

Signalling and Performance

Ancient Rock Art in Britain and Ireland

edited by

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*Grateful thanks to the early recorders of rock art in Britain and Ireland
who laid the foundation for the work reflected in this volume.*

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Ron Cowell

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Vivien Deacon

After a career in NHS Mental Health Services, Vivien Deacon took a BA in Archaeology at the University of York, completing her dissertation on curvilinear rock art in part of North Yorkshire. The findings raised more questions than they answered. She went on to do a PhD, working on the rock art of Rombalds Moor in West Yorkshire, and continues to study the rock art of the area.

Rebecca Enlander

Dr Rebecca Aroon Enlander is an independent researcher and archaeologist. Since gaining her PhD in Irish rock art in 2013, Rebecca has worked in commercial and research archaeology positions across Britain and Ireland. Rebecca is currently working with the Department for Communities, Northern Ireland, in a curatorial capacity, to assess the condition and management of prehistoric rock art sites.

Edith Evans

Following a first degree in Ancient History and Archaeology and a PhD on Roman houses at Birmingham University, Edith Evans joined the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust in 1980 and has worked there in a variety of roles, currently as an Outreach Officer. Her interest in rock art was sparked in 2011 when a member of the group she was leading on a guided walk on Gelligaer Common spotted a previously unrecorded cup-marked stone.

Maya Hoole

Maya Hoole (Research Assistant maternity cover 2018-2019, Scotland's Rock Art Project) is an archaeologist with experience in Scottish prehistory, focusing on Bronze Age burials and Atlantic rock art, data management, field survey and community engagement. Maya graduated from the University of Edinburgh with a Master's degree in 2013 and has worked for Historic Environment Scotland since 2016. Her work on the Achavanich Beaker Burial project was nominated for Current Archaeology Research Project of the Year in 2020.

Stuart Jeffrey

Stuart Jeffrey (Co-Investigator, Scotland's Rock Art Project) is Professor of Digital Heritage at the School of Simulation and Visualisation in The Glasgow School of Art. Stuart studied Computer Science and Archaeology at the University of Glasgow. His research focuses on creative response, community co-design and co-production as well as visual and acoustic modelling of natural and cultural sites. Stuart has published widely on Digital Heritage, community co-production, aura and authenticity in the digital domain, art in heritage and informatics.

Aoibheann Lambe

LLB (TCD) MPhil Archaeology (UCC). Aoibheann initially qualified as a lawyer and worked for various international organizations before making Kerry her home in 2010. She identified many rock art panels through surveys in diverse landscapes including low elevation fertile pasture, and in areas where none were previously recorded. As a result, she decided to study archaeology at University College Cork (UCC) where she completed a research masters on rock art. She is currently employed by UCC, in which her research is focused on the geoh heritage of Kerry's Iveragh Peninsula, and in particular prehistoric copper mining and rock art.

Aron Mazel

Aron Mazel is a Reader of Heritage Studies at Newcastle University (UK) and a Research Associate at the University of the Witwatersrand (South Africa). Aron has published on a range of topics, including the management and interpretation of tangible and intangible heritage; museum and archaeological histories; the construction of the San hunter-gatherer past in the Thukela basin (South Africa) based on 15 rock shelter excavations; and rock art in the uKhahlamba-Drakensberg (South Africa) and Northumberland (UK).

George Nash

George Nash is an Associate Professor at the Geosciences Centre, IPT (u. ID73 – FCT), Portugal. Dr Nash is a specialist in rock art, and gained his doctorate at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway, researching hunter-fisher-gatherer rock art along coastal Norway and Levantine Spain. Between 1998 and 2016, Dr Nash lectured part-time within the University of Bristol. He has undertaken research in many parts of the world, and has published over 250 papers and edited, co-edited and written 38 books.

Clare Busher O’ Sullivan

Clare Busher O’ Sullivan’s interest in rock art began while completing her BA in archaeology at University College Cork. She continued her research on prehistoric rock art, focusing on the conservation of rock art in south-west Ireland and graduating with an MPhil in 2018. Since then she presented and published her research nationally and internationally. Clare’s primary passion is for the conservation and management of Irish open-air rock art.

Guillaume Robin

Guillaume Robin (Co-Investigator, Scotland’s Rock Art Project) is a Senior Lecturer in the School of History, Classics and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh. His research specialises in Neolithic architectures, monuments, rock art and landscapes, with a particular interest in decorated chambered tombs in Europe. He uses 2D and 3D digital survey methods and excavation, with fieldwork in Sardinia (Italy), Ireland, Brittany (France), and Sulawesi (Indonesia).

