

## Making sense of the relationship between water and monument

The Atlantic rock art of the Kilmartin Valley, Argyll, Western Scotland (Stage 1 of the *Motifs and Monuments Project*)

### **Abstract**

*The Kilmartin Valley (also known as Kilmartin Glen) is located within the county of Argyll in western Scotland and covers an area of approximately 50 km<sup>2</sup> (11 [north-south] x 5 [east-west] km). It has within its curtilage one of the largest and most complex later prehistoric landscapes in northern Britain. Monuments include Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (EBA) stone chambered burial ritual monuments (including long cairns, round cairns, barrows and cists), a henge, standing stones and engraved open-air rock art. The Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments for Scotland (RCAHMS) list over 150 later prehistoric sites within a nine kilometre radius. Engraved rock art is found on or close to burial monuments and as open-air sites on exposed rock outcropping.*

*In 2013, a team of archaeologists from the Welsh Rock Art Organisation (WRAO) began a study on the Later Prehistoric sites that contained rock art in western and northern Britain. This study followed an earlier research project which concentrated on a corpus of open-air sites. One of the areas included within this study was Kilmartin Valley.*

*This paper assesses and discusses some of the findings of this project, suggesting that rock art provided a ritual link between monument and landscape. The focus of this paper will be the small but significant assemblage of the Neolithic stone chambered monuments, cists and standing stones that occupy the lower, central and upper sections of the valley, extending from the village of Kilmartin and the rugged foothills in the north to the marsh grassland of Mòine Mhòr in the south.<sup>1</sup>*

*Keywords: artistic endeavour, grammar, linearity, valley floor, water*

### **Early beginnings: Assessing the geography**

Over the past 50 years or so there has been a resurgence into research of the British Isles prehistoric rock art tradition, initially through fieldwork and cataloguing data (e.g. Forde-Johnson 1956; Morris 1977, Shee-Twohig; Beckinsall 1999; Sharkey 2004) and later from discussion and interpretation (e.g. Sharpe 2007; Bradley 2009; Meirion Jones 2012; Needham, Cowie, T. & McGibbon 2012).<sup>2</sup> As a result of focusing on

specific areas that contain rock art, in this case Kilmartin, a broad synthesis for British and Northern European traditions has been formulated (e.g. O'Sullivan 1986; Cunliffe 2004; Waddell 2005; Mazel, Nash & Waddington 2007; Cochrane & Meirion Jones 2012).

The Monuments and Motifs Project (MMP) was inaugurated by the author in 2013 following a number of expeditions to

Neolithic cores areas within the British Isles (undertaken between 2002 and 2012). It soon became apparent that there was an inextricable link between monument building and use, landscape position, artefact behaviour and rock art (e.g. Tilley 1989; Bradley 1993; Nash 2012). The main research questions from the Kilmartin expedition was thus:

- Was rock art being incorporated within the design and construction of Neolithic and Bronze Age stone chambered burial-ritual monuments, cist and standing stones or was rock art being commissioned sometime after the monuments were constructed?
- Were the design influences directly and/or indirectly originating from Ireland (forming part of a wider Clyde-Carlingford Group connection between Western Scotland and Southern Ireland<sup>2</sup>)?
- Were the design concepts for rock art from within and outside the Neolithic monuments being later incorporated onto open-air panels?
- Are there similar landscape patterns and monument-clustering found in other Later Prehistoric monument concentrations?
- Finally, did the surrounding environment play a role between monument location and the choice of rock art symbol used?

