Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society 79, 2013, pp. 1–17 © The Prehistoric Society
doi:10.1017/ppr.2013.1 First published online 8 April 2013

Houses of Commons, Houses of Lords: Domestic Dwellings and Monumental Architecture in Prehistoric Europe

By RICHARD BRADLEY[1]

This paper is based on the 2012 Europa Lecture and discusses the relationship between the forms and structures of domestic buildings and those of public monuments. Its chronological scope extends between the Neolithic period and the Viking Age in western, northern and central Europe, with a special emphasis on the contrast between circular and rectilinear architecture. There were practical limits to the diameters of circular constructions, and beyond that point they might be organised in groups, or their characteristic outlines were reproduced in other media, such as earthwork building. By contrast, the main constraint on building rectangular houses was their width, but they could extend to almost any length. That may be one reason why they only occasionally provided the prototype for specialised forms of monument such as mounds or enclosures. Instead rectangular buildings played a wide variety of roles from domestic dwellings to ceremonial centres.

Keywords: House societies, roundhouses, longhouses, Irish royal centres, Beowulf, the Táin, halls, henges, roundels, timber circles

The English word 'house' can carry many different connotations. The title of this paper refers to the Houses of Parliament, but they are public institutions rather than domestic dwellings. On one level the name applies to two groups of people who occupy separate structures beside the River Thames. On another, those buildings are considered as the Palace of Westminster. They are located beside an abbey; they were constructed in an archaic style; and their design involved Augustus Pugin, the author of *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841). In that sense they not only play a secular role, they make an obvious reference to sacred monuments. It is no surprise that Westminster Abbey is where the monarch is crowned, for this is a place where political power and religious ritual are combined.

The Houses of Parliament are both the buildings and the people who work there, but the Palace of Westminster was once a royal residence. That is no longer true, but it is not by chance that the Queen is head of the House of Windsor. The title refers to a castle further up the river, so this is a case in which a family has taken its name from the building in which it lives – the word 'house' refers to a distinctive type of dwelling and also to a dynasty. The same practice can be found in other contexts where it defines a special group of people. It applies to colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, the members of a religious community, the occupants of the same building in a boarding school, and even to the audience in a theatre. The word has assumed a double meaning. It refers to a physical structure – sometimes a specialised or monumental one – and to the people associated with it. Thus it is both architecture and institution. That is what links the royal family with Windsor Castle, and it is also what connects the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

A similar process has been recognised by anthropologists. For a long time they have studied the organisation of non-Western societies: a process that culminated in Claude Lévi-Strauss's book *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (Lévi-Strauss 1969). More recently his models have come in for criticism, but perhaps the most important advance was made in later life by Lévi-Strauss himself. He was struck by the way in which those who occupy the same buildings – often longhouses – form social units which do not

[1]Department of Archaeology, School of Human and Environmental Sciences, University of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading RG6 6AB UK
Email: R.J.Bradley@Reading.ac.uk

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

conform to the rules identified in his earlier research. Lévi-Strauss recognised the crucial importance of the house as a dwelling place but also as a symbol that stands for a distinctive group of people. He referred to them as 'house societies' (Lévi-Strauss 1975).

His rather abstract analysis treats house societies as an elite whose composition breaks down traditional notions of kinship. Recent commentators have taken a different approach and discuss the character of the buildings themselves (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995). Their construction might have conveyed the importance of the people who live there. To overlook this is the equivalent of talking about the Houses of Parliament without knowing that their architecture evokes the appearance of a cathedral, or discussing the House of Windsor without realising that Windsor has a castle. At the same time, different dwellings may be found together, but few of their occupants need enjoy the same status – there are houses of commons as well as houses of lords, and the difference between them may be visible on the ground

Can archaeologists identify contrasts of this kind? Are there cases in which the significance of domestic dwellings was echoed in other media such as earthwork building? Both these points can be illustrated by Irish law tracts dating from the 8th century AD (Edwards 1990, 33; Stout 1997, chap. 7; Lynn & McDowell 2011, chap. 34). Although they represent an ideal rather than the reality, the fact that they were codified suggests such principles were important. They specify the size of dwellings appropriate for different members of society, and the nature of the boundary marking the limits of their settlement.

There was an important distinction between the roundhouse of a 'young lord', and that occupied by other members of the community (Stout 1997, 111–15). Lower status dwellings should be 5 m or more in diameter, which is the size most often encountered in excavation. The other dwellings were considerably larger and had diameters of over 11 m. A similar distinction applies to the boundary of the site. In this case the law code distinguished between kings and vassals, but the principle is much the same: the width of the perimeter expressed the standing of the occupants (Fig. 1; Stout 1997, 11 and 113). The earthwork of a high status site should be over four times as wide as that round an ordinary settlement. These features could be closely connected. The houses and enclosures shared the same circular outline, and their entrances were usually directed towards the rising sun. In that way they could be mirror images of one another. The multivallate ringfort could even be considered as an extended roundhouse, and that would have indicated the status of the occupants.

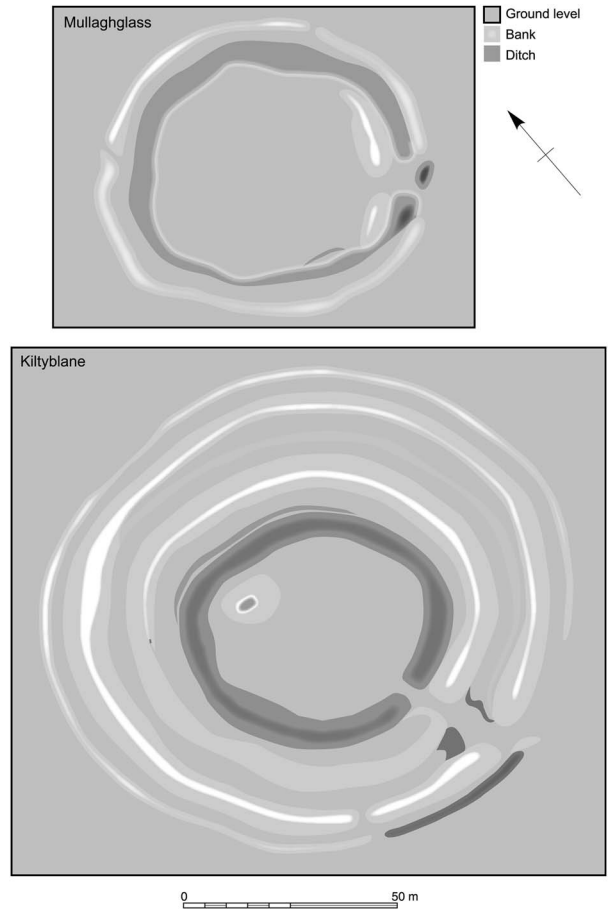

Fig. 1.
Outline plans of two ringforts in County Armagh (after Neill 2009). Their internal areas are much the same, but there is a striking contrast between the widths of their earthwork boundaries

An objection to this argument is that it draws on evidence from the historical period, but, even if these laws reflect a medieval view of the world, there is evidence that similar ideas were at work during the Iron Age.

Again there are chronological problems. The most compelling evidence comes from Irish royal centres, but at present there is a disparity between the dates of the structures that have been excavated and the age of the earliest documents that refer to these places (Waddell 2011). They describe them as the capitals

