schuldt 1972

Ewald Schuldt. *Die mecklenburgischen Megalithgräber: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Architektur und Funktion*. Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Bezirke Rostock, Schwerin und Neubrandenburg 6. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1972.

Scott 1992

Jack G. Scott. "Mortuary Structures and Megaliths". In *Vessels for the Ancestors*. Ed. by N. Sharples and A. Sheridan. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992, 104–119.

Sebire 2007

Heather Sebire. *From Antiquary to Archaeologist: Frederick Corbin of Lukis of Guernsey*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007.

Sheridan and Davis 2002

Alison Sheridan and Mary Davis. "Investigating Jet and Jet-Like Artefacts from Prehistoric Scotland: the National Museums of Scotland Project". *Antiquity* 76.293 (2002), 812–825.

Sherratt 1997

Andrew Sherratt. "Cups That Cheer". In *Economy and Society in Prehistoric Europe: Changing Perspectives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, 376–402.

Sklenář 1983

Karel Sklenář. *Archaeology in Central Europe: the First 500 Years*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983.

J. D. Smith 1991

John D. Smith. *The Epic of Pabuji: A Study, Transcription and Translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

M. Smith 2006

Martin Smith. "Bones Chewed by Canids as Evidence for Human Excarnation: a British Case Study". *Antiquity* 80.309 (2006), 671–685.

M. Smith and Brickley 2004

Martin Smith and Megan Brickley. "Analysis and Interpretation of Flint Toolmarks Found on Bones from West Tump Long Barrow, Gloucestershire". *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 14 (2004), 18–33.

Sommer 2004

Ulrike Sommer. "'Der Unterjochte … schrumpft als Zwerg zusammen': Kelten in Sachsen". In *Miszellen zur Eisen- und Römerzeit für Prof. Dr. Sabine Rieckhoff von ihren Mitarbeitern und Schülern*. Ed. by F. Fleischner and W.-R. Teegen. Leipziger Onlinebeiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie 15. Leipzig: Professur für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Universität Leipzig, 2004, 27–29.

Stevanović 1997

Mirjana Stevanović. "The Age of Clay: the Social Dynamics of House Destruction". *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 16.4 (1997), 334–395.

Stevenson 1967

Robert B. K. Stevenson. "A Roman-Period Cache of Charms in Aberdeenshire". *Antiquity* 41.162 (1967), 143–145.

Strahm 2010

Christian Strahm. "Die ökonomischen und ideellen Bedingungen der Formation frühbronzezeitlicher Eliten". In *Der Griff nach den Sternen – Wie Europas Eliten zu Macht und Reichtum kamen*. Ed. by H. Meller and F. Bertemes. Vol. 1. Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle (Saale) 5. Halle (Saale): Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte, 2010, 163–176.

Tempel 1979

Wolf-Dieter Tempel. "Nachbestattungen in Großsteingräbern. Die Einzelgrabkultur und die Glockenbecherkultur". In *Großsteingräber in Niedersachsen*. Ed. by H. Schirning. Veröffentlichungen der urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums Hannover 24. Hildesheim: Lax, 1979, 121–126.

Thomas 1991

Julian Thomas. *Understanding the Neolithic*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.

Thomas and Whittle 1986

Julian Thomas and Alasdair W. R. Whittle. "Anatomy of a Tomb: West Kennet Revisited". *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5 (1986), 129–156.

Tilley 1994

Christopher Tilley. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg, 1994.

Trautman 1997

Thomas R. Trautman. *Aryans and British India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Turner and Wymer 1987

Robin Turner and John J. Wymer. "An Assemblage of Palaeolithic Hand-Axes from the Roman Religious Complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex". *Antiquaries Journal* 67.1 (1987), 43–60.

Tyler 1981

Edward Burnett Tyler. *Religion in Primitive Culture*. New York: Harper, 1981.

Vansina 1985

Jan Vansina. *Oral Tradition as History*. London: Currey, 1985.

Waddell 2010

John Waddell. *The Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland*. Dublin: Wordwell, 2010.

Wainwright 1979

Geoffrey Wainwright. *Mount Pleasant Dorset: Excavations 1970–1971*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 37. Society of Antiquaries of London, 1979.

Watkins 1995

Calvert Watkins. *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

White 1988

Roger H. White. *Roman and Celtic Objects from Anglo-Saxon Graves: a Catalogue and an Interpretation of their Use*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 191. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988.

Whitehouse 2001

Ruth Whitehouse. "A Tale of Two Caves: the Archaeology of Religious Experience". In *The Archaeology of Cult and Religion*. Ed. by P. F. Biehl, F. Bertemes, and H. Meller. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2001, 161–167.

Whitley 2002

Anthony J. M. Whitley. "Too Many Ancestors". *Antiquity* 76.291 (2002), 119–126.

Whittle and Wysocki 1998

Alasdair W. R. Whittle and Michael P. Wysocki. "Parc le Breos Cwm Transepted Long Cairn, Gower, West Glamorgan: Date, Contents and Context". *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 64 (1998), 139–182.

Williams 1998

Howard Williams. "Monuments and the Past in Early Anglo-Saxon England". *World Archaeology* 30.1 (1998), 90–108.

Woodward 2002

Anne Woodward. "Beads and Beakers: Heirlooms and Relics in the British Early Bronze Age". *Antiquity* 76.294 (2002), 1040–1047.

Wysocki, Griffiths, et al. 2013

Michael P. Wysocki, Seren Griffiths, Robert Hedges, Alex Bayliss, Tom Higham, Yolanda Fernandez-Jalvo, and Alasdair W. R. Whittle. "Dates, Diet, and Dismemberment: Evidence from the Coldrum Megalithic Monument, Kent". *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 79 (2013), 61–90.

Wysocki and Whittle 2000

Michael P. Wysocki and Alasdair W. R. Whittle. "Diversity, Lifestyles and Rites: New Biological and Archaeological Evidence from British Earlier Neolithic Mortuary Assemblages". *Antiquity* 74.285 (2000), 591–601.

Illustration and table credits

ULRIKE SOMMER

is Senior lecturer in European Prehistory at the Institute of Archaeology, London. She studied prehistory and sociology at Frankfurt University. She is interested in the role of archaeology in the formation of national and regional identities. Together with Sabine Rieckhoff she edited *Auf der Suche nach Identitäten: Volk–Stamm–Kultur–Ethnos* (2007) and is co-editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Archaeological Theory*. She currently runs a field project in Northwestern Romania.

Ulrike Sommer
UCL Institute of Archaeology
31–34 Gordon Square
London WC1H 0PY, UK