In terms of contextualising both the monuments and the rock art, the MMP project explored a number of core areas that contained Atlantic-style rock art including the Boyne Valley (County Meath, Ireland), Loughcrew (County Meath, Ireland), North Wales (including Ynys Môn [Anglesey]), North-west England and Kilmartin Valley (Argyll and Bute). From these four areas a number of stylistic and spatial patterns began to emerge. Using the motif classification established by Shee-Twohig (1981), several motifs appeared to have been consistently applied to monuments from the four study areas including cupmarks, concentric circles and cup-and-rings. However, in ad-

dition to these simple motifs, prehistoric artists from each study area appear to have also used other motifs as well, probably as a means of establishing local and regional identity. In County Meath (central-eastern Ireland), communities used a wide repertoire of motifs, in particular on the kerbing of the large passage graves of Newgrange, Knowth and Dowth in the Boyne Valley and within the chamber and passage areas of monuments that form the Loughcrew group (O'Kelly 1982; Eogan 1986; Cooney 2000). The use of particular motifs by certain communities may have been the result of establishing personal and inter-group identity onto the landscape. In the case of the communities constructing and using the stone chambered monuments in Kilmartin, cupmarks, design variations of concentric circles, cup-and-rings and flat-butted axes are the most numerous motifs used.

Rock art within a burial-ritual context is usually confined to passage graves; the Boyne Valley and Loughcrew Groups being the most cited monuments; however, not all burial chambered monuments possess rock art. In Ireland, for example, only c. 45 free-standing burial monuments out of a total of 1500 contain complex patterns of engraved rock art. It has been suggested that engraved and painted rock art, which probably has its origins in the Mediterranean and along the coastal fringes of the Iberian Peninsula, may have been part of a second wave of ideas accompanying monument building and use along the Atlantic fringe of Western Europe (Nash 2012). In addition to the Irish examples mentioned above, several notable passage graves of Late Neolithic date are found in Northwest Wales and one other in Calderstones Park, Liverpool, each containing a wealthy repertoire of imagery. It is more than likely that rock art formed only part of a much more complex package of ideas associated with death, burial and ritual. Decorated ceramics, portable stone artefacts, [engendered] jewellery and flint tools, and even subtle changes in architecture and the construction of quartz pavements all played their part in making these places special.

## A natural sequence of events

As intimated at the beginning of this paper, rock art and monument location may have been determined by the surrounding environment, in particular, the surface geology, the topography and, in the case of Kilmartin Valley, potential sea inundation. The glacial and periglacial activity had created a scoured landscape setting within the surrounding uplands and it is within this environment that much of the open-air rock art is found.

According to Tipping (2008, 3) the early Holocene environment of the Kilmartin Valley would have been partly influenced by sea inundation and regression, especially within the Mòine Mhòr area to the south. Sea inundation and regression may have been seasonal, periodic or a more permanent fixture. During later prehistory (and within historical times), the Mòine Mhòr area would have been a seasonally-flooded salt marsh. The intermediate slopes, the terracing and the small islands of exposed gravels and clays would have supported pockets of woodland. During the Early Holocene eustatic rise (isostatic uplift/rebound) would have been roughly equal to sea level rise. Between c. 4-6,000 BCE sea-level rise along the west coast of Scotland is estimated to be between 6.5 and 7.5m AOD; however, by the time of the Early Neolithic, sea level rise was down to 4m AOD. Between the former salt flats of Mòine Mhòr and the upper section of the Kilmartin Valley where a number of burial monuments stand, the topography rises by c. 13m; ranging between c. 5 and 18m AOD. The Kilmartin Burn (river) flowing from the top of the valley and eventually meeting the River Add, east of the Later Prehistoric fort and medieval settlement of Dunadd would have provided a sizable volume of water to feed into the south section of the valley, which formed a vast lake.

It is conceivable (but yet unproven) that much of the upper section of the Kilmartin Valley (between the burial monuments of Ri Cruin (RC) in the south to the Nether Largie Group in the north) was surrounded by water, albeit seasonally or periodically dispersed. Palaeoenvironmental evidence

reveals that much of the Mòine Mhòr area contains up to 4m of peat which intimates that the original ground surface in this area was much lower, possibly allowing sea water to penetrate much of the lower and central sections of the valley. Within this area, the valley sides are constructed of Late Devensian fluvial-glacial terracing and topographically forms a c. 25m high north-south ridge that extends the length of the valley. It is along this terrace that much of the Neolithic burial activity occurs, above the [current] floodplain of the Kilmartin Burn.

## Signatures within a landscape: Kilmartin Valley

The Later Prehistoric monuments and their accompanying rock art assemblage have been the focus for research for over 160 years (Simpson 1867; RCAHMS 1915; Scott 1969; Morris 1977; Needham & Cowie 2012; Meiron Jones 2012). Based on field observations and support from various literature sources, the later prehistoric monuments groups within the Kilmartin Valley comprise:

- Neolithic chambered cairns (of the Clyde-type);
- A Neolithic henge monument;
- Neolithic/EBA round cairns (with and without rock art);
- Bronze Age round barrows;
- Neolithic/EBA hybrid monuments (with and without rock art);
- Bronze Age cist graves (with and without supporting cairn, and with and without rock art);
- Neolithic/EBA standing stones (monoliths) (with and without rock art); and
- Neolithic/EBA engraved open-air rock art sites.

The earliest human presence within the Kilmartin Valley includes a hunter/fisher/gatherer settlement dating to the Early Mesolithic. Later and associated with the Neolithic monuments are the first farming communities who begin to introduce domesticates and cereal cultivation to the valley at around 4,000 BCE.

The distribution pattern for Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments is quite distinct, with Neolithic stone chambered cairns occupying the central and upper parts of the Kilmartin Valley and the Bronze Age cairns and cists located either within the side valleys or on top of prominent ridges (Figure 1). Scattered throughout the valley and encroaching several of the side valleys are a number of standing stones (or monoliths); these are either single entities or are positioned in multiples, sometimes forming groups known as *stone rows*. A number of these monument groups contain engraved rock art; the most dominant symbols being cupmarks, cup-and-rings and axes. Despite the high concentration of monuments within the Kilmartin Valley, researchers consider that many chambers and cists were emptied during the age of the antiquarian. In addition, modern farming practices and peat-cutting within the Mòine Mhòr area has caused damage to, or complete destruction of a number of monuments (Tipping 2008, 6).

Identified within the Kilmartin Valley are at least 41 stone chambered and non-chambered burial-ritual monuments, along with seventeen standing stones, one henge and one stone circle complex (RCAHMS 2008). Many of these monument groups including the long cairns contain no rock art. This architecturally distinct and diverse group of monuments are located mainly within the central and upper sections of the valley where the valley floor narrows and the valley sides are steep. The stone chambered monuments are assigned to the Neolithic period, whilst the thirty or so cairns and barrows date from the Early Bronze Age; both groups span a period of around a thousand years and a small number contain engraved Atlantic style rock art (Table 1). It is probable that the earliest group - the stone chambered tombs are also in use during the Early Bronze Age, forming a united group of monuments, along with later chambered barrows, cairns and cists. In several instances there are clear additions and changes in monument design which is probably the result of hybridisation of

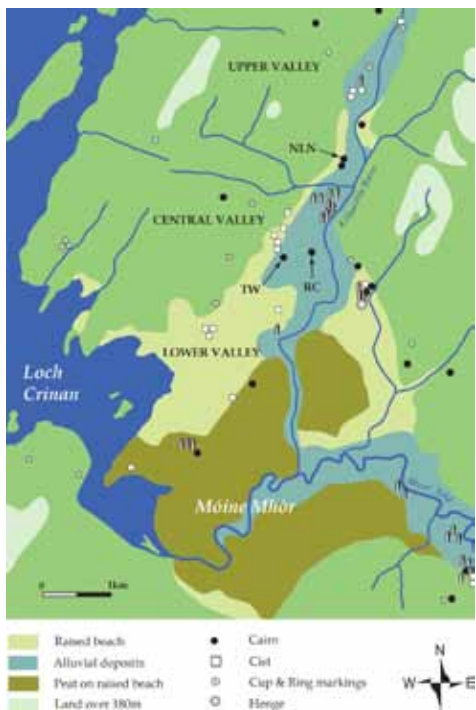


Figure 1. The distribution of Later Prehistoric monuments within the Kilmartin Valley (NLN = Nether Largie North; RC = Ri Cruin; TW = Temple Wood)

different monuments types. As part of this merging of different architectural styles, engraved rock art has been added to earlier and later monuments, thus establishing a wide homogeneous time frame for the rock art tradition.

### Waymarking the land

Accompanying the burial-ritual cairns and cists are a series of landscape monuments that include standing stones, sometimes arranged in rows and groups, a henge and a number of open-air rock panels. Each of these groups appear to be deliberately distributed in such a way as to suggest an association between cairns and a defined ritualised landscape; the standing stones possibly forming a series of procession way-markers that were visible across wide tracts of landscape (Figures 2 to 4). Although many stones are undecorated, there is a

Site Name	RCAHMS No.	Monument Type	Grid Ref.	Rock Art
Carn Bàn	36	Cairn	NR 840 907	Pecked multiple lozenge on one face and recent chiselled marks on rear.
Glennan	58	Cairn	NM 856 011	Two cairns, with the northern cairn possessing a covering slab containing with at least nine cupmarks.
Nether Largie Mid	67	Cairn	NR 830 983	Large circular multi cisted-cairn located on a low gravel terrace; this monument is now much denuded. The covering slab from one cist contains a single cupmark and an axe motif.
Nether Largie North (NLN)	68	Cairn	NR 830 094	Three stones including large covering slab (underside), cist wall and stone fragment. Rock art includes cupmarks, axes and circles.
Ri Cruin (RC)	76	Cairn	NR 825 971	Decorated east wall slab comprising multiple axe motifs and a linier barb, interpreted as a halberd (see Needham, Cowie & McGibbon 2012), but more likely to be a stylised boat.
Badden	81	Cist	NM 858 890	Side slab, discovered during ploughing and containing multiple double and triple-lined lozenges, enclosed in a rectilinear rebate.
Killbride	98	Cist	NE 838 077	Severely ruined cist discovered in 1982 with one of the side slabs containing three roughly pecked triangular motifs
Ballymeanoch	199	Standing Stone group (Stones A to G)	NE 833 964	Standing stone group located close to the Ballymeanoch Henge. Originally seven stones, now six. Two stones are decorated with multiple cupmarks, concentric circles and cup-and-rings, several with a single gutter. From the same group, an excavated stone (Stone G) contained an hour-glass perforation and cupmarks.
Nether Largie Group	222	Standing Stone group (Stones A to N)	NR 828 976	Standing stone group organised into three groups orientated NE-SW and extending over 250m. Stones with cupmark and cup-and-ring decorations include Stones B, F and L
Temple Wood (TW)	228	Stone Circle group	NR 826 978	Two stone circles located south of Nether Largie. SW circle contains two monoliths with decoration; one of these is centrally located. Motifs include faint concentric circles, a conjoined double spiral extending over two faces and a curious three strand ornament which forms a single spiral. Cupmarks are also present.
Torbhlaran	229	Standing Stone	NR 863 944	Single monolith with SW face containing up to 30 cupmarks on the lower section, and a further nine on its NE face.
Torran	230	Standing Stone	NM 878 048	Single monolith with pecked Christian crosses on both faces.
Dunadd	248	Later prehistoric fort and medieval settlement (once surrounded by water)	NR 837 935	Series of engraved linear marks around the ring fort section (citadel) of the site. Discovered through excavation was an engraved piece of slate with Pictish symbols that included a bird, several intricate rosette motifs and cervids (probably a male and female red deer). Found within the Upper Ridge Fort area of the site.

Table 1. An inventory of free-standing monument rock art sites within the Kilmartin Valley (adapted from RCAHMS 2008)

small assemblage that do contain multiple cupmarks and cup-and-rings that are ar-

ranged in a complex way (e.g. Figure 4). The same motifs engraved onto the stand-



Figures 2, 3 & 4. The monolith group of Ballymeanoch (Stones A, B, C & D) and the single monoliths of Stone F (Nether Largie) and Torbhlaran



ing stones are also present on the open-air rock outcropping. The functionality of standing stones within this landscape is unclear, although there are a number of landscape patterns that could suggest deliberate monument clustering, orientation and an association with cairns and cists (e.g. Bradley 1993, 2009; Bradley *et al.* 2011). In Wales, the author has suggested that standing stones may represent some form of processional marker, whereby the dead and their respective communities were obliged to walk through a landscape in a particular way (Nash 2007). The rock art present on this group of monuments appears to be orientated in particular way suggesting a deliberately-chosen pattern. It is probable that given the linearity of many standing stone groups within the valley and their spatial relationship with, in particular, cists (rather than any other monument type) that both standing stones and cists are contemporary. However, the author expresses caution in that both standing stones and cists also stand close to other monument groups as



Figure 5. The landscape vista belonging to the Nether Largie North monument

well and that the distribution pattern may be far more complex than previously considered.

### A watery grave: The distribution of Late Neolithic/ Early Bronze Age monuments

As intimated earlier, it is conceivable, given the complex nature of the dynamic processes of eustatic rise and isotopic uplift, that much of the Kilmartin Valley during later prehistory was inundated with sea water, albeit seasonal or as permanent standing water. Water levels were maintained by the numerous freshwater streams and river running off the surrounding hills. It could be the case that the standing stones may have guided communities through this watery landscape between settlements to burial monuments. The likely strategic location of the cairns, barrows and cists suggests the central and upper sections of the Kilmartin Valley were the main foci for such activity.

Within these sections of the valley are a number of free-standing monuments that contain engraved rock art including the three Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age cairns of Nether Largie North (Figure 5), Ri Cruin (Figure 6) and Temple Wood (Figure 7); these three are by far the best preserved and most impressive of the Kilmartin Valley burial monument group.

Incorporated into the architecture of all three are stone-lined burial chambers;



Figure 6. One of two rectangular stone-lined chambers within the Ri Cruin monument

Figure 7. The Temple Wood Stone Circle central cist



some elements of which are engraved with multiple axe designs, accompanied by single and multiple cupmarks. The focus for artists to engrave such designs include the stone walls and covering slabs of the cist/chamber, in particular, the inner (underside) face of a covering slab or the end walls of a chamber or cist. The art forms an intimate relationship between the body and the stone

Figure 8. View of the central cist and covering slab at Nether Largie North



sarcophagus in which it would have been ceremoniously laid to rest. Arguably, this mortuary garnish - the hidden art, would have been briefly viewed by the living prior to internment of the body. The intended audience though would have been the dead. At the circular cairn of Nether Largie North, both the covering slab (capstone) and one of the wall panels are decorated with multiple cupmarks, up to 40 in total and ten flat axes (Figures 8 & 9). Several cupmarks are incorporated into the axe motifs, suggesting two carving phases with the earliest probably being the cupmarks (see Tipping 2008, 8). The end slab, probably where the head of the interred was laid to rest, is engraved with three flat-butted axes, the blades of which face upwards (Figure 10).

Similarly, at the nearby reconstructed Ri Cruin cairn, one of the stone-lined cists contain a series of axe engravings on an end slab (Figure 11). The three cists, one located within the north-western section of the cairn, the other two in the south are largely intact, although all were emptied in recent times. The western end slab belonging to the far southern cist contains seven pecked axes. A further decorated slab from the same cist possessed a vertical grooved line with up to ten shorter horizontal lines extending from the right-hand side (described as a 'rake' design). The engraving was thought to represent a stylised boat with crew or a halberd with a beribboned haft (RCAHMS 2008, 36). This slab (or pillar) was removed from the cist but was later destroyed in a fire at nearby Poltalloch House; however an all-important cast was made of this stone. Needham et al. (2012, 89-110) have undertaken a detailed study of this

cast (sometimes referred to as the *Halberd Pillar*) and has concluded that the engraving is that of a halberd and that it may have originated from another site. However, I am more inclined to suggest that the engraving



Figure 9. Cupmarks and weaponry, located on the covering slab of Nether Largie North (after RCAHMS 2008, 33).

Figure 10. Southern end slab of the cist containing three engraved axes (after RCAHMS 2008, 33).







Figure 11. End slab within the southern cist of Ri Cruin, decorated with six axes (after RCAHMS 2008, 35)

represents a Bronze Age boat. My assumption is based on a number of similar stylised engraved and painted boats that are found on open-air rock art panels in Southern Scandinavia (e.g. Cullberg 1975).

The near-destroyed and later reconstructed stone circle complex of Temple Wood is located west of Ri Cruin and comprises two stone circles, one of which - the south-west circle, is also described as a kerbed-cairn. The fifteen kerbs forming a horseshoe-type setting probably represents the earliest of a two-phased monument. A centrally-placed stone-lined cist was probably flanked later by two cists, each sited outside the horseshoe setting. Two of the kerbs are decorated with pecked ornamentation including one with concentric circles and other having a continuous conjoined double spiral which extends across two faces (Figure 12), along with several possible cupmarks.

The majority of the engraved rock art assemblage within the Kilmartin Valley is what O'Kelly (1982) considers as curvilinear forms (cupmarks, concentric circles and spirals). Although this assemblage is relatively small compared with other areas of northern Britain, the motif types are limited to four generic types: concentric circles, cupmarks, lines and spirals. In complete contrast to the curvilinear designs used in the majority of Kilmartin Valley free-standing



Figure 12. A centrally-erected monolith within the SW circle of the Temple Wood complex, decorated with conjoined spirals

monuments are the geometric designs that are present on the underside of a schist covering slab belonging to a former cist at Badden (Figure 13). This slab, first reported by J.G. Scott in 1960 has a rectangular engraved rebate which would have produced a tight fit between the slab and the stone cist. Covering half of the underside of this slab are a set of interconnecting five double and eight triple lozenge motifs, several of which extend beyond the rebates. Each lozenge contains a small dot or cupmark. The design field of the Badden slab has parallels with nearby Carn Bàn and monuments that occupy the Boyne Valley, in particular, the passage grave of Fourknocks (Figure 14).

### Concluding remarks: Towards a watery grave

Apart from the stone chambered tombs in Orkney, the stone-chambered cairns and cists of the Kilmartin Valley is one of Eu-



Figure 13. The inner face of the covering slab belonging to the Badden Cist (after RCAHMS 2008, 37)

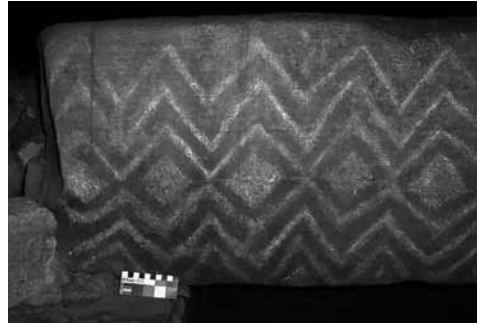


Figure 14. One of the lintels that stands within the chamber area of Fourknocks, Ireland

rope's most northerly group of Neolithic burial-ritual monuments to contain Atlantic-style rock art. Due to mainly late post-medieval farming practices, antiquarian plundering and those cairns that provided an easily available supply of stone for road building, the current later prehistoric landscape is arguably fragmentary.

Based on motif analogy, the rock art is probably Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age in date, although one could extend the tradition to between the 4th and 1st millennium BCE, especially if one is to include Pictish motifs as well (see Table 1). The rock art of the Kilmartin Valley forms part of a package of ideas that also includes distinct architectural hybrid traits such as Early Bronze Age-style rectangular stone cists within a probable Neolithic mound. It is more than likely that a Neolithic cult existed that used architecture, art and landscape as means of self and community identity for a considerable time span. Moreover, and based on the distribution, certain motifs used in a Neolithic/Early Bronze Age free-standing monuments began to be used within open-air panels; however, it is unclear if motifs, such as cupmarks, cup-and-rings and axes possessed the same meaning over this period of transition, especially when one considers the complex chronological and regional changes associated with burial practice across northern Europe at this time (Bradley 2009). Throughout this period, which incidentally accounts for at least 45-50 generations of community, certain engraved motifs appear to have been a binding factor between people using the four monument types: chambered and non-chambered monuments, landscape monuments and, on open-air panels. It is probable that at some time during Later Prehistory, the complex

panel narratives from each monument type established a collective artistic grammar.

The rock art present on the cairns of Carn Bàn, Nether Largie North, Ri Cruin and Temple Wood, and the destroyed cist site at Badden represent a small percentage of the free-standing Later prehistoric monuments within the Kilmartin Valley and it could be that the rock art comes at a time when the megalithic landscape is being replaced by a ritual ideology that is markedly more subtle and private. However, I would stress that the targeted dating of engraved rock art is problematic. Although the cupmarks present in and around the Nether Largie group, and the Ri Cruin and Temple Wood monuments are difficult to date, the engraved flat-butted axes do suggest an Early Bronze Age date of between 1800 and 1600 BCE. Several axe styles are found on eleven stones at Stonehenge and indicate a warrior-based society which is also evident throughout most of Western Europe (Nash 2011).

Quite rightly, Tipping's summary charting the prehistoric activity in and around the Kilmartin Valley is chronologically set-out with the earliest presence occurring during the Mesolithic and extending through the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods [and beyond] (RCAHMS 2008, 1-17). Much of this chronology fits comfortably into a wider European framework (Cooney 2000; Cunliffe 2004; and Waddell 2005, for example). However, in terms of the longevity of use for each monument group, the picture is more confusing and less chronologically-

ordered. There may have been a time-span when probably all monument groups were in use, or at least were recognised and respected; the earlier monuments, such as the long and round cairns of the Clyde Group. This monument group would have established an ancestral history that would have extended over a thousand years or more (Scott 1969, 218-9). Similarly, and based on archaeological evidence, a number of cairns show evidence of chronological phasing, suggesting that the longevity of use in certain monuments may have been for a millennia or more. Moreover, several burial traditions are recognised - inhumations and cremation which again suggests a long-term burial practice in operation. In terms of rock art and its distribution, all free-standing monuments groups have a limited representation and in many respects reflect a similar pattern to the distribution of Atlantic-style rock art found in the burial monuments of Ireland and North Wales (Waddell 2005; Nash 2007; Sharkey). The sometimes sporadic and limited distribution of engraved rock art could may well be a later introduction to already-established monuments such as the cairns and cists. Alternatively, the introduction of these new architectural forms may have also included the commission of engraved rock art as well. It is more than probable that the engraved Atlantic-style rock art present on free-standing monuments is contemporary with the large number of open-air sites that are found within the valley; many of these are sited close to cairns and cists, suggesting a synergy between monument, art and landscape.

This paper has provided the reader with a brief overview of a small group of free-standing monuments that contain rock art (Table 1) and form part of a much larger monument group. It is hoped that further fieldwork and research into the application and use of certain motifs and their spatial patterning will stimulate further debate to their meaning and intentionality of these most enigmatic and widely used images. Of particular interest is the relationship between rock art, monuments and the wa-

tery-landscape in which all these elements coexisted.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Omitted from this paper is the extensive open-air rock art that occupies the rock outcropping on the intermediate slopes and engraved portable artefacts.

<sup>2</sup> The Kilmartin Valley rock art was first academically recognised by Simpson (1868).

<sup>3</sup> In terms of an Irish Sea influence, see Scott (1969) and Herity (1970).

<sup>4</sup> This stone now stands within the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum.

<sup>5</sup> The open-air rock art within the Kilmartin Valley is the largest concentration of its kind in Scotland.

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