Kate Sharpe

Kate is a researcher at Durham University. Her work has three key strands which often overlap: investigating the use of stone in Prehistoric Britain - including megaliths, stone tools and, primarily, rock art; using digital heritage to improve understanding and awareness of the ancient past; and copy-editing and writing about archaeology.

Liz Stewart

Liz Stewart is Lead Curator of Archaeology and the Historic Environment at the Museum of Liverpool. Liz cares for the Museum of Liverpool regional archaeology collection: over 100,000 objects from Mesolithic to modern. Liz has recently worked with co-authors Ron Cowell and George Nash to publish an update to ‘The Calderstones: A prehistoric tomb in Liverpool’, which explores the remains of a Neolithic chambered tomb destroyed in the 19th century. The remaining stones display a fascinating array of rock art recorded and published previously.

Anne Teather

Anne Teather is Visiting Research Fellow at Bournemouth University. Anne researches theory and practice in the European Neolithic, specialising in the interpretation of art and the deposition of material culture. She has supervised archaeological excavations of Neolithic sites at Stonehenge and at The Ness of Brodgar, Orkney, and currently co-directs The Prehistoric Landscape of Tenants Hill in West Dorset. She has taught at several universities and is a Trustee of The Prehistoric Society.

Joana Valdez-Tullett

Joana Valdez-Tullett (Research Assistant, Scotland's Rock Art Project) has been working with rock art since 2003, studying and investigating sites from a number of European countries and periods, including the Palaeolithic. Her specialism is on Atlantic Rock Art about which she has published a volume based on her PhD thesis. Joana is also interested in computer applications to archaeology, archaeological theory and the intersection between archaeology and contemporary art.

Introduction: Recording and Interpreting the Ancient Rock Art of Britain and Ireland

Aron Mazel¹ and George Nash²

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Just over 10 000 years ago, Upper Palaeolithic hunter-fisher-gatherers in Britain, and possibly Ireland, started making imagery on rock.¹ These early images appear to have been made only in caves and contain both figurative and abstract figures. Thereafter, imagery made by Mesolithic hunter-fisher-gatherers, who succeeded the Upper Palaeolithic period, are located in caves and the open-air, and, like the previous period, represent both figurative and abstract figures. Then, around 6000 years ago, during the early Neolithic, pastoral communities who had replaced the hunter-fisher-gatherers started creating carvings in open-air locations. During the Neolithic and the following Early Bronze Age periods, people made overwhelmingly abstract images (e.g. concentric circles, cupmarks, lines, spirals, zigzags) with rare occurrences of representational figures, such as the recently reported cervid engravings on a cist slab from Dunchraigaig cairn in western Scotland, which, according to Barnett *et al.* (this volume) are likely to have been created 'before or at the start of the Early Bronze Age' (see also, Fenton 2021; Valdez-Tullett & Barnett 2021).

Although only a handful of Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic rock art sites are known in the Britain, these periods are addressed respectively in this volume through Nash's chapter about the Late Upper Palaeolithic site of Cathole on the Gower Peninsula, in Wales and at Cronk yn How Stone, on the Isle of Man, which Nash has suggested displays imagery that could relate to the Early Mesolithic. The bulk of chapters, however, are associated with the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, for which there are over 7000 panels on record across Britain and Ireland (Sharpe 2012; Mazel & Giesen 2019). Carved panels dating back to these periods are especially prevalent in the northern half of Britain and southwest Ireland, with more being found, even in previously searched areas. This has especially been the case during various intensive recording projects that have been undertaken during the last two decades. If we take Northumberland, for example, in 2000, The Rock Art Pilot Project (2000) reported that the Northumberland Historic Environment Record (HER) contained records of 450 panels, although it is unclear how they derived this number, as the records Mazel (2007) obtained from the Northumberland HER, in August 2002, contained significantly fewer entries. By early 2003, Mazel's (2007) interrogation of Stan Beckensall's gazetteers and personal interviews with him, along with information provided by Ian and Irene Hewitt (Hewitt 1991), revealed that there were at least 790 known rock art panels in Northumberland. During the Beckensall Northumberland Rock Art website project, which ran between July 2002–December 2004, Mazel worked closely with Beckensall on his paper archive and in the field, and the number of known panels was increased to around 1060. This

¹ In making this comment, we exclude the marked stones recovered from Les Varines (Jersey), which date to around 15,000 years ago (Bello *et al.* 2020). Although Jersey forms part of the UK administratively it is geographically considerably closer to France than mainland UK.

was achieved partly through close examination of Beckensall's records along with information provided by many people (e.g., colleagues, farmers, landowners and other members of the public), and field discoveries. Building on the Beckensall Northumberland rock art website project, The Northumberland and Durham Rock Art Pilot Project (2004–2008) increased the number of known panels in Northumberland to around 1250, primarily through fieldwork discoveries. A more recent example of increasing numbers of carved panels through intensive fieldwork and examination of the existing records, occurred during Scotland's Rock Art Project (ScRAP), 2017–2021, where 250 of the 1630 (i.e., 15%) panels that were recorded and investigated in detail during the project were new discoveries, although it is appreciated that around 3330 carved panels are known in Scotland (Scotland's Rock Art Project 2021; Barnett *et al.*, this volume).

Even in areas of limited rock art we have seen significant rise in the numbers of panels during the last few decades. In the case of Wales, for example, up until 2000, only a handful of panels were known, nearly all associated with Neolithic burial-ritual monuments (e.g., Beckensall 1999). However, by 2004, with the publication of *The Meeting of the Tracks: Rock Art in Ancient Wales* by John Sharkey, a further 30 panels were added to the Welsh national database. With recent desk-based research, fieldwork and public engagement organised by the Welsh Rock Art Organisation, established in 2004, the list currently stands at 173 panels, the majority of which are now present on the four Welsh Trust's HER databases.

Despite recent projects, which have significantly increased the number of known rock art panels in different areas, the passing of time has generally been unkind to Britain and Ireland's open-air rock art. Many panels have been lost to, for example, quarrying, field clearances and other agricultural practices, while others may have just faded away over a long period time, as Hedley (1889) suggested already around 130 years ago, in respect of Lordenshaw in central Northumberland. A clear illustration of fading rock art derives from Snook Bank, near Lordenshaw, where carvings covered by turf appear freshly made, retaining their pick marks, while others on the same rock, which have been exposed to the elements, for how many years we do not know but probably for an extensive period of time, are hardly visible (Figure 1). We will never know the total number of stones people carved in Britain and Ireland during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, but it is likely to be considerably greater than the roughly 7000 panels that are currently known. It is probable that many more will still be found.



Figure 1. Snook Bank, in Northumberland, which shows the difference between carvings that have been covered by turf (e.g. pick marks are visible) and those exposed to the elements. The turf was reinstated straight after the recording was completed. Scale in centimetres. Image: Aron Mazel.

While the chapters in this volume draw on a wide range of data, most of which have been generated during the last few decades, it is important to remember that our current endeavours build on past efforts. Indeed, this assemblage of overwhelmingly abstract imagery came to the attention of Antiquarians centuries ago, which is when they first began to engage with them. We also need to acknowledge that local communities may have known about many panels over long periods - hundreds or perhaps even thousands of years - and in all likelihood used them as focal points within the landscape. Many rock art panels, along with other later Neolithic and Bronze Age burial-ritual and landscape monuments, such as barrows, cairns, standing stones (menhirs) and stone chambered tombs were incorporated into public rights of way, which appear to have delineated the courses of ancient routeways.

According to Beckensall (2007, 216; see also O’Kelly 1982), Ireland ‘had some early references to its passage grave art, one as early as 1699, when a Welsh antiquarian, Edward Lhwyd described how workmen had carried off some of the stones from the mound, marked with crude and barbarous sculpture that must have been pre-Roman.’ Moreover, Williams and Shee Twohig (2015) have noted that Lhwyd’s draftsman, Will Jones, had made a drawing of Newgrange. Reference to Figure 2 shows that Jones had identified a range of motifs in the art. Then, some 90 years after this, according to Tate (1864, 162),

‘As long ago as 1785 a drawing was made of an incised slab, which covered a cist at Coilsfield in Ayrshire [Scotland], in which was an urn filled with incinerated bones...The principal figure on it is the same as our common typical form; six concentric circles around a cup from which issues a groove, but along with this is a coiled or spiral figure of which we have no example in Northumberland; it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the drawing.’

Not only is it interesting that Tate referenced this early recording of rock art, but that around 150 years ago he was considering the similarities and differences between motifs occurring in different regions, which remains a feature of our current research efforts. Following the Coilsfield cist cover drawing, it took almost another 50 years for the first regional survey of carved rock art to be published, which focused on Cairnbaan, in Scotland (Currie 1830).

Despite the early recognition and survey of rock art, it would be fair to comment that the first substantial engagement with ancient carvings in Britain occurred in the mid and late 19th century when antiquarians George Tate and James Simpson systematically recorded rock art in Northumberland and Scotland respectively. Significantly, Tate’s and Simpson’s landmark publications were within a few years of each other, with Tate’s *The Ancient British Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland and the Eastern Borders, with Notices of the Remains associated with these Sculptures* published in 1864, and Simpson’s *On ancient sculpturings of cups and concentric rings, etc.* a couple of years later, in 1866. Moreover, in a publication in the following year, Simpson (1867) described in detail the Calderstones passage grave in Liverpool and the Bachwen Portal Dolmen in northwest Wales and supported this with a fine set of engraved plates.

With these publications, Tate and Simpson laid the foundation for future work, although notably, it took another century before the emergence of rock art recording on a larger scale than theirs. Tate and Simpson were not ‘lone scholars’ but had engaged with each other about rock art; for example, Simpson (1867, 52) commented that, ‘Subsequently notices of this [Northumberland] remarkable rock were given to ... the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

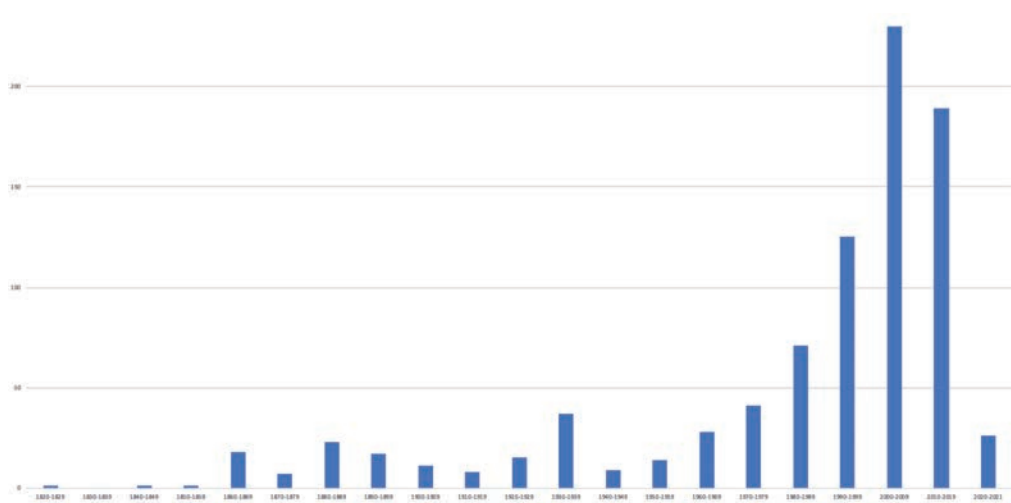


Figure 2. Drawing of Newgrange, 1699, made by Will Jones for Edward Lhwyd
 (after Williams & Shee Twohig 2015).

by Mr Tate', and after Tate's abovementioned address, indicated that he 'had the pleasure of reading over the principal heads of ... [Tate's essay] ... and found that in most points he and I were agreed' (Simpson 1867, 53). Paying tribute to these early recorders, Beckensall (2007, 211) asked 'what would we have done without these inspired amateurs?'

The amateur (or independent) rock art specialists who picked up Tate's and Simpson's mantle during the 1960s and 1970s, such as Stan Beckensall, Keith Boughey, Ronald Morris, Maarten van Hoek and Ed Vickerman, reflected a sustained commitment to locating and recording rock art over many years. Later, they were joined by recorders such as Paul and Barbara Brown, Graeme Chappell and George Currie. They were all driven by their passion and dedication to rock art. To their credit, not only did these rock art specialists locate and record thousands of rock art panels, but they did this unfunded and with great perseverance. Most valuably, they put their findings on record in books and articles and, in some instances, provided the information to local heritage authorities. Their efforts are, in part, reflected in the upsurge in publishing about rock art in the 1970s and 1980s, which continues to this day (Figure 3), representing the longest period of sustained rock art research and publication in Ireland and Britain.

While all the aforementioned rock art colleagues deserve grateful thanks from the broader rock art community, the revival of rock art studies in the latter part of the 20th century is particularly associated with Ronald Morris and Stan Beckensall. They are appreciated by the rock art community as being preeminent. Regarding Morris, and referring specifically to Scotland, Barnett *et al.* (2021, 24) comment that, 'Most renowned amongst them [i.e., rock art recorders] is Ronald Morris, a Scottish lawyer who recