Putting the human back in archaeology:

Looking at society at Stonehenge

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ANTH 324-080:
Old World Archaeology
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21 May 2003

> Each of us, through the process of living in the world, has an intimate experience of the act of [dwelling]...We hold mental biographies of relationships with people, memories and events, these being associated with particular lived places and times. Those relationships will have varied in intensity and favourability according to circumstance and personal and group experience. Living in any location that does not involve complete social isolation embroils us in networks of power, dependency and reciprocity with other people. The experience of dwelling is conceptually complex. It goes beyond the basic needs of survival and constitutes much of our understanding of cultural order and value (Pollard 1999: 76).

This quote by Joshua Pollard throws light on the main fault that underlies a majority of archaeological studies, losing sight of the human in the biography of an archaeological site. Too often, the archaeologist must divide time into abstracted forms such as the century or even the millennium, time periods out of reach of the notions of time that are readily conceivable to most humans. Besides the shift to smaller, more humanly feasible time periods to combat this fault, the archaeologist must strive to place the monument back into its context. The bird's eye view, commonplace in modern archaeology, was not a luxury afforded to all, if any, of the inhabitants of an archaeological site under investigation. In short, the human perspective needs to be put back into the study of archaeology.

Human agency, operating within a social context, is fundamental in the creation of landscape, of which archaeological sites are a part. Stonehenge, a site that has been the focus of many archaeological excavations and studies, has an extensive collection of data that has been gathered on it. Attempts by archaeologists to explain its meaning or significance, however, have largely ignored the human angle. Thus, the following discussion will try to replace the human into Stonehenge and its environs, of the British Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, in an attempt to offer a possible explanation of its meaning with particular attention given to the significance its construction and almost constant reconstruction might have had on the people who inhabited its

landscape.[*] This leads to the link of Stonehenge's transformation to a contemporaneous emergence of an elite class, demonstrating a possible explanation that can be reached by a shift to a more human-oriented archaeological perspective.

Landscape, temporality and social life

First and foremost, to understand what Stonehenge might have represented to those who lived during its construction, one must understand landscape. The concept of landscape is unique, separate from such ideas as 'environment', 'space', 'land' or 'nature'. Unlike land, landscape is "qualitative and heterogeneous[;]...you can ask of a landscape what it is like, but not how much of it there is (Ingold 1993: 154)." The landscape, however, should not be viewed from a perspective of a bird's eye whole for it is fundamentally "the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them (Ingold 1993: 156)." It is because of this primary connection to humanity that the landscape is experienced by the individual as place, a center in the landscape without natural boundaries (Ingold 1993).

Natural boundaries are, as such, an oxymoron. A feature of the landscape cannot, of itself, be a boundary because a boundary is recognized only in relation to a person's actions and beliefs. Thus, a feature is only a boundary if recognized or experienced as such by an individual (Ingold 1993: 156). Each place within a landscape is different, embodying the entirety of the landscape from a different vantage-point afforded its particular genitor. It is from this vantage-point that meaning is gathered from the landscape; for each feature therein may not be removed from its context, its relation to each and every other feature within the landscape and accordingly the order of the landscape is seen to be implicate (Ingold 1993: 154-55). This implicate nature

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[*] I have used the term British Neolithic to represent the years 4000-2500BCE and the Early Bronze Age as 2500-1500BCE. These dates are calibrated as are the rest of the dates found in this paper.

relates to the emphasis on form in the landscape. These forms are given meaning based on the relations drawn between and the importance placed upon them by the observer. Thus it follows that ultimately landscape should be conceptualized, as Tim Ingold suggests, from "a 'dwelling perspective'[;] according to [this perspective]...the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves (Ingold 1993: 152)."

In the prevading discussion of the conception of landscape, the individual and its perceptions and actions play a prominent role in the creation of what the landscape is. According to a 'dwelling perspective', the actions, or tasks, performed by people, are what creates the unique sense of landscape forms that are perceived at any given place. Thus, performance of human tasks is the driving force behind landscape creation and the landscape reciprocally becomes a record of these tasks. It is this fabric of tasks, the substance of dwelling, that Ingold terms the 'taskscape'. This conception of the taskscape thus runs parallel to that of the landscape, with each task – whether performed at different times or at the same time – falling into an interconnected web of human action. Therefore taskscape is to action as landscape is to form with the forms of landscape changing from the incorporation of the action of the taskscape into earlier forms, from the interaction of humans with the preexisting landscape.

People's engagement in the activities of dwelling is crucial to the existence of the taskscape (Ingold 1993: 161). The task, the building block of the taskscape, is fundamentally under human control thus creating a taskscape controlled essentially by a society; for, the taskscape is generated according to cultural values, with tasks determined by the individual within the context of societal ideologies, within social life. All of social life takes place upon a backdrop of time; social life is continuous, never finished, with no breaks in it that are not

essential to its structure, to the constant string of activities that create and sustain society (Ingold 1993: 160). So, like boundaries within the landscape, boundaries within the taskscape and its time continuum occur from human perception not from some natural construct. A point in time cannot essentially be cut off from its context, what is in the past and what lies in the future, and it is conceived of by humans as part of a patterning of time, whether linear or cyclical – or both – in nature.

Human activities take place as part of a rhythmic timing that correlates with a wide variety of natural phenomenon including the cycles of day and night and of the seasons, the tides, the weather and a host of others (Ingold 1993:163). Tasks are located within a certain part of this time rhythm by social constructs; they are also performed in a place, or places, by the same restrictions. "Physical movement presupposes the passage of time as much as space, and is equally constituted by and results from particular cultural values that determine the appropriateness of action (Pollard 1999: 79)." It can thus be seen that the nature of the landscapes is fundamentally temporal, changing in response to the effects of time – found in both human interaction as well as natural processes.

"Ultimately,…by replacing the tasks of human dwelling in their proper context with the process of becoming of the world as a whole, [one] can do away with the dichotomy between taskscape and landscape – only, however, by recognizing the fundamental temporality of the landscape (Ingold 1993: 164)." It is therefore an essential need to look at the change in landscape from a human perspective, and temporality as experiential social time, in order to gain an understanding of the motivations behind the human action that shaped it.

<u>Settlement and its implications</u>

Closely linked to the conception of landscape from a dwelling perspective, is the subject

of settlement. Settlement in archaeology is generally looked at in terms of large geographic

regions and blocks of time, outside of personal human experience, in terms of settlement

patterns. In order to understand the effects of settlement pattern on the individual, though, one

must start to see settlement as a single, although important, component of social life. Settlement

is an important form of social practice and as such requires knowledge, skills and strategy, acted

out in relation to cultural values that are created in the context of social life (Pollard 1999: 90).

Settlement is a task and thus is carried out in relation to not only people but also to the landscape

(Pollard 1999: 77). Inherent in settlement is the concept of residential mobility and it also must

be kept in mind that settlement is variable over spatial and temporal segments for there has too

often been a tendency for extreme models of either permanent or shifting settlement to be

produced, ignoring the possibility of variation over humanly perceivable segments of time and

space (Pollard 1999:79).

Pollard (1999) generally characterizes settlement in the British Neolithic as: 1) having no

permanent domestic structures; 2) having no formal division of landscape, neither field systems

nor private ownership; 3) portraying some degree of residential mobility; 4) having more

ceremonial and funerary monuments surviving than domestic enclosures; and 5) having most of

its settlement evidence coming in the form of scattered lithics. He offers three broad models for

temporal/spatial relationships for the varied Neolithic sites found in Britain. These are seasonal

transhumance, periodic shift of settlement locale and full sedentism. Seasonal transhumance is

the most popular model for the British Neolithic, with people moving to specific sites for each

season in order to utilize available resources. This model however only really applies to

evidence found at a small number of sites. Pollard (1999) suggests that this model may have

only been typical of a part of a family or lineage, such as those who tended cattle and therefore

needed to move for grazing purposes.

Full sedentism also appears very rarely in the archaeological evidence. Mostly found in

the Northern Isles of Scotland, this model is exemplified by a long-term commitment to a

particular place with the building of more substantial stone-built settlements. The model of

periodic shift of settlement locale corresponds most closely with the situation of Stonehenge, and

in fact most of the Southern British Neolithic. Occupation practices of this period appear to have

consisted of a process of piecemeal clearance followed by settlement, with fairly regular shifts

and resettlement occurring on the order of a few years (Pollard 1999: 83). In this model,

domestic structures are not built to lay permanent claim to land; burials and burial mounds are

formed for this purpose, establishing ties to group origins and genealogies of occupation. Pollard

offers the following explanation of the relationship of the available archaeological evidence and

this settlement model.

> The poor survival of Neolithic middens…suggests that these rarely had the
> chance to accumulate to any great extent. Where it is possible to gauge duration
> of occupation at particular locales, this seems to be measurable in years or a few
> decades, rather than centuries. Assemblages of pottery, lithics and animal bone
> from surface and pit deposits provide the best indicators of duration. The small
> material assemblages from [some] settlements…do not speak of occupation over
> more than a few years at most. The homogeneity of lithic and ceramic
> assemblages from large pit clusters…is also more suggestive of aggregation then
> long-term settlement (1999: 82-83).

The homogenic nature of these large pit clusters is associated with large occupation

numbers at certain enclosure sites for at least part of the year. Although seasonal aggregation,

allowing for many important social functions, is likely, it must also be kept in mind that there are

probably still some occupants at some of the enclosure sites on a year round basis. While the

basic social unit of the British Neolithic is asserted to be the household, functioning in a segmentary lineage system, it is important to note that individual households are not always the focus of individual occupations as can be seen in the variability in the size of the sites as determined by the amount and context of food production artifacts present at these sites. As with all types of settlement strategies, there are both advantages and disadvantage associated with aggregation and subsequent dispersal, of at least most of the aggregated people. In light of an aggregation model, the scale of occupation should be viewed as dynamic because of its basis in a social strategy that emphasized the maintenance and transformation of particular ideologically based conditions of existence that were not rooted in permanent domestic land ties (Pollard 1999: 87).

With the change from the period of archaeological time termed the British Neolithic to that of the Early Bronze Age, one sees only slight shifts in settlement. There still exists a lack of easily archaeologically defined and permanent domestic architecture (Brück 1999: 64). Residential mobility still holds a large role in the settlement strategies of the Early Bronze Age people, as evidenced by extensive and often sparse distributions of artifacts (Brück 1999: 66). All sites include generalized food preparation and consumption artifacts but there is still the lack of evidence to support the claim of permanently occupied farmsteads and the broad-based nature of the subsistence economy that speak of considerable mobility for most if not all members of the community (Brück 1999: 67). There are some ways in which Early Bronze Age settlement differs form that found in earlier Neolithic sites. These differences include task-specific site assemblages of artifacts and the introduction of slightly more defined field systems based in cereal production.

These two differences have been argued by some as evidence of a lack of mobility during this time period; however, further investigation allows for a view of these within the framework of continued mobility. While task-specific site artifact assemblages could be interpreted as constituting specialization of a certain settled group, this does not seem to be the case in this period. All of the assemblages related to a specific artifact specialization, such as those associated with scraper or flint knife production, do not seem to correlate with a specific type of site, such as those termed henges. Neither are task-specific sites restricted to a particular part of the landscape, such as those that might have been uninhabitable at certain times of the year, but rather become associated with most areas of the landscape (Brück 1999: 66). As far as the argument for the need of sedentism for successful cultivation of cereals, it has been shown in modern populations, such as the Cheyenne Indians, that cultivated fields do not need to be tended continuously (Brück 1999: 67). As opposed to the view of the modern British farmers, what constituted a sufficient yield for the early Bronze Age farmer is likely to have indeed been much less, with constant field tending unnecessary as cereals were not the mainstay of the subsistence economy. Due to the relative absence of field systems in the archaeological record, it is generally believed that plots of land were not cultivated for long with most laying fallow much of the time (Brück 1999: 67).

Residential mobility can be seen as underpinning settlement throughout our periods of concern, the British Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. If one takes the perspective described above, of seeing settlement as only one facet of social life, then the concept of mobility must have had some sort of significance within other arenas of social life. One has already seen that it allows for the exploitation of rich agricultural land without the bother of upkeep to maintain fixed fertility. Mobility, however, also plays a prime role in the political sphere. It allows for

the ability to keep interest groups from gaining too much power, or social control, of a more lasting quality. Thus, even within a wider social system, relatively high residential mobility would enable individual households to have a degree of freedom, able to dictate their own conditions of existence through shifting of affiliations and alliances (Pollard 1999: 84). Running counterpoint to this mobility, however, is the construction of more permanent monuments and enclosures, such as Stonehenge. It is control of the construction of these monuments, these ties to the land and the past, in a context of high mobility that will lead to the consolidation of authority, the emergence of an elite class.

Changing landscape, changing time, changing cosmology

In order to understand the emergence of this elite class in the Stonehenge area, one must first look at the working and reworking of Stonehenge and what implications this has in social life. A perceived interconnectedness of astronomical movements and alignments with other aspects of the natural world as well as the social world regularly condition people's worldviews (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 69). The sky and its celestial cycles have been seen by many societies, both ancient and modern, as immutable and therefore have been used as major metaphorical resources, banks of symbols, in the construction of a cosmology, associating properties and deities to various celestial bodies and their movements and relation to one another. The most readily recognizable association of a culture's cosmology in the material culture, the realm of the archaeologist, is the orientation of structures and monuments.

Patterns of astronomical alignments and orientations are apparent in tombs and orthostatic monuments, starting in the Early Neolithic. It follows that looking at astronomical symbolism as a possible and viable factor in the choice of location and design of prehistoric constructions, such as Stonehenge, makes sense (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 70). Rather than

look arbitrarily at a bird's eye view of Stonehenge in order to look for celestial referents, it is better to find a way to look at it from a human perspective. For this purpose, Pollard and Ruggles (2001) suggest looking at the patterning of a fundamentally human activity, deposition, that, although given due credit at many archaeology sites, seems to have been overlooked by many who study or have studied Stonehenge. Deposition is an activity, or task, that has social implications, as is evident from the finding of a fairly restricted subset of artifacts used in depositional activity, which supposes a culturally defined inclusion and subsequent exclusion of certain types of artifacts. Thus, as a facet of social life, depositional patterning may hold clues to other parts of social life, including reference to important astronomical alignments or events. Pollard (2001) also suggests that this view of deposition as an activity that carries meaning may also be an important factor in the expression of individuality, of social differentiation, through deposition as an art form and the emergence of an elite class, a topic that is explored later in this paper.

Most of the construction of the Stonehenge monument itself, took place between the years 3000 and 1600BCE. Archaeologists currently break down this construction into three main arbitrary phases. Phase 1 begins with the appearance of a circular ditch and embankment, roughly dated to about 3000BCE. This does not represent the earliest construction in the Stonehenge landscape, though; a rough timeline of construction of major landmarks within the area of Stonehenge can be found in Figure 1. Before the end of Phase 1 in about 2900 BCE, the Aubrey holes appear. Phase 2, roughly corresponding to the years 2900 to 2600 BCE, is characterized by the placement of several timber settings. All of the construction in stone at

Stonehenge, including the Sarsen and bluestone settings, took place within Phase 3, lasting from 2600 to 1600 BCE.[*]

In order to illustrate a significant change in cosmological importance during the life of Stonehenge, I consider evidence from Phases 1 and 2. I examine the evidence using radial divisions from the vantage point of the geometric center of the Stonehenge enclosure as this may demonstrate divisions that could result from actual human perceptions within the Stonehenge landscape (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 81). Pollard and Ruggles (2001: 81-2) offer three broad groupings of radial cosmological schemes; these include: 1) division based on two halves, or a binary division; 2) division based on four parts, or a quadripartite division; and 3) division based on multiple radials, or a polyradial division. Of the three, a quadripartite scheme seems most likely, as a binary one is unsupported by the evidence and a polyradial division would be hard to discern from archaeological evidence.

With this in mind, I provide four possibilities for the basis of this quadripartite division: 1) demarcation based on the cardinal directions; 2) demarcation based on intercardinal directions; 3) demarcation based on Pleiades, the rising and setting solstitial sun; and 4) demarcation based on the extreme rising and setting points of the moon (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 82). The distribution of principal depositions – including those containing worked flint, animal bone, human bone and cremations – in relation to the four quartering schemes as well as a general layout of the four schemes over a simplified representation of Stonehenge can be seen in Figures 2a-f. A larger rendering of the combination of the construction of Phase 1 and 2 can be found in Figure 3 and more detailed distributions of prime deposition is available in Figures 4

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[*] This is the extent to which I describe the overall construction of the actual Stonehenge monument. I do, however, describe smaller portions and times of change as needed to make my argument. A map of the Stonehenge environs and renderings of some of the successive construction phases are available in Figure 6 and 7.

and 5. Based on these observations, a solar-based quartering scheme seems most likely. Pollard

and Ruggles offer the following explanation of the importance of a Pleiades demarcation based

cosmology.

> The distribution of Phase 1 flint debitage suggests that a solar quartering
> cosmology was important even in the earliest phases of construction of the
> monument. Other types of deposit do not individually differentiate clearly
> between alternative possible cosmological schemes, but when taken together, with
> the exception of the worked chalk at around [azimuths] 54° and 65° which does
> not fit any obvious celestial referents, there is a general avoidance in Phase 1 of
> the solar rising portion of the eastern ditch...[Moreover,] all three [entrances] fall
> within the northern and southern sectors of a solar quartering, leaving the ditch
> unbroken throughout the eastern and western sectors where [the sun rises and
> sets] (2001: 83).

Within Phase 2, there seems to be a beginning of the breakdown of the exclusion of the

eastern sector and perhaps the major significance of sun alignments, with deposits of animal

bone, human bone and some human cremations. Throughout Phases 1 and 2, there seems to be,

in depositional practice, an increasing importance with at least one lunar event occurring

between azimuths 134° and 142°. As can be seen in Figures 2a-f, this location is the site of high

concentrations of principal deposits in both Phase 1 and 2 (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 83).

These azimuths correspond roughly to the southern most rising of the moon at Midsummer and

the depositions most likely represented placement of deposits corresponding to the rising of the

moon at socially determined auspicious times (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 83).

It holds that when one finds an assortment of orientations that fall within a range of

azimuths, one should bear in mind that they might have been considered as pointing in the same

direction, as without any structural marking of the location, deposition most likely took place

according to remembrance of a location (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 83). The further breakdown

of the chief significance of solar alignments may also be seen in the positioning of stones in

Phase 3 where orientations place significance on lunar events or on a combination of solar and

lunar events. "In one form or another, Stonehenge always embodied notions of time – both of time past and continuity – in a world of...social change (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 87)." The shift in astronomical alignments in both the construction of, and depositional activity at, Stonehenge most likely transformed, or was transformed by, social life with its characteristic constant working and reworking of symbols and symbolic relationships that affect many facets of routine existence and its associated activities, or tasks (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 88).

Stonehenge: Emergence of an elite class

While the previous discussion focused on the vantage point in the landscape as the center of the Stonehenge enclosure, it is important not to lose sight of the inherent nature of movement in being human. "Cosmologies can be conceived in relation to the body and not just in relation to a fixed point within a monument or landscape. Principles of bodily classification are often at the heart of schemes of cosmological ordering (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 86)." Therefore, the next step in the quest for gaining an understanding of Stonehenge in terms of human experience is to look at the importance that human movement through and around the monument played in perceptions of it. It is by looking at the way that Stonehenge and its surrounding environs control movement and the changes that this movement undergoes that one will find the emergence of an elite class.

As explored earlier in this paper, a person's conception of the landscape is primarily colored by the location of his body within the landscape as well as by social context. Body language, or the movement and orientation of the body in relation to others, is an important factor in allowing for determination of one's place in a discourse, one's socially acceptable ability to speak or act in any given situation (Barrett 1994: 14). Architectural features, such as Stonehenge, create boundaries that are recognized in some fashion by those who move within its

part of the landscape. These boundaries allow for segmentation of the landscape into socially defined differentiated spaces. It is upon this socially segmented landscape that ritual practice was carried out during those times of aggregation. Thus, through practice, an underlying set of connections is drawn between architectural structures and bodily movement through and around them, which is utilized in the exchanges that occur between practioners (Barrett 1994: 18)."

Through movement and orientation in the landscape, the creation of rank differentiation between practioners was enabled. There were those who were able to enter the interior and those who were kept on the outside. Of those who were able to enter, distinctions arose based on the space they occupied and moved through. These are not the only ways that distinctions were drawn between those inside the monument, however, for "buildings [not only] enclose and channel the direction of movement...[, they also] focus the attention of the eye[; thus,] at certain places – in front of certain backdrops and behind certain screens – actions occur, words are spoken and others are left unsaid, creating the discourse" of social life (Barrett 1994: 14).

Procession at Stonehenge, as at similar sites such as those of Avebury, would have played a prominent role in the ritual life of the time. Processional activity could have stretched out the distinctions enacted within the space of the monument over longer blocks of time and space. The use of procession would also have served to point out this social differentiation to a wider audience by placing these distinctions on view in a grand and structured fashion. A procession makes evident to all those in the area who is included and therefore, by reference, excluded from the proceedings within the monument while at the same time drawing distinctions between those who are included, for amongst those who were included there were both leaders and followers (Barrett 1994: 15). Long mounds or causeways – sometimes punctuated by a series of standing stones, sometimes not – acted as the stage for these processions and the Avenue, built and added

to over the third and second millennia BCE, played this role at Stonehenge. Raised above the surrounding landscape, this causeway allowed for a procession into the northeast entrance of Stonehenge – later demarcated by a series of pairs of portal-like standing stones, the Heel Stone and Slaughter Stone being two that have survived to the present day – on view to a multitude of gathered individuals (Barrett 1994).
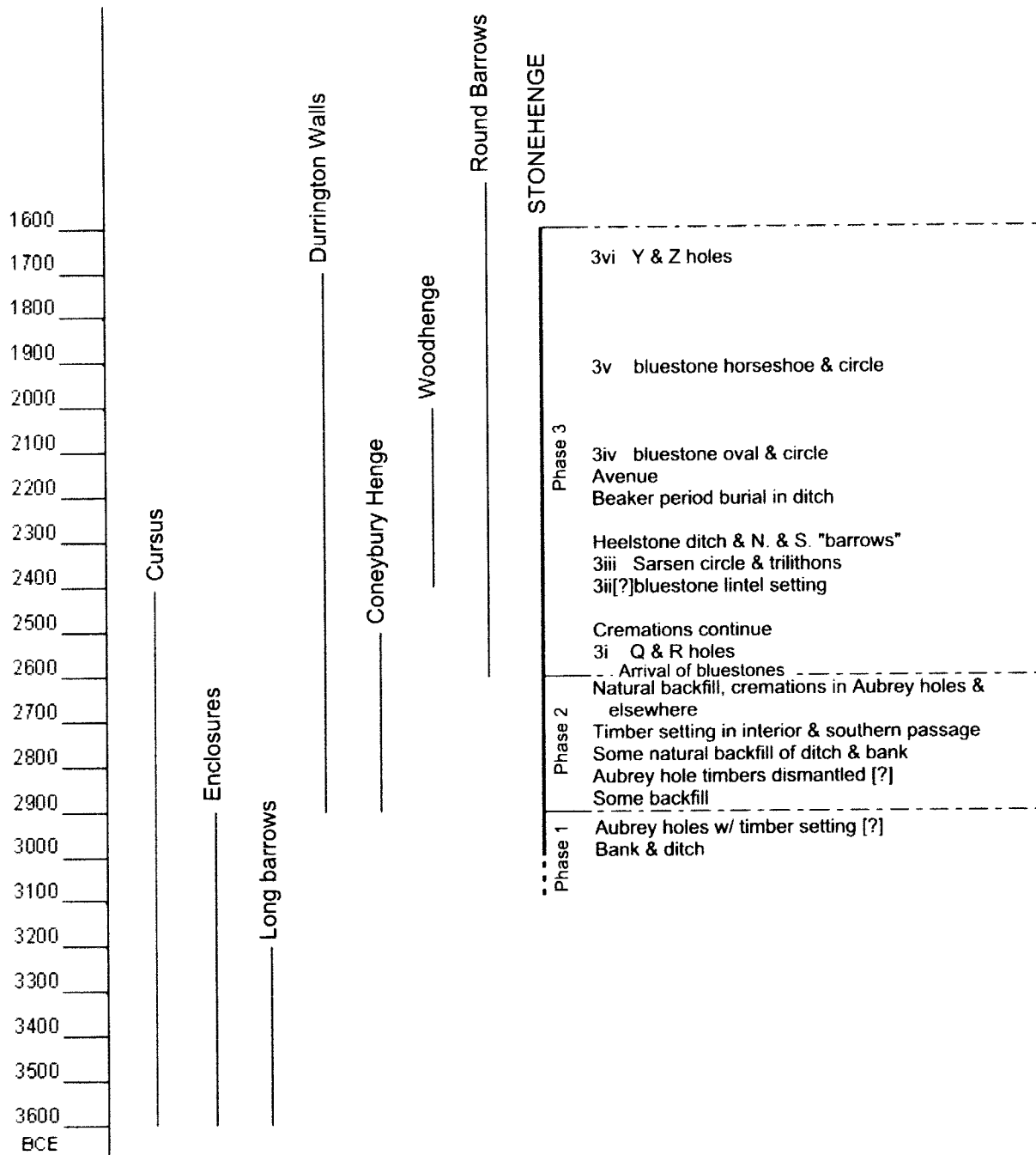
This creation of spaces and places in the construction of Stonehenge seems to have been a focus of construction from the beginning. Barbara Bender points out that the potential for social rank differentiation was already apparent in the restrictive, orchestrated nature of the long mounds and causewayed enclosures; this potential to orchestrate the human experience was even more evident in Stonehenge's cursus, early bank, ditch and wooden structures (1998: 58-9). The sheer number and size of the manmade features that characterize the Stonehenge landscape presuppose a major communal investment of labor and time. With increasing accuracy in dating techniques, it has become increasingly recognizable that Stonehenge and its environs were under constant reworking as social life changed the way people viewed their place in the world and their ties to the land. Also with this evidence comes the realization that "through time, from the early Stonehenge bank and ditch, through the steady embellishment and the increased density of the concentric timber structures at Stonehenge..., and back to the rebuilding in stone of Stonehenge..., movement, operation and observation were increasingly restricted (Bender 1998: 60)." This increasing segmentation of the landscape and restriction of movement within it by architectural structures allowed, in practices such as procession and feasting, for a select few to lead these important activities of social life, to exert and demonstrate greater rank, influence and power.

The importance of the demarcation of time and space within the landscape in the creation

of an elite class can also be seen in the study of the funerary and ancestral practices, facets of

social life, that left their mark on the landscape in the forms of mounds. There is a strong shift in

funerary practices, in the form of burials, from the early Neolithic where long mounds tended to

be relatively small, housing a number of disarticulated inhumations – the individuals of which

cross-cut age and gender boundaries – to the end of the third millennium (Bender 1998: 58).

Long mounds in this time period began to regularly house only a single articulated burial and

tended to be larger than previous ones, denoting a shift from a more community focused

ancestral complex to one associated more readily with the individual or lineage. Most likely, it

was not the burial itself that allowed for competition in social status but rather other factors such

as the attendant character of the funeral feast or procession or in the assertion of ties or rights to a

particular place in the burial ground (Barrett 1994: 66). The monuments left behind simply stood

as testimony to the remembrance of these important social events that helped establish a

lineage's place in society.

Taken in totality, social life seems to have moved from a model of inclusion to one of

increasing exclusion. Those who became increasingly excluded were those who most likely put

the most labor and time into the creation of the structures meant to exclude them from parts of

rituals that were originally intended to benefit the whole community. As can be seen from this

brief look at human perceptions of the world – in this case, the one attendant on the Stonehenge

landscape of the British Neolithic and Early Bronze Age – a greater understanding of the

archaeological record needs to incorporate consideration of the consequences of humanized

increments of time and change on the social life that forms that record. Only with this

humanization of archaeology can one hope to create a narrative that might approximate the social

landscape that influenced the creation of human settlement and thus, the surviving archaeological

record of a society's dwelling.

Figure 1.   Calibrated dates for some of the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Developments in the Stonehenge landscape.[*]

1600
1700
1800
1900
2000
2100
2200
2300
2400
2500
2600
2700
2800
2900
3000
3100
3200
3300
3400
3500
3600
BCE

Cursus
Enclosures
Long barrows
Durrington Walls
Coneybury Henge
Woodhenge
Round Barrows
STONEHENGE

Phase 3

3vi   Y & Z holes

3v   bluestone horseshoe & circle

3iv   bluestone oval & circle
Avenue
Beaker period burial in ditch

Heelstone ditch & N. & S. "barrows"
3iii   Sarsen circle & trilithons
3ii[?]bluestone lintel setting

Cremations continue
3i   Q & R holes
Arrival of bluestones

Phase 2

Natural backfill, cremations in Aubrey holes & elsewhere
Timber setting in interior & southern passage
Some natural backfill of ditch & bank
Aubrey hole timbers dismantled [?]
Some backfill

Phase 1

Aubrey holes w/ timber setting [?]
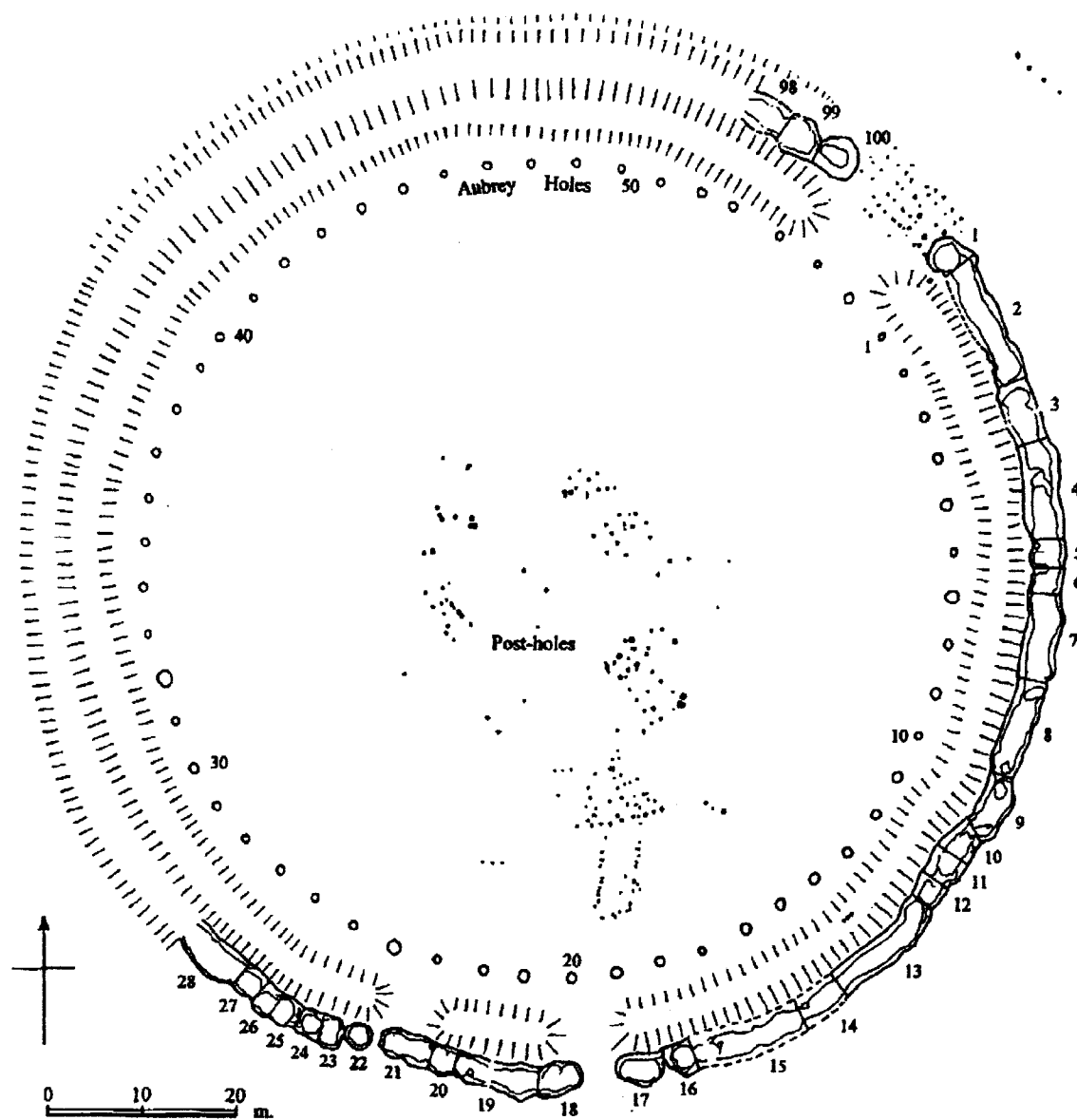Bank & ditch

[*] (Bender 1998: 41)

Figure 2.   Schematic representation of four quartering schemes and the distribution of prime deposits. Note that the shaded area represents the unexcavated section of Stonehenge.[*]
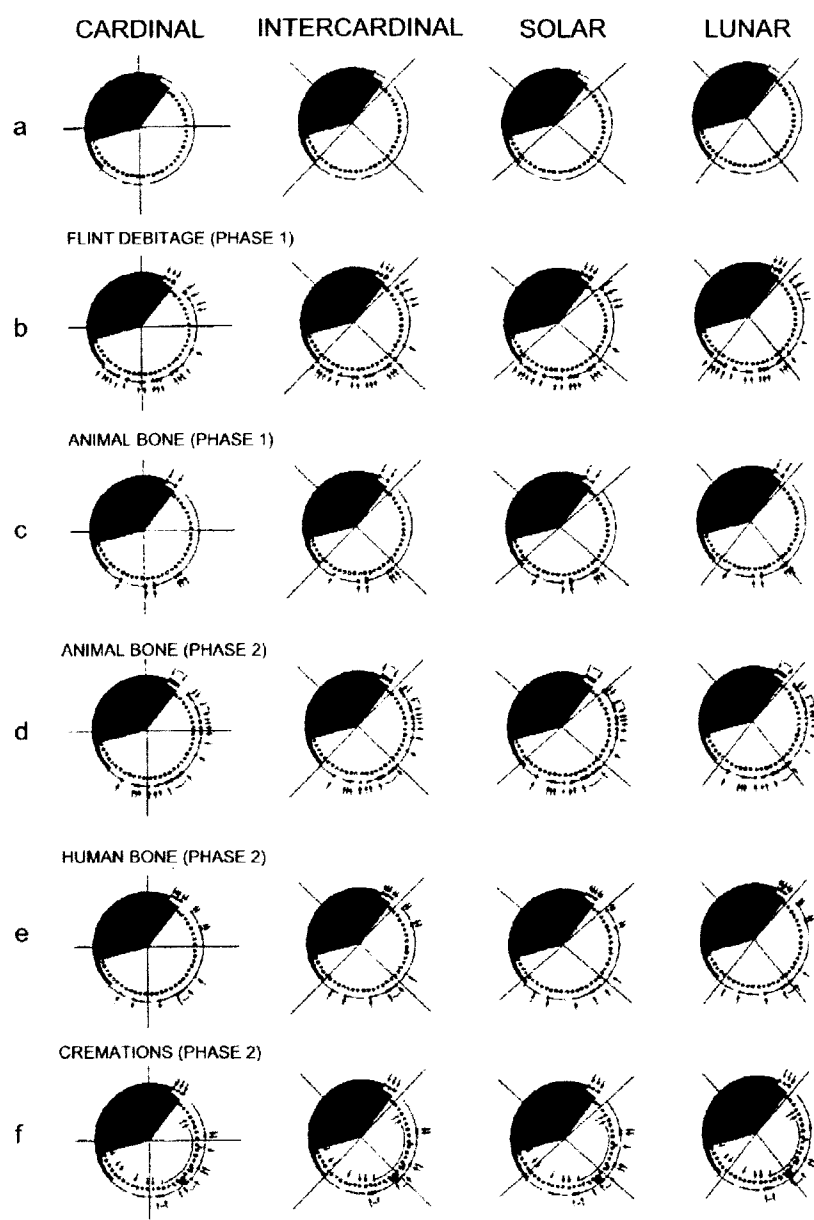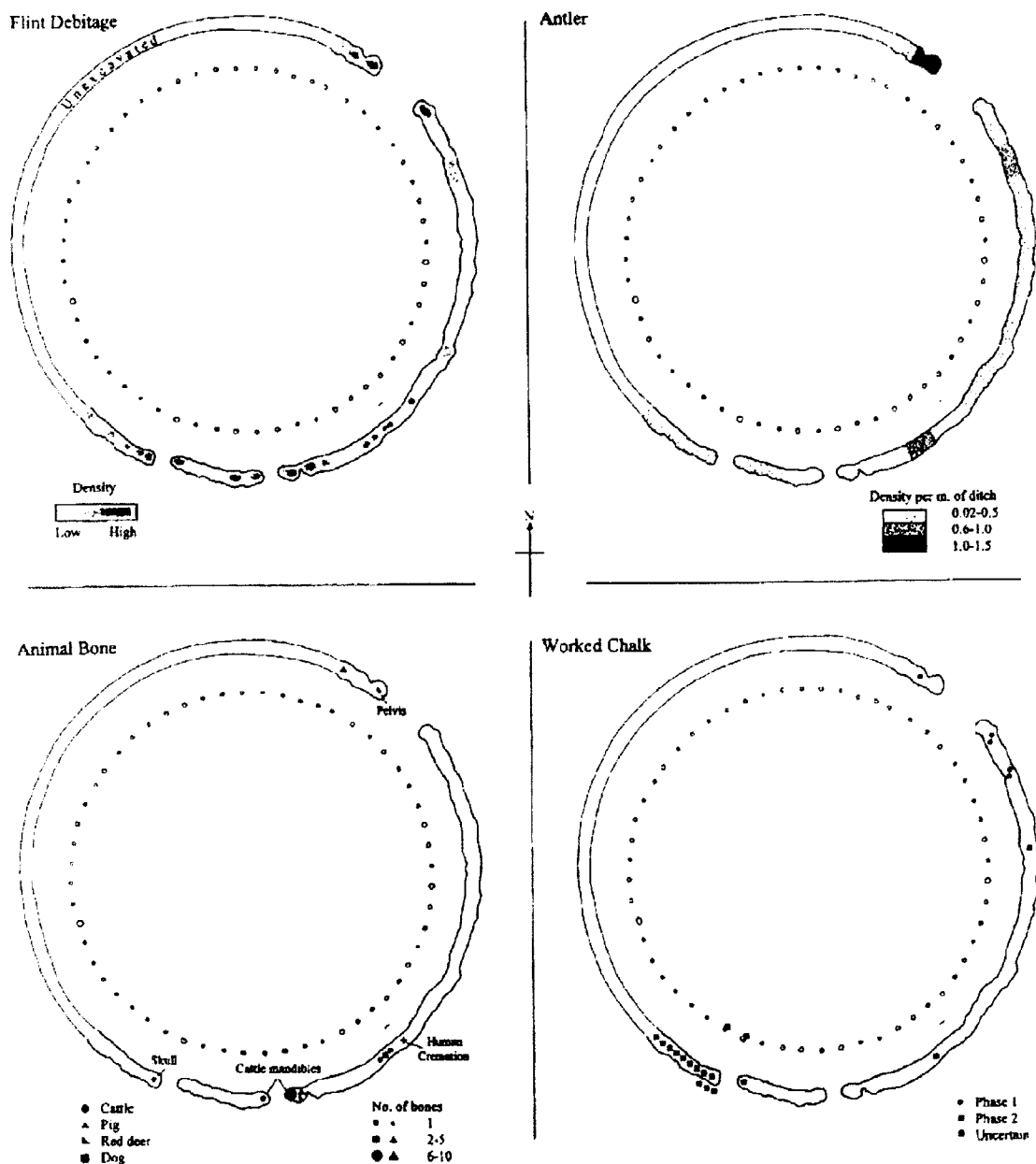

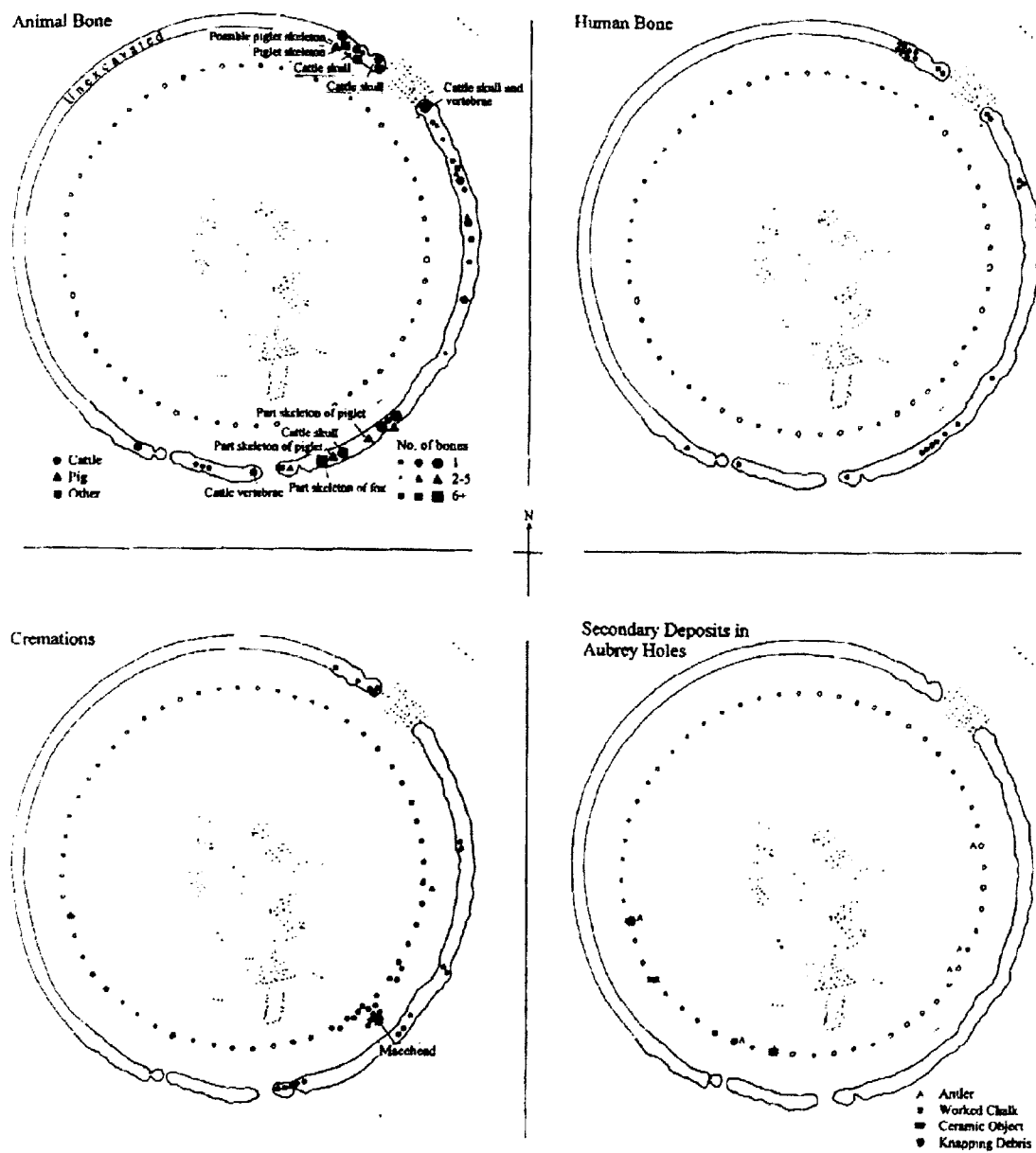[*] (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 84)

Figure 3.   Phase 1 and 2 features.[*]

Figure 4.   Phase 1 deposits. Note that the distribution of worked chalk includes pieces from both Phase 1 and 2.[*]

Flint Debitage

Density
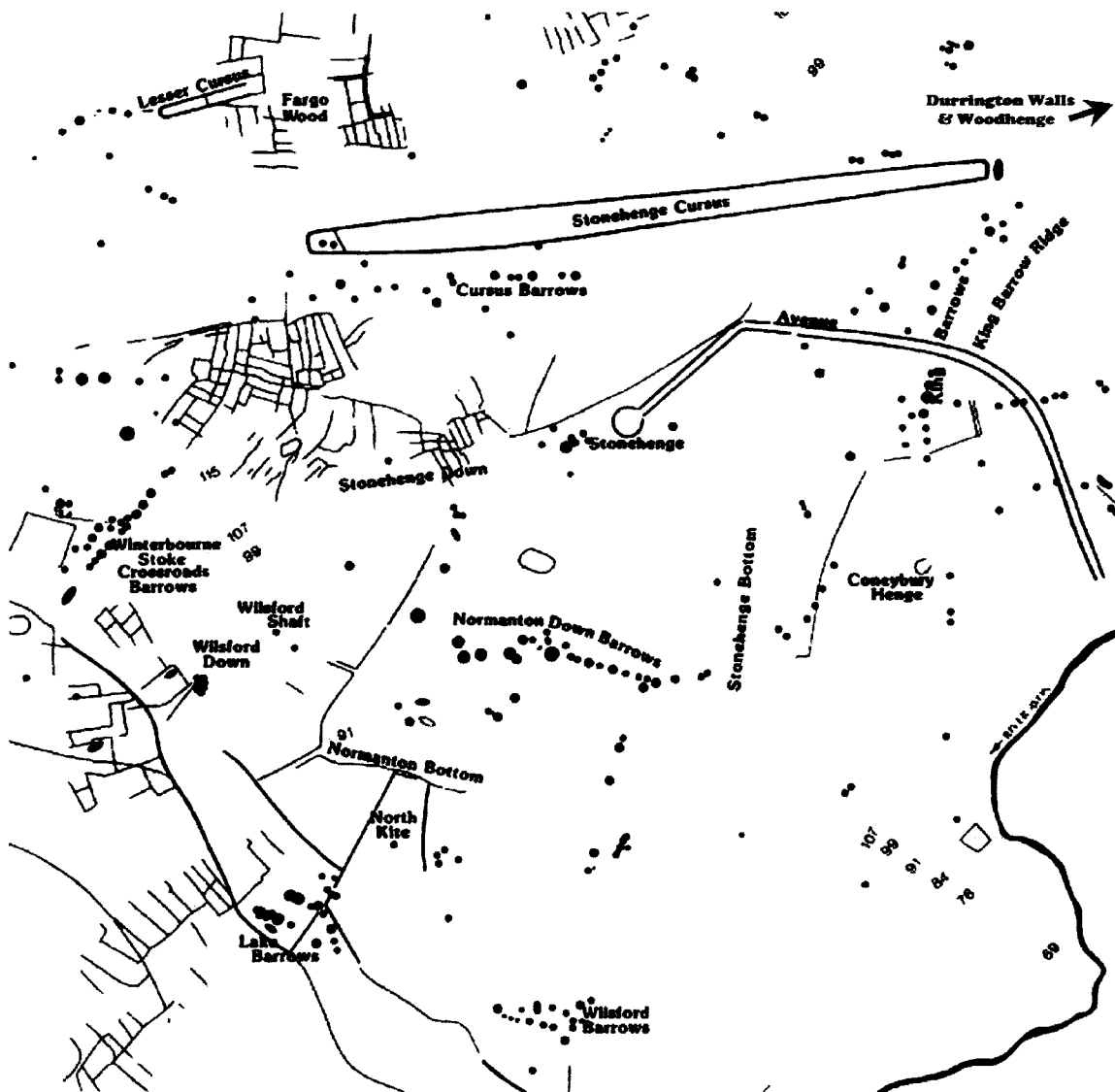
Low   High

Antler

Density per m. of ditch
0.02-0.5
0.6-1.0
1.0-1.5

Animal Bone

Skull   Cattle mandibles   Pelvis   Human Cremation

● Cattle
▲ Pig
▲ Red deer
● Dog

No. of bones
● ▲   1
● ▲   2-5
● ▲   6-10

Worked Chalk

● Phase 1
■ Phase 2
● Uncertain

[*] (Pollard and Ruggles 2001: 78)

Figure 5.   Phase 2 deposits.[*]

Figure 6.   Stonehenge and its environs.[*]

Figure 7.   Phases in the development of Stonehenge. Note that the limits of
excavated areas are shown in the Phase 2 rendering.[*]
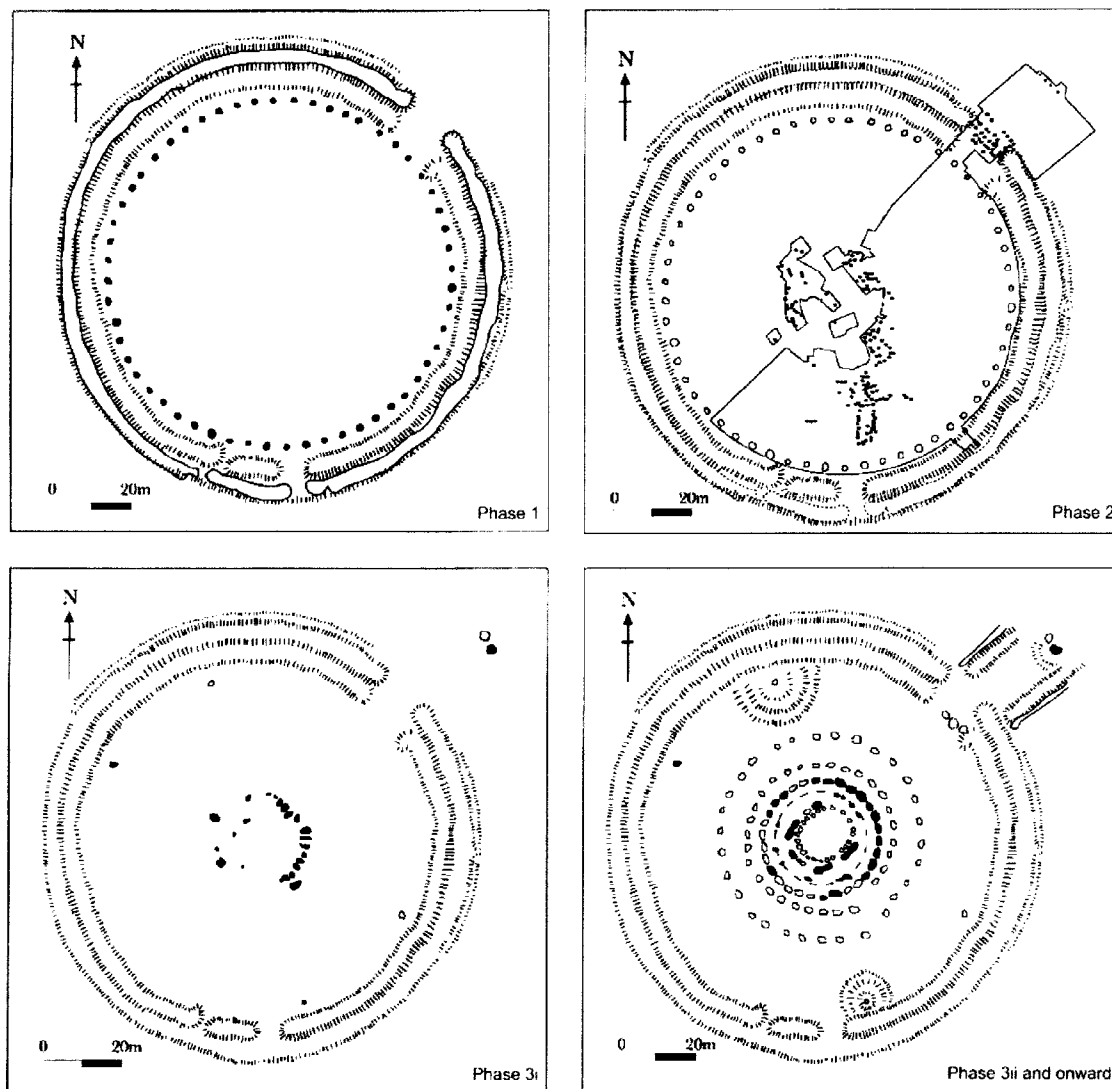
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