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

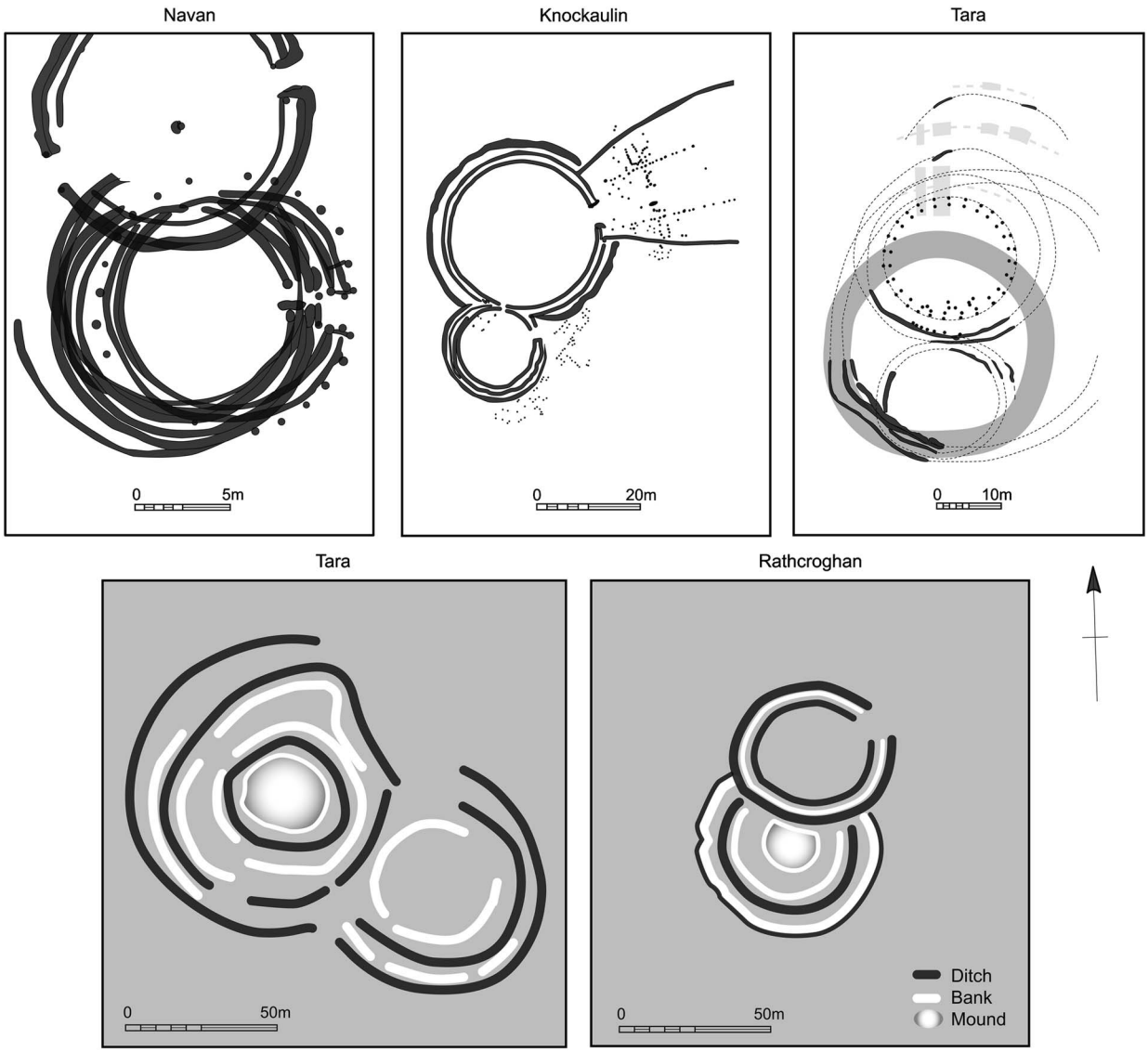

Fig. 2.
Figure of eight structures at Irish royal centres. The upper row shows the plans of excavated timber buildings at Navan, Knockaulin, and Tara, and the lower row illustrates the same relationship between unexcavated mounds and earthwork enclosures at Tara and Rathcroghan. Information from Waterman (1997), Johnston & Wailes (2007), Grogan (2008), Newman (1997), and Waddell *et al.* (2009)

of the ancient provinces of Ireland and sites where kings were inaugurated, but there is little agreement on when these accounts were written down or the antiquity of the practices they record. At one extreme it seems as if the excavated structures date from the pre-Roman and Roman Iron Ages, whilst the texts were not committed to writing until the late 1st millennium AD (Mallory 1992). They may include elements that were present in an earlier period, but the specific ceremonies described in these sources took place long after these monuments had been built (Waddell 2011). The field evidence is limited to feasting, metalworking, and occasional poorly dated burials.

A consistent feature of the sites that have been investigated is the presence of enormous circular buildings. In some cases they were replaced several times in the same positions. Such structures were often joined together to form a figure of eight (Fig. 2;

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Grogan 2008, 30–4). All too little is known about settlements in the Iron Age, but enough has been recorded to show that people in Ireland lived in small roundhouses (Becker 2009; Corlett & Potterton 2012). The massive structures at the royal sites were built on a larger scale. Here the principal buildings are between 20 m and 30 m in diameter.

In this case it is not only the scale of the building that stands out, but its relationship with earthwork monuments. It could take several forms. At Tara a series of conjoined structures was enclosed by a complex ringfort used during the Roman Iron Age (Newman 1997, 77–83), whilst similar buildings at Knockaulin were located at the centre of a palisaded enclosure (Johnston & Wailes 2007; Johnston *et al.* 2009). Navan Fort shows a different sequence, for there a similar building – the last in a protracted sequence – was replaced by a circular construction almost 40 m in diameter. It was set on fire and buried beneath an enormous mound (Waterman 1997). Geophysical survey at Rathcroghan shows that in this case. a structure in the form of a roundhouse 30 m in diameter was erected *on top of* a similar feature (Waddell *et al.* 2009, chap. 5). Two of the undated earthworks at Tara illustrate a different development, and the characteristic figure of eight plan is represented by a multivallate enclosure and a mound of the kind used for royal inaugurations during the Middle Ages (FitzPatrick 2004). Their characteristic form recalls the layout of the wooden buildings. In turn those structures represent some of the features of domestic dwellings, but on an exaggerated scale.

Most of these places play a role in the epic literature of Ireland, but again there is controversy about the date at which it was recorded. Rathcroghan and Navan Fort both feature in the *Táin* (Mallory 1992). The same applies to another royal centre that was important during the 1st millennium AD. This was Lejre in Denmark which most authorities consider was the setting of the epic poem *Beowulf* (Niles & Osborn 2007). Again the most prominent features found in excavation appear to have been outsize versions of the domestic buildings occupied at the time, but in this case there is an important difference, for at Lejre all the buildings were rectangular, as they were throughout Scandinavia. The prototype for the feasting hall in the poem was probably a longhouse.

Again there are chronological problems to address. There is disagreement about the date at which the poem was written down, and the period to which it refers – they are not necessarily the same (Hills 1997). The difficulties are compounded because the text is in Anglo-Saxon, yet the action takes place in Scandinavia. In some ways the geography of *Beowulf* poses fewer problems than its chronology, and there is a growing consensus that it was set on Zealand and that a timber structure at Lejre is the most likely candidate for the hall of Heorot (Niles & Osborn 2007). Even that may be too simple. Only part of this site has been excavated, but there are already the remains of *not one but two* massive rectangular buildings, the earlier of which dates from the 6th century AD. It was located close to the remains of a Bronze Age barrow (Fig. 3). The other was first constructed in the mid-7th century and rebuilt about AD 890 (Christensen 2010). There are additional structures in the vicinity which recall those associated with early power centres in Denmark and Sweden: a series of circular burial mounds and a stone ship setting. Similar features are associated with the early power centres at Jelling (Randsborg 2008) and Gamla Uppsala (Ljungqvist 2000). Like Knockaulin, Lejre provides evidence of feasting and craft production, but in this case documentary sources tell of sacrifice.

The excavated halls at Lejre would have been as impressive as the circular buildings in Ireland, but they were not contemporary with them. The largest was almost 50 m in length and had four separate entrances (Christensen 2010). Like the longhouses of the same period it had slightly bowed side walls and a massive pitched roof. Although its external appearance was similar to that of a greatly enlarged dwelling, it was not divided between a living area and a byre.

Although Lejre may have provided a setting for *Beowulf* and Rathcroghan for the *Táin*, there is an important difference between them. The Irish centres contain an extraordinary profusion of earthwork structures; in fact their number is increasing with the results of geophysical survey (Newman 1997). With the exception of the roads leading to some of these monuments, they share the characteristic that all of them are circular. For that reason they have the same ground plan as domestic dwellings. Even so, they take different forms. There are large and small circular enclosures, some of them defined by earthworks and others by palisades. They can be bounded by single banks and ditches, but a striking proportion of the ringforts associated with royal centres are multi-vallate constructions. There are also circular

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

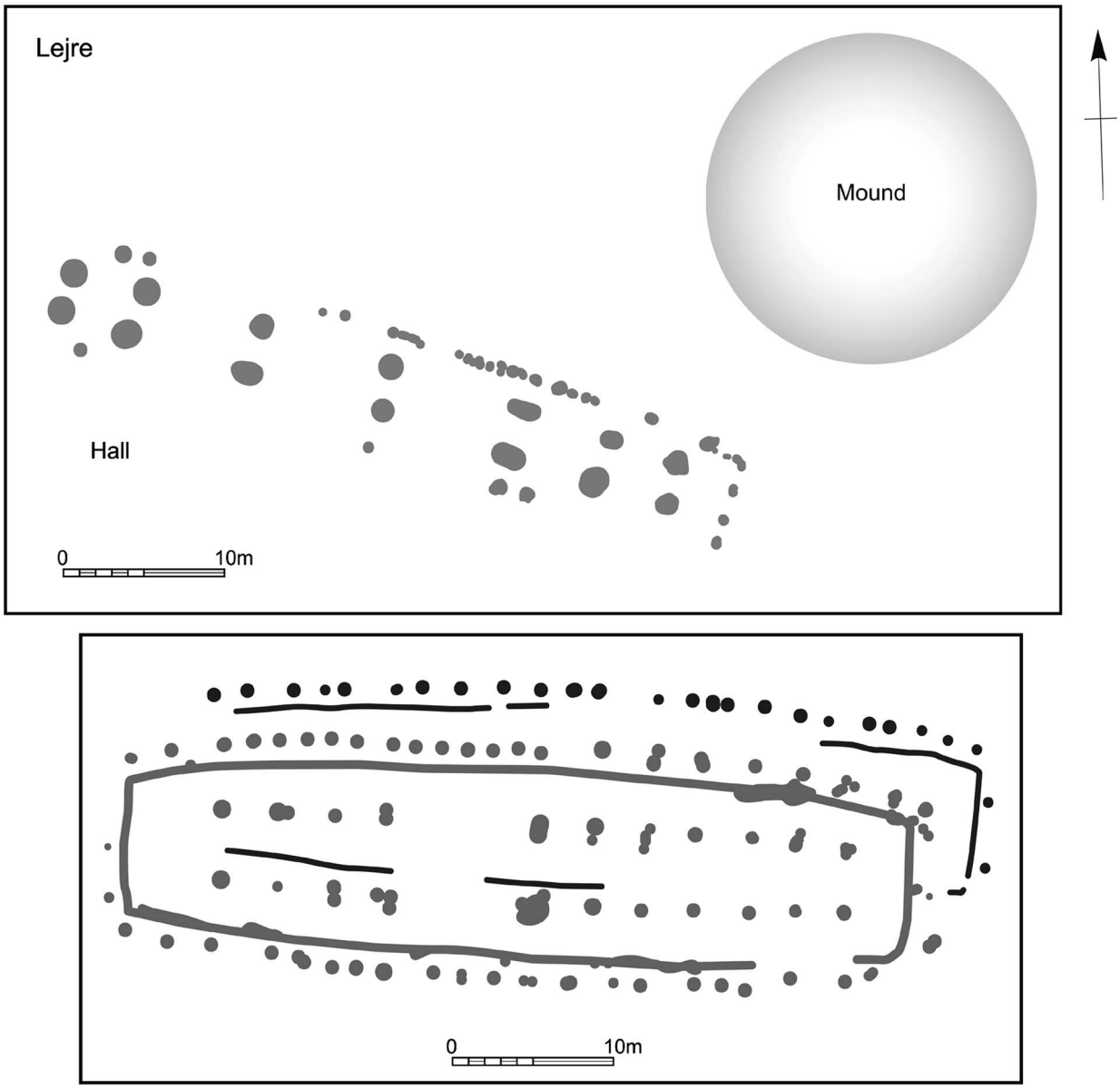

Fig. 3.
Outline plans of successive monuments at Lejre, Denmark. The upper plan shows the relationship between the earliest hall and a Bronze Age round barrow. The lower plan shows two constructional phases of a later hall on the same site. Information from Christensen (2010)

barrows of various sizes. Among them are more ancient structures, like the Mound of the Hostages at Tara, which may have been brought back into use during the Iron Age (O'Sullivan 2005).

By contrast, Lejre is characterised by a variety of rectangular buildings of different proportions and degrees of structural elaboration (Christensen 2010). In this case the royal centre is characterised by a series of structures with the same footprint. As well as the halls revealed by excavation, there are three round mounds, one of which was associated with a rich burial dating from the 6th or 7th century AD as well as a Viking cemetery. Such juxtapositions are not peculiar to this site. Perhaps the best known

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

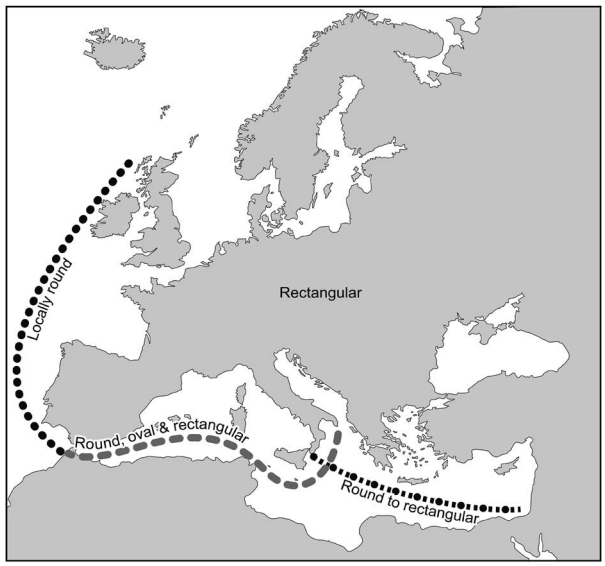

Fig. 4.
The principal regional traditions of domestic architecture in prehistoric Europe

example of this combination is at Gamla Uppsala where a series of gigantic round barrows is associated with a settlement containing another hall. In AD 1076 it was described as a pagan temple, but excavation suggests that it resembled a large house (Ljungqvist 2000).

Sites like those in Scandinavia and Ireland illustrate a striking contrast between circular and rectilinear buildings. It was present from a very early stage. In western Asia and the east Mediterranean the roundhouses of the first farmers were normally replaced by rectangular dwellings, and buildings of this kind were adopted in most parts of eastern, central and northern Europe where their history extends from the settlement mounds known as tells to the longhouses of the Linear Pottery Culture and its successors. In its different manifestations this form of architecture remained important through the pre-Roman and Roman periods and into the Middle Ages (Fig. 4; Bradley 2012, 10–19). In southern Europe and parts of the west Mediterranean it coexisted with the use of oval and circular buildings, although this became less common after the Copper Age. Along the Atlantic coastline from Portugal to Orkney circular structures were more often built, although their origins are poorly documented. In some areas their history extended as late at the Roman Iron Age. There are many areas where they were replaced by rectangular buildings, and it was only in Ireland and parts of upland Britain that roundhouses retained their importance into the late 1st millennium AD. In such cases they were often associated with circular monuments (Bradley 2012, 199–203).

That leaves many questions unanswered. There is the problem epitomised by the monument complexes at Lejre and Tara. Both sites played similar roles in a literature concerned with heroes and supernatural powers, but they took entirely different forms. Why did it happen? Communities in Ireland were in contact with the Roman world, and there was even a rectilinear structure inside the Rath of the Synods at Tara (Grogan 2008), but here the circular plan prevailed until the Viking period. In the same way, the inhabitants of Lejre built circular mounds and reused older monuments (Christensen 2010). There were similar earthworks at Jelling. One of them incorporated the remains of a Bronze Age round barrow, but there were longhouses nearby (Randsborg 2008).

There is another problem. In regions in which roundhouses were the norm there are large numbers of circular earthworks and stone settings. In most periods rectilinear constructions are rare. After the first long barrows, the areas in which longhouses were favoured contain few rectangular monuments (Midgley 2008). When stone or earthwork structures were built they usually assumed other forms. What accounts for this contrast?

There is more to say about domestic architecture. No matter when they were built, there was a striking contrast between the structures found in settlements with wooden roundhouses and those containing longhouses. At sites with circular buildings all the separate structures may have been the same size, or their scale could vary to a limited extent. Niall Sharples's recent book suggests that most of those in later Bronze Age and Iron Age Wessex measured between 5 m and 10 m across, with a few unusually large buildings where the figure increased to 15 m (Sharples 2010, 192–7). Of course, that was a local preference, but it is interesting that in another region which contains circular dwellings – north-west Iberia – the equivalent estimates are comparable; most of the circular houses were 7 m or 8 m in diameter (Ayán Villa 2008). Even though they had stone foundations, their superstructure was of timber.

A similar estimate applies to the widths of most of the longhouses in prehistoric Europe but, in this case, that measurement remains about the same

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

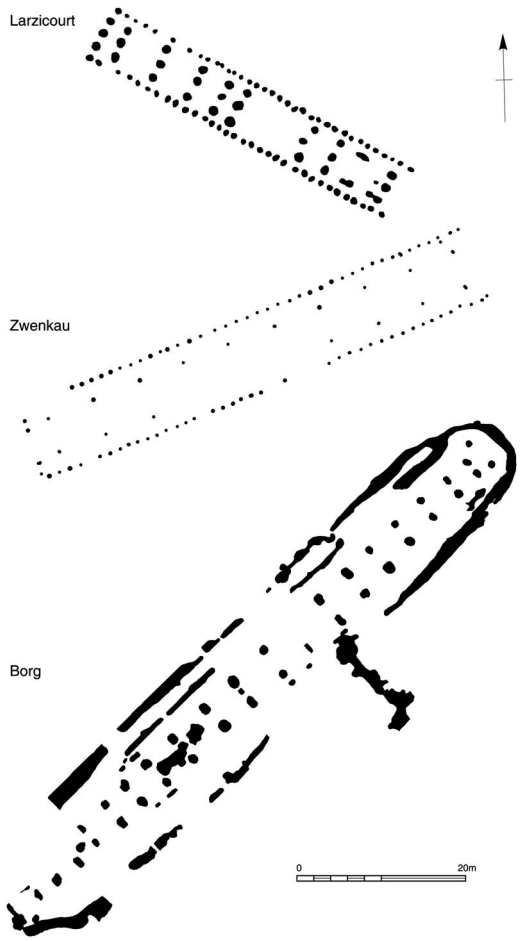

Fig. 5.
Outlines plans of a Linearbandkeramik longhouse at Larzicourt (France), an Early Bronze Age structure at Zwenkau (Germany), and the Late Iron Age hall at Borg (Norway). Information from Coudart (1998), Stäuble (1997), and Munch *et al.* (2003)

within any one site. At the largest settlements of the Linear Pottery Culture the figure is normally between 6 m and 8 m (Coudart 1998, chap. 2). In the Middle and Late Bronze Age settlements of the Netherlands it ranges from 5.5 m to 7.5 m (Arnoldussen 2008, fig. 5.26), and in Jutland during the Iron Age longhouses are normally between 5 m and 7 m wide (Webley 2008, 51–3). Only rarely were longhouses more than 10 m wide. Similar considerations do not apply to the lengths of any of these buildings. In the Linear Pottery Culture such structures could be up to 40 m long (Fig. 5), and in the succeeding phase they could extend for 60 m (Coudart 1998, fig. 26). Recent work shows that in the Dutch Bronze Age domestic dwellings were usually 10–30 m long, although the full range is up to 50 m (Arnoldussen 2008, 218–19). It was rarely the average size of these dwellings that changed over time, but the extent of variation within any one period. On the other hand, Early Bronze Age longhouses in north-east Germany achieved an even greater length, although this was exceptional, and the Late Iron Age hall at Borg in northern Norway was still more remarkable, with a total length of 83 m (Fig. 5; Stäuble 1997; Munch *et al.* 2003).

There is a simple way of summing up these measurements. In settlements containing roundhouses the buildings span a limited range of sizes and there would have been few striking contrasts between them. That is true in a number of different regions. In settlements with longhouses, however, the widths of these structures remained more or less constant but their lengths showed considerable variation, and this would have been obvious to an observer at the time. In most cases their widths were of the same order of magnitude as the diameters of circular buildings. Why was this?

There are practical limits to the area that can be spanned by a domed roof. Corbelling is uncommon in prehistoric houses, but this technique was employed to construct nuraghi during the Bronze Age in Sardinia (Lilliu 1988, chap. 6). It is more characteristic of Roman engineering and of massive public buildings like the Pantheon (Stamper 2005). In a wooden construction the critical element is the length of the rafters. This point has often been discussed. It was considered in detail when the timber circles at Durrington Walls were excavated and opinion is still divided on how they should be reconstructed (Wainwright & Longworth 1991, 363–77; Gibson 2005). In the same way, the monograph on Navan Fort offers a very strong argument that even the largest timber setting on the site possessed a roof (Waterman 1997, 159–71), but in the excavator's view similar buildings at Knockaulin were left open to the sky (Johnston & Wailes 2007). Much has been learnt from experimental archaeology. For instance, Peter Reynolds used rafters 10 m in length to reconstruct the large Iron Age roundhouse at Pimperne (Harding *et al.* 1993, 93–12). Longer timbers could have been obtained, but they would be less common. They would have been more difficult to transport and manoeuvre into position, for even those used in Reynolds's reconstruction weighed up to 4 hundredweight (*c.* 229 kg) each. In accounts of ancient wooden

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

buildings it is normal to reconstruct the roof with a 45° pitch. In that way it should stand up to a strong wind. Similar considerations must have applied to longhouses, but with one important difference. There would have been tie beams linking the two side walls, and rafters were needed to span the *width* of the dwelling. Again the same roof pitch is used in most reconstructions, with the result that those rafters would have been about the same length as their counterparts in circular buildings.

Up to a certain limit roundhouses could be built to different sizes. They could also abut one another, as they did at the royal centres and early medieval settlements in Ireland, but there was little scope for greater elaboration. The centre of a building could stand proud like a tower; some roundhouses could have had more than one storey; but, apart from the radial division of space, there were not many ways of organising the interior. That was particularly true as few buildings had more than one entrance (Harding 2009).

The implications of these arguments are obvious. Roundhouses rarely exceeded a certain size and, when it did happen, they made exceptional demands on the builders. Structures much over 15 m in diameter would have been difficult to construct and maintain, yet they would have been the only ones that could have held a large number of people at the same time. Those buildings must have stood out from the others, and if their roofs had a 45° pitch, as most authorities suggest, they would have been taller than a normal dwelling; their proportions would have resembled those of a mound. Although buildings like the examples at Navan were massive undertakings, the process of enlargement had obvious limits, and beyond a certain point additional structures might have been required.

An alternative to erecting a second roundhouse was to construct another kind of monument in the image of a domestic building. That was precisely what happened. Circular forms could be reproduced in different media, even on the same sites. They could be represented by banks and ditches, palisades, settings of monoliths, and mounds, and could also have been recessed into the ground like Irish henges. Nearly all these forms can be represented on ceremonial sites, whether they are the royal centres of Ireland or the monument complexes of the Late Neolithic period in Britain. In most cases the obvious prototype was the house.

There is less evidence that a similar approach was taken to prehistoric longhouses, and, in contrast to circular dwellings, rectangular buildings were only rarely copied by other kinds of monumental architecture. The main exception was the long barrow, but its actual importance may have been over-emphasised. There seems little doubt that the earliest long barrows and long cairns were built in areas where large rectangular dwellings had recently gone out of use, but the domestic buildings that replaced them were altogether slighter structures, even when they occupied the same sites (Bradley 2012, 86–8). In northern Europe it appears that circular monuments associated with passage graves were adopted two centuries later (Schultz Paulsson 2010) and that they were also built over the remains of rectangular dwellings – in that case there was no link between the plans of houses and those of the monuments that replaced them. The strongest connection between mounds and domestic dwellings referred to the longhouses inhabited in the past.

Ironically, a second exception is also called a 'long barrow' – an alternative name is 'long-bed' (Fig. 6). In this case it was neither large nor especially conspicuous. Its chronology presents some problems, but structures of this kind appear to have been built from the Middle Bronze Age to the early Iron Age in the Netherlands, northern Germany, Belgium and north-east France (Wilhelmi 1990; Roymans & Kortelang 1999; Lambot 2000). They consist of rectilinear or oval structures – both enclosures and mounds – and some include a setting of posts. These earthworks are found with round barrows, cremation burials, and flat graves, but can also be associated with settlements where their distinctive proportions can be the same as those of domestic buildings; only a few are any larger than a normal dwelling. Their distribution cuts across more than one tradition of domestic architecture. Like their Neolithic namesakes, they have been interpreted as houses of the dead.

The same may apply to a small number of rubble enclosures of the size and shape of a longhouse found in the Nordic Bronze Age (Fig. 6). They can be associated with evidence of fires and are usually described as 'cult houses' (Victor 2001; 2002). Although long beds and cult houses were important in certain areas, they lack the extended history of the circular monuments. Unlike henges or feasting halls, most of them could never have accommodated many people. Nor were they as diverse as those structures, or as widely distributed.

Perhaps one reason why rectilinear buildings had such a wide currency was because they could fulfil so many different roles. They did not suffer from the

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

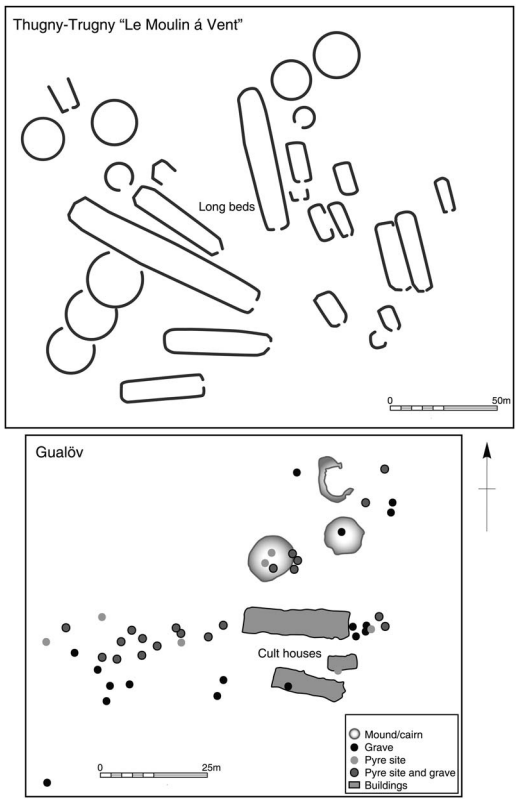

Fig. 6.
Outline plans of an unexcavated group of ring-ditches and long beds at Thugny-Trugny, northern France (after Lambot 2000), and an excavated Bronze Age cemetery containing cult houses at Gualöv, southern Sweden (after Svanberg 2005)

structural limitations of circular dwellings. Although a rectangular building could not exceed a certain width, there was no restriction on its length. The interior could be divided up in many different ways, or it might be left as one continuous space. Additional rooms could be created by extending the ends of the structure. Many had several doors allowing access to different parts of the building and it is likely that certain of these structures possessed a second storey. They could share the same orientation within a larger complex, so they could even be laid out end-to-end to create alignments on other kinds of monument (Fig. 7; Hamerow 2012, 102–5). Provided longhouses or halls could withstand strong winds, there was no limit to the scale on which they were built. For that reason the larger examples might have been considered as monuments in their own right. They would have been distinct from the structures around them.

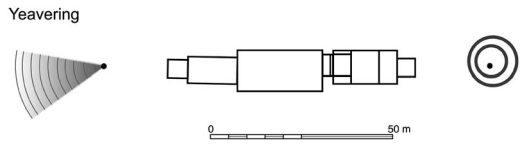

Fig. 7.
A row of overlapping and partly successive rectangular buildings in the early medieval royal centre at Yeavering. The alignment ran between a prehistoric ring-ditch and a 'grandstand' belonging to the later palace site. Its limits were marked by two large posts. Information from Hamerow (2012)

Such arguments concern practical issues, but there is another question to consider. If rectangular houses were more adaptable than roundhouses, why was the circular plan retained for such a long time in parts of Atlantic Europe? It is not a new idea to suggest that circular buildings were considered as models of the world. Niall Sharples's book devotes an entire chapter to 'The house as a cosmology' (2010, chap. 4; Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999). There are many societies in which circular structures have a special importance. Their outline seems to imitate the dome of the sky, and it is not for nothing that so many circular structures were aligned on the position of the sun; a good example is provided by Griffin-Pierce (1992; Fig. 8). Although that has a practical explanation in the case of domestic buildings, it also applies to the entrances of circular enclosures like Irish ringforts (Stout 1997, 18–19). In some cases the relationship is still more exact and individual passage tombs, henge monuments and stone circles seem to have been directed towards the winter and summer solstices (Ruggles 1999).

Similar ideas may have been important even among people in northern and central Europe, for they did build circular enclosures, round barrows, and chambered tombs. Many of these structures played specialised roles in relations with the dead and the supernatural, and monuments like Neolithic roundels bear a superficial resemblance to henges in the British Isles (Petrasch 1990; Trnka 1991; Biehl 2007; Melicher & Neubauer 2010). Like those insular monuments, they could be aligned on the rising and setting sun and contain formal deposits of artefacts and human bones. But there is an important difference between them. They were conceived in a world of rectilinear architecture, and the people who constructed and used them lived in longhouses.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

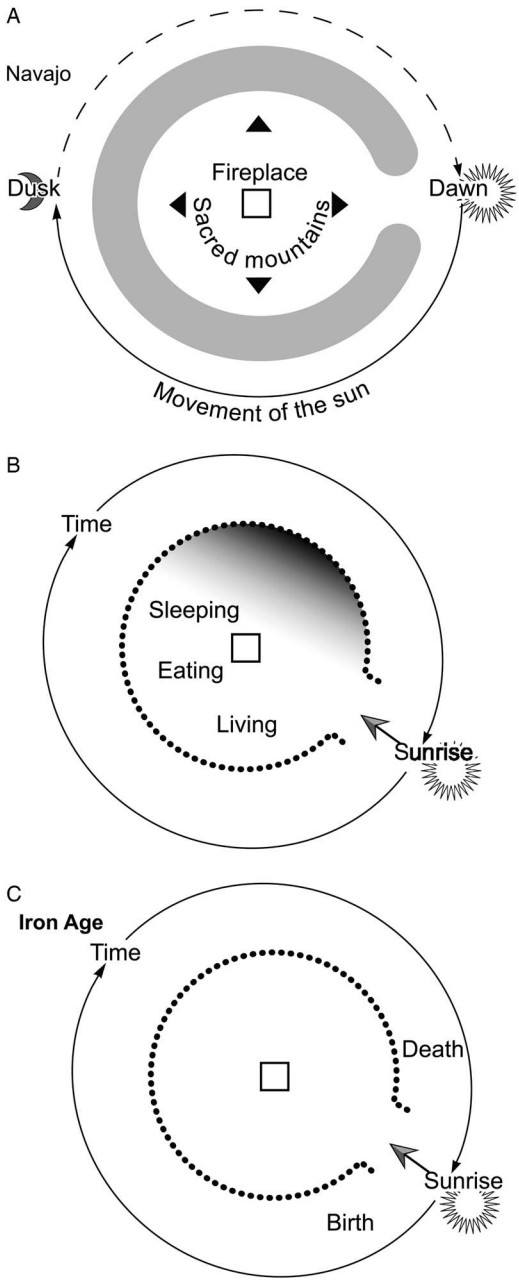

Fig. 8.
Circular buildings as images of the cosmos. The plans illustrate the layout of the Navajo hogan (A), and similar ideas applied to the roundhouses of the British Iron Age (B & C). Information from Griffin-Pierce (1992), Oswald (1997), and Parker Pearson & Sharples (1999)

The geographical contrast is important, but for the most part it concerns the relationship between domestic dwellings and more specialised structures. Where roundhouses were replaced by rectangular structures at an early date, some, though not all, of the more specialised structures retained the circular form (Häusler 1977). In parts of western Europe, however, the process of living in a roundhouse assumed a much wider significance, and the relationship between ritual and daily life eventually became so close that it was difficult to contemplate a change of building style. In this case there seems to have been a continuum between sacred and secular constructions and there is little or no sign of the contrast between rectilinear and circular forms that is so common elsewhere (Bradley 2012, 17–19 and 214–15). Perhaps it was for that reason that roundhouses remained important despite the limitations their architecture imposed.

The contrast extends much further. This paper has already compared the royal centres at Tara and Lejre. A second comparison involves some similar observations, but this time it concerns structures built during the Late Neolithic period. One group – the henges, stone circles, and timber circles of Britain and Ireland – is very well known (Wainwright 1989; Gibson 2005). The other buildings are in western, northern, and central France and have only been identified and excavated during recent years (Joseph *et al*. 2011).

Like the timber buildings at Lejre, the French examples are rectangular (Fig. 9). They can be found in isolation or within palisaded enclosures, and at a few sites structures of different sizes occur together. There is no problem in accepting the smaller examples as dwellings, and they have been interpreted in these terms by French researchers. In the north of the country such buildings are between 10 m and 25 m long and 5–10 m wide. A few may have had as many as three separate sections and were entered through one end and through a second door in the side wall. Their proportions are little different from those of the well preserved longhouses in the Bronze Age of the Netherlands, although there is no evidence that they contained a byre. The dating evidence from these buildings is limited but consistent. It shows that they were used between 2900 and 2400 BC.

That is important as much larger structures have been dated to the same phase. They are widely distributed but share some of the same features. Like the smaller buildings, they can be found inside palisaded enclosures but they also occur in isolation. In plan they are similar to the structures interpreted as domestic dwellings. It is their dimensions that stand

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

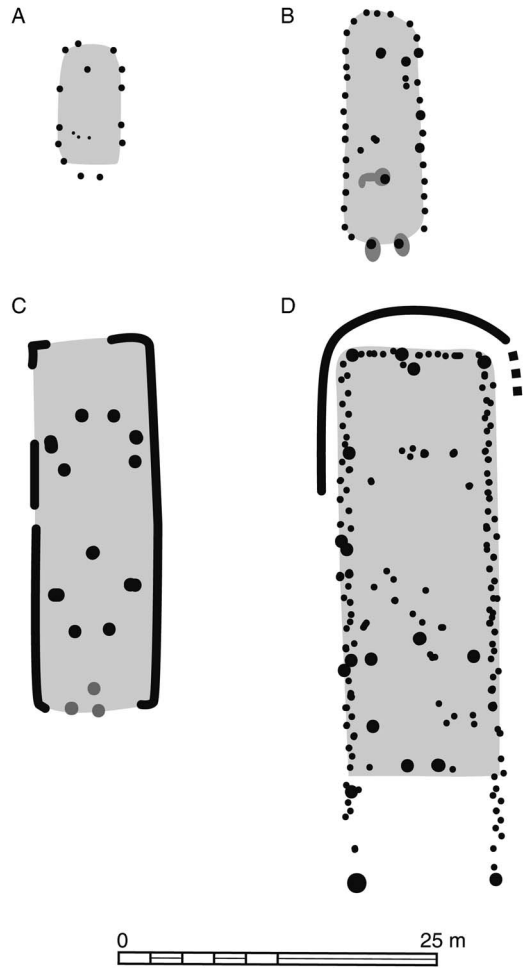

Fig. 9.
Four Late Neolithic buildings of the kind recently discovered in northern and western France, showing how they were built to very different sizes. A & B: Lauwin-Planque; C: Aire-sur-Lys; and D: Houplin-Ancoisne. Information from Joseph *et al.* (2011)

out, and it may be no accident that the post-holes defining such buildings are so substantial that their plans can be identified from the air. Those excavated so far are between 44 m and 102 m long and 10–20 m wide – that was close to the maximum that could be spanned by a roof. Thus they might be ten times the size of the other buildings. It is obvious that they represent a distinctive phenomenon.

Their interpretation is controversial, but there are reasons for regarding them as specialised structures whose distinctive architecture was based on the forms of domestic dwellings. They share several characteristics (Joseph *et al.* 2011). Three-quarters of the excavated structures have long axes that extend from north-east to south-west or from south-west to north-east – they are directed in the general direction of the solstices. Unlike the smaller buildings, they can have palisaded enclosures attached to one of the side walls, and in some cases these massive structures were replaced in the same location: once at Douchapt in the Dordogne (Fouéré 1998) and twice at Pléchâtel in Brittany where the first building had burnt down (Tivénez 2005). Some of the structures found in excavation contained internal subdivisions – the largest buildings at Pléchâtel had five and ten respectively – and the successive structures at Douchapt included an unusual number of doorways, although they bore little relation to the organisation of the interior. At Pléchâtel an extra wing was added, leading to the entrance of a palisaded enclosure. The creation of such enormous structures obviously drew on the labour of a number of communities and, at La Tricherie, the packing stones used to support different sections of the wall had been introduced from separate sources some distance away (Louboutin *et al.* 1994).

A feature shared by a number of these structures is a remarkable paucity of finds, but where artefacts have been recovered they have a few distinctive characteristics. The buildings are associated with Grand Pressigny daggers and large blades of the same material, flint arrowheads, and fine pottery including a few sherds of Bell Beaker. Coarse ware is common on some sites. The 60 m long structure at Challignac was associated with four copper beads (Burnez 2010, 99–101).

One reason for suggesting that these buildings enjoyed a special status is that the way in which their organisation resembles that of a tomb. The buildings at Pléchâtel can be compared with the layout of the megaliths known as *allées covertes* (Laporte & Tinévez 2004) whilst that at Houplin-Ancoisne has been compared with the subterranean *allées sépulchrales* which are found in the same region (Fig. 10; Praud *et al.* 2007). There is a problem in making these connections. The histories of such structures overlapped, but it seems as if *allées covertes* and *allées sépulchrales* originated at an earlier date than the timber buildings (Scarre 2011, 262–5). This may be a case in which monuments in the form of a house referred to the architecture of a tomb. In that case the relationship would be the opposite of that between longhouses and long barrows.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

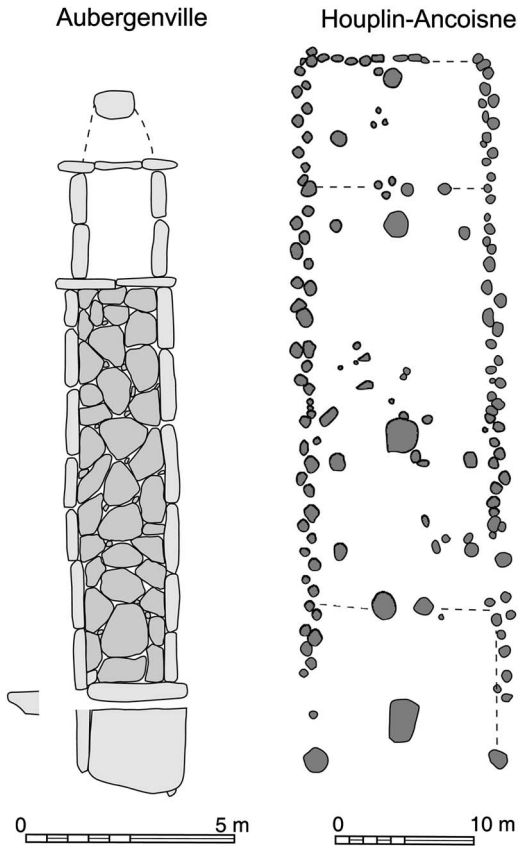

Fig. 10.
Outline plans of the megalithic tomb at Aubergenville and the rectangular building at Houplin-Ancoisne, illustrating the similarities between their ground plans. Information from Peek (1975) and Praud *et al.* (2007)

These structures were built at a significant time in French prehistory. It was when long distance exchanges were initiated with northern Europe, exemplified by the distribution of Grand Pressigny flint. It may be no accident that daggers from this source were found at Challignac and that the distribution of the largest buildings focused on the area where this material was obtained (Vander Linden 2012). A number of writers have suggested that it was through existing contacts between communities along the Atlantic seaboard and the region where people used Corded Ware that the Bell Beaker network expanded (Needham 2005; Vander Linden 2012). Changes among local communities in France may have been encouraged by these long distance contacts. Perhaps this process is documented through the creation of what American archaeologists have called 'Great Houses' (DeBoer 1997).

Some of the same issues arise in the archaeology of Britain and Ireland where similar processes were played out *at the same time* as those in France. What is particularly striking is that there were no direct contacts between those areas. Although they illustrate completely different styles of architecture, enormous buildings in the image of a house were constructed in both countries.

Again the practice of building megalithic tombs must have been important. Just as *allées covertes* and *allées sépulchrales* provided the inspiration for a series of monumental houses, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the origins of insular timber circles, stone settings, and henges are to be found among Irish and Scottish passage graves (Bradley 2007, 94–142; Burrow 2010). It is difficult to extend the argument to domestic dwellings, as there are few examples between the disappearance of rectangular houses early in the Neolithic period and the first settlements associated with Grooved Ware. It is true that the remains of circular buildings were buried beneath the great mound at Knowth, but this was one of the latest chambered tombs in the Boyne Valley. It may be equally significant that a timber circle was built just outside the eastern entrance of this monument (Eogan & Roche 1997).

That is particularly significant because it had the same layout – a square inside a circle – as smaller structures which have been interpreted as domestic dwellings (Sheridan 2004). On the other hand, the same organisation of space characterises a series of much larger buildings, some of them associated with palisaded enclosures or the circular earthworks of henges (Figs 11 and 12). Timber circles were built on an extraordinary scale. Those at Mount Pleasant (Wainwright 1979) and the Southern Circle at Durrington Walls (Wainwright & Longworth 1971) are both 38 m in diameter – almost the size of the last building at Navan – and the structure at Woodhenge is slightly larger, with a maximum dimension of 44 m (Pollard & Robinson 2007). Each took in an area of ground roughly 25 times as large as the houses of the same period. Even a smaller construction, such as the principal timber setting on Machrie Moor (Haggarty 1991), was four times bigger than a domestic building. Like earlier passage graves, these monuments could be aligned on the solstices (Parker Pearson 2012, 79–81). The fact that so many of them conformed to the same organisation of space suggests that, whether or not they were roofed, their architecture referred to the layout

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

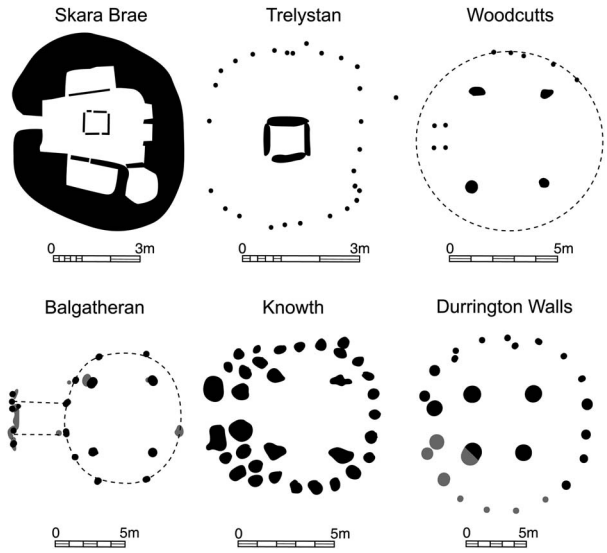

Fig. 11.
Late Neolithic houses and timber settings in Britain and Ireland sharing the same configuration of a square inside a circle. All these structures were associated with Grooved Ware Information from Bradley (2007)

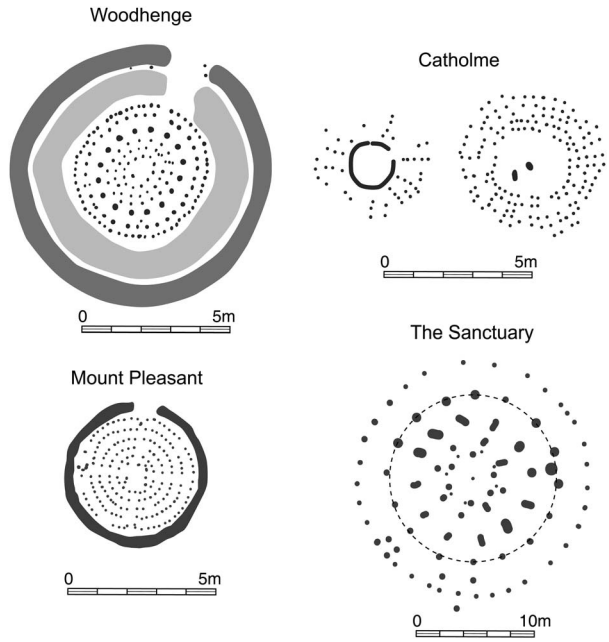

Fig. 12.
A selection of large timber, stone and earthwork monuments built in England during the later 3rd millennium BC. All share the same circular outline. Information from Bradley (2007)

of a domestic dwelling (Pollard 2010). Again it is appropriate to consider them as Great Houses.

In that respect they can be compared with the monumental structures in France, but there is another way in which they had features in common. Just as the French examples were constructed in a period when exchange achieved a new importance, the British and Irish circles were conceived at a time when there is evidence of closer links between Scotland and Ireland and the creation of networks extending from Orkney to the Channel coast (Thomas 2010). They involved the adoption of a new kind of decorated pottery (Grooved Ware), the movement of exotic stone artefacts, and the sharing of ideas on the appropriate forms of public architecture. There is evidence that the process reached its peak around 2400 BC when some of the largest monuments were built. It was then that Beaker pottery and metalworking were introduced from the continent (Needham 2005; 2012).

This must have had an impact on indigenous communities. For the first time in centuries they were exposed to new ideas, new people, and new technologies coming from overseas, and these contacts may have precipitated developments that were already happening in these islands. New kinds of social relationship would have developed through participation in massive building projects, and great assemblies took place at ceremonial centres. There is evidence that people travelled a long distance to attend them. Neolithic societies cannot have remained the same. Yet the peak of monument building was soon over.

Similar processes were to happen again from time to time, and whilst it is easy to recognise the physical outcome of these projects – inauguration mounds, ring forts, and gigantic timber halls – it is just as important to identify the circumstances in which they came into being. The Irish royal centres took their form at a time when the island was exposed to contacts with the expanding Roman world (Newman 1998; Dowling 2011). It was only later that the importance of these places was recorded in the *Táin*. Similarly, the society that provided the original setting for *Beowulf* was increasingly involved in long distance exchange with western Europe. According to Ulf Näsman (1999), this was when the Danes became a powerful kingdom.

Houplin-Ancoisne and Woodhenge, Pléchâtel and Mount Pleasant – these places illustrate the same similarities and contrasts as other enormous monuments.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Among those considered earlier are Rathcroghan and Lejre, Gamla Uppsala and Navan Fort. In this paper I have made three suggestions that may apply to them all. The first is that the striking contrast between rectilinear and circular monuments was partly a result of the limitations of building in wood. Gigantic rectangular halls could be erected and might have played many roles. That was not possible with roundhouses where there was a practical limit to the size of structure that could easily be roofed. Beyond that point its characteristic architecture could have been copied in other media, such as earthwork enclosures, mounds, rings of posts, and stone settings.

Secondly, the circular plan had a resilience that can only be explained by the special role it assumed in western Europe (Bradley 2012, 189–203). That may because it was identified with a system of beliefs that referred to the relationship between the earth, the sky, and the movements of the sun. It is particularly apparent in the organisation of passage tombs, and these ideas may have gained much of their power from the use (and reuse) of these buildings. It is no accident that those in Ireland achieved a new importance at the time of the Iron Age royal centres.

Lastly, the building and use of Great Houses was a discontinuous process, and enormous structures of the kind discussed in this paper are a special feature of periods in which new networks were forming. People were exposed to strangers, unfamiliar beliefs, and novel ways of making and using artefacts. These presented both a danger and an opportunity, and the creation of enormous monuments could be both a celebration of new-found wealth and a defensive reaction in which social groups drew together faced by what was perceived as a threat. In some cases new elites emerged, and, in others, the members of particular communities could have reinforced their independence. It was in those circumstances, more than any other, that domestic dwellings provided the prototype for monumental architecture, for only then were the houses of commons translated into houses of lords.

Acknowledgments: This paper was first presented at the Europa Conference in Reading in 2012, and I must thank all those who were involved in organising the meeting and making it such an enjoyable occasion. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mike Allen, Martin Bell, Julie Gardiner, Andy Jones, Tessa Machling, Courtney Nimura, Josh Pollard, Alice Rogers, and Alison Sheridan. I am especially grateful to Sarah Lucas for preparing the illustrations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arnoldussen, S. 2008. *A Living Landscape. Bronze Age Settlement Sites in the Dutch River Area c. 2000–800 BC*. Leiden: Sidestone Press

Ayán Vila, X. 2008. A round Iron Age: the circular house in the hillforts of the Northwestern Iberian Peninsula. *e-Keltoi* 6, 903–1003

Becker, K. 2009. Iron Age Ireland – finding an invisible people. In G. Cooney, K. Becker, J. Coles, M. Ryan & S. Sievers (eds), *Relics of Old Decency. Archaeological Studies in Later Prehistory*, 351–61. Dublin: Wordwell

Biehl, P. 2007. Enclosing places: a contextual approach to cult and religion in Neolithic Central Europe. In D. Barraclough & C. Malone (eds), *Cult in Context*, 173–82. Oxford: Oxbow

Bradley, R. 2007. *The Prehistory of Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bradley, R. 2012. *The Idea of Order. The Circular Archetype in Prehistoric Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Burrow, S. 2010. The formative henge: speculations drawn from the circular traditions of Wales and adjacent countries. In J. Leary, T. Darvill & D. Field (eds), *Round Mounds and Monumentality in the British Neolithic and Beyond*, 182–96. Oxford: Oxbow

Burnez, C. 2010. *Le Camp de Challignac (Charente) au IIIe millénaire av. J.-C.* Oxford: British Archaeological Report S2165

Carsten, J. & Hugh-Jones, S. (eds) 1995. *About the House. Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Christensen, T. 2010. Lejre beyond the legend – the archaeological evidence. In H. Jöns, M. Schön & W.H. Zimmerman (eds), *Siedlungs-und Küstenforschung im südlichen Nordseegebiet*, 237–54. Rahden: Marie Leidorf

Corlett, C. & Potterton, M. (eds) 2012. *Life and Death in Iron Age Ireland*. Dublin: Wordwell

Coudart, A. 1998. *Architecture et société néolithique: l'unité et la variance de la maison danubienne*. Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme

DeBoer, W. 1997. Ceremonial centres from the Cayapas (Ecuador) to Chillicothe (Ohio, USA). *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7, 225–53

Dowling, G. 2011. The architecture of power: an exploration of the origins of closely spaced multivallate monuments in Ireland. In R. Schot, C. Newman & E. Bhreathnach (eds), *Landscapes of Cult and Kingship*, 213–31. Dublin: Four Courts Press

Edwards, N. 1990. *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*. London: Routledge

Eogan, G. & Roche, H. 1997. *Excavations at Knowth, 2*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy

Fouéré, P. 1998. Deux grands bâtiments du Néolithique final artenacien à Douchapt (Dordogne). In A. D'Anna & D. Binder (eds), *Production et identité culturelle. Actualité de la recherché*, 311–28. Antibes: Éditions Association pour la promotion et la diffusion des connaissances archéologiques

FitzPatrick, E. 2004. *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c. 1100–1600*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Gibson, A. 2005. *Stonehenge and Timber Circles*. Stroud: Tempus
Griffin-Pierce, T. 1992. *Earth is my Mother, Sky is my Father*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press
Grogan, E. 2008. *The Rath of the Synods, Tara, Co. Meath*. Dublin: Wordwell
Haggarty, A. 1991. Machrie Moor, Arran: recent excavations of two stone circles. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 58, 51–94
Hamerow, H. 2012. *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
Harding, D. 2009. *The Iron Age Round-house*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
Harding, D., Blake, I. & Reynolds, P. 1993. *An Iron Age Settlement in Dorset. Excavation and Reconstruction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Department of Archaeology
Häusler, A. 1977. Die Bestattungssitten der frühen Bronzezeit zwischen Rhein und oberer Wolga, ihre Voraussetzungen und ihre Beziehungen. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 11, 13–48
Hills, C. 1997. Beowulf and archaeology. In R. Bjork & J. Niles (eds), *A Beowulf Handbook*, 291–312. Exeter: University of Exeter Press
Johnston, S., Campana, D. & Crabtree, P. 2009. A geophysical survey at Dún Ailinne, County Kildare, Ireland. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 34, 385–402
Johnston, S. & Wailes, B. 2007. *Dún Ailinne. Excavations at an Irish Royal Site, 1968 – 1975*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology
Joseph, F., Julien, M., Leroy-Langelin, E., Lorin, Y. & Praud, I. 2011. L'architecture domestique des sites du IIIe millénaire avant notre ère dans le nord de la France. *Révue Archèologique de Picardie* numéro special 28, 249–73
Lambot, B. 2000. Essai sur l'organisation spatial des cimetières et structures funérairies à l'Âge du Bronze final III et au premier Âge du Fer en Champagne. In B. Dedet, P. Gruat, M. Py & M. Schwaller (eds), *Archéologie de la mort, Archéologie de la tombe au premier Âge du Fer*, 233–45. Lattes: CNRS
Laporte, L. & Tinévez, J.Y. 2004. Neolithic houses and chambered tombs of Western France. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 14, 217–34
Lévi-Strauss, C. 1969. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode
Lévi-Strauss, C. 1975. *La voie des masques*. Geneva: Albert Skira
Lilliu, G. 1988. *La civilità dei Sardi*. Turin: Nuova Eri
Ljungqvist, J. 2000. Den förhistoriska bebyggelsen i Gamla Uppsala. *Förvannen* 95, 154–63
Louboutin, C., Olivier, L., Constantin, C., Sidéra, I., Tresset, A. & Farrugia, J-P. 1994. La Tricherie (Vienne). Un site d'habitat du Néolithique recent. In X. Gutherz & R. Joussaume (eds), *Le Néolithique du Centre-Ouest de la France*, 307–25. Poitiers: Association des archéologues de Poitou-Charente
Lynn, C. & McDowell, J. 2011. *Deer Park Farms. The Excavation of a Raised Rath in the Glenarm Valley, Co. Antrim*. Belfast: Stationery Office
Mallory, J. (ed.). 1992. *Aspects of the Táin*. Belfast: December
Melicher, P. & Nuebauer, W. (eds) 2010. *Mittelneolithische Kreisgrabenlagen in Niederösterreich*. Vienna: Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften
Midgley, M. 2008. *The Megaliths of Northern Europe*. Abingdon: Routledge
Munch, G.S., Johansen, O.S. & Roesdalhl, E. 2003. *Borg in Lofoten. A Chieftain's Farm in North Norway*. Trondheim: Tapir
Näsman, U. 1999. The ethnogenesis of the Danes and the making of a Danish kingdom. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10, 1–10
Needham, S. 2005. Transforming Beaker culture in North-west Europe. Processes of fusion and fission. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 71, 171–217
Needham, S. 2012. Case and place for the British Chalcolithic. In M. Allen, J. Gardiner & A. Sheridan (eds), *Is there a British Chalcolithic?*, 1–26. Oxford: Prehistoric Society Research Papers 4
Neill, K. 2009. *An Archaeological Survey of County Armagh*. Belfast: Stationery Office
Newman, C. 1997. *Tara: An Archaeological Survey*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy
Newman, C. 1998. Reflections on the making of a 'royal site' in early Ireland. *World Archaeology* 30, 127–41
Niles, J. & Osborn, M. (eds) 2007. *Beowulf and Lejre*. Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 223
O'Sullivan, M. 2005. *Duma na nGaill. The Mound of the Hostages, Tara*. Bray: Wordwell
Oswald, A. 1997. A doorway on the past. Practical and mystic concerns in the orientation of roundhouse doorways. In A. Gwilt & C. Haselgrove (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, 87–95. Oxford: Oxbow
Parker Pearson, M. & Sharples, N. 1999. *Between Land and Sea. Excavations at Dun Vulan*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press
Parker Pearson, M. 2012. *Stonehenge*. London: Simon & Schuster
Peek, J. 1975. *Inventaire des megaliths de la France. 4: Région Parisienne*. Paris: CNRS
Petrasch, J. 1990. Mittelneolithische Kreisgrabenanlagen in Mitteleuropa. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 71, 407–564
Pollard, J. 2010. The materialization of religious structures at the time of Stonehenge. *Material Religion* 5, 332–53
Pollard, J. & Robinson, D. 2007. A return to Woodhenge: the results and implications of the 2006 excavation. In M. Larsson & M. Parker Pearson (eds), *From Stonehenge to the Baltic. Living with Cultural Diversity in the Third Millennium BC*, 159–68. Oxford: British Archaeological Report S1692
Praud, I., Bernard, V., Martial, E. & Palau, R. 2007. Un grand bâtiment du Néolitque final a Houplin-Ancoisne 'La Marais de Santes' (Nord, France). In M. Besse (ed.), *Sociétés Néolithiques, des faits archéologiques au functionnements socio-economiques*, 445–60. Lausanne: Cahiers d'archéologie romande 108
Pugin, A. 1841. *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*. London: John Weale

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Randsborg, K. 2008. Kings' Jelling. *Acta Archaeologica* 79, 1–23

Roymans, N. & Kortlang, F. 1999. Urnfield symbolism, ancestors and the land in the Lower Rhine Region. In F. Theuws & N. Roymans (eds), *Land and Ancestors, Cultural Dynamics in the Urnfield Period and the Middle Ages in the Southern Netherlands*, 33–61. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

Ruggles, C. 1999. *Astronomy in Prehistoric Britain and Ireland*. New Haven: Yale University Press

Scarre, C. 2011. *Landscapes of Neolithic Brittany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Schultz Paulsson, B. 2010. Scandinavian models: Radiocarbon dates and the origin and spreading of passage graves in Sweden and Denmark. *Radiocarbon* 52, 1002–17

Sharples, N. 2010. *Social Relations in Later Prehistory. Wessex in the First Millennium* BC. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Sheridan, A. 2004. Going round in circles. Understanding the Grooved Ware 'complex' in its wider context. In H. Roche, E. Grogan, J. Bradley, J. Coles & B. Raftery (eds), *From Megaliths to Metal*, 26–37. Oxford: Oxbow

Stamper, J. 2005. *The Architecture of Roman Temples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Stäuble, H. 1997. Die frühbronzezeitliche Siedlung in Zwenkau, Lankreis Leipziger Land. In J. Assendorp (ed.), *Forschungen zur bronzezeitlichen Besidelung in Nord-un-Mittelrueopa*, 129–47. Espelkamp: Marie Leidorf

Stout, M. 1997. *The Irish Ringfort*. Dublin: Four Courts Press

Svanberg, F. 2005. House symbolism in aristocratic death rituals of the Bronze Age. In T. Artelius & F. Svanberg (eds), *Dealing with the Dead: archaeological perspectives on prehistoric burial ritual*, 73–98. Stockholm: National Heritage Board

Thomas, J. 2010. The return of the Rinyo-Clacton folk? The cultural significance of the Grooved Ware complex in later Neolithic Britain. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 20, 1–15

Tivénez, J-Y. 2005. Pléchâtel (Ille-et-Vilaine), La Hersonnais. Un ensemple de quatre bâtiments de Néolithique final dans la context des grands architectures de l'ouest de la France. In O. Buchsenschutz & C. Mordant (ed.), *Architectures protohistoriques en Europe occidentale du Néolitqiue final à l'age du Fer*, 315–29. Paris: Éditions du comitiés travaux historiques et scientifiques

Trnka, G. 1991. *Studien zu mittelneolithischen Kreisgrabenanlagen*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Vander Linden, M. 2012. The importance of being insular. Britain and Ireland in their north-western European context during the 3rd millennium BC. In M. Allen, J. Gardiner & A. Sheridan (eds), *Is there a British Chalcolithic?*, 71–84. Oxford: Prehistoric Society Research Papers 4

Victor, H. 2001. Bronsålderns kulthus – ett möte mellan profant och sakralt. In H. Bolin, A. Kaliff & T. Zachrisson (eds), *Mellan sten och brons*, 133–52. Stockholm: Stockholm Archaeological Reports

Victor, H. 2002. *Med graven som granne. Om bronsålderns kulthus*. Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University

Waddell, J. 2011. Continuity, cult and contest. In R. Schot, C. Newman & E. Bhreathnach (eds), *Landscapes of Cult and Kingship*, 192–212. Dublin: Four Courts Press

Waddell, J., Fenwick, J. & Barton, K. 2009. *Rathcroghan. Archaeological and Geophysical Survey in a Ritual Landscape*. Dublin: Wordwell

Wainwright, G. 1979. *Mount Pleasant*. London: Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 37

Wainwright, G. 1989. *The Henge Monuments*. London: Thames & Hudson

Wainwright, G. & Longworth, I. 1971. *Durrington Walls: Excavations 1966–1968*. London: Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 29

Waterman, D. 1997. *Excavations at Navan Fort 1961–71*. Belfast: Stationery Office

Webley, L. 2008. *Iron Age Households. Structure and Practice in Western Denmark 500 BC–AD 200*. Moesgaard: Jutland Archaeological Society

Wilhelmi, K. 1990. Ruinen und Nordhorn. Zwischen Ussel und Ems: besondere Rechteck- und Quadratgräben der Eisenzeit. *Helinium* 30, 93–122

RÉSUMÉ

Chambres des Communs, Chambres des Lords: Habitations domestiques et architecture monumentale dans l'Europe préhistorique, de Richard Bradley

Cet article repose sur la Conférence Europa de 2012 et discute des relations entre la forme et la structure des bâtiments domestiques et celles des monuments publics. Son échelle chronologique s'étend de la période néolithique à l'âge des Vikings en Europe occidentale, septentrionale et centrale avec une insistance particulière sur le contraste entre architecture circulaire et rectiligne. Il y avait des limites pratiques au diamètre des constructions circulaires, et ce point dépassé, s'organisaient peut-être en groupes, ou leurs aspects spécifiques étaient reproduits en d'autres matériaux, tels que dans la construction de fortifications en terre. Par contraste, la principale contrainte sur la construction de maisons rectangulaires était leur largeur, mais elles pouvaient s'étendre sur presque n'importe quelle

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

longueur. C'est peut-être une des raisons pour lesquelles elles n'ont qu'occasionnellement fourni de prototype pour des formes spécialisées de monuments tels que des tertres ou des enclos. Au lieu de cela les bâtiments rectangulaires ont joué des rôles très divers, de l'habitation domestique au centre cérémoniel.

ZUSSAMENFASSUNG

Unterhaus, Oberhaus: Wohngebäude und monumentale Architektur im prähistorischen Europa, von Richard Bradley

Dieser Beitrag basiert auf der Europa Lecture 2012 und diskutiert die Beziehung zwischen Formen und Strukturen von Wohngebäuden sowie von öffentlichen Monumenten. Seine zeitliche Spanne erstreckt sich vom Neolithikum bis zur Wikingerzeit in West-, Nord- und Mitteleuropa; ein Schwerpunkt liegt auf der Gegenüberstellung von Rund- und Rechteckbauten. Für die Konstruktion runder Gebäude bestanden Grenzen der Praktikabilität in Bezug auf ihre Durchmesser, darüber hinaus können sie in Gruppen zusammengestellt oder kann ihre charakteristische äußere Form in anderen Medien reproduziert worden sein, wie z.B. in Erdwerken. Im Gegensatz dazu bestand die wichtigste Konstruktionsgrenze für rechteckige Gebäude in ihrer Breite, ihre Länge dagegen konnte fast unendlich ausgedehnt werden. Dies mag ein Grund dafür sein, warum sie nur gelegentlich als Prototyp für spezialisierte Formen von Monumenten dienten wie Hügel oder Erdwerke. Stattdessen spielten rechteckige Bauten eine Vielzahl verschiedener Rollen, von Wohnbauten bis zu zeremoniellen Zentren.

RESUMEN

Casas de los Comunes, Casas de los Lores: viviendas domésticas y arquitectura monumental en la Europa prehistórica, por Richard Bradley

Este artículo se basa en la Conferencia Europa de 2012 y analiza la relación entre las formas y estructuras de las edificaciones domésticas y las de los monumentos públicos. Su ámbito cronológico se extiende entre el Neolítico y la Época Vikinga en el oeste, norte y centro de Europa, con especial énfasis en el contraste entre la arquitectura circular y la rectangular. Existen límites prácticos para el diámetro de las construcciones circulares, más allá de los cuales éstas podrían organizarse en grupo o reproducir sus contornos característicos con otros medios, como las construcciones de tierra. Por el contrario, la principal limitación en la construcción de las viviendas rectangulares fue su anchura, aunque podían alcanzar casi cualquier longitud. Esto podría ser una de las razones por las cuales sólo ocasionalmente se diseñan prototipos de formas especializadas para monumentos como túmulos o recintos. Por otra parte, los edificios rectangulares tuvieron una amplia variedad de roles desde viviendas domésticas a centros ceremoniales.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ppr.2013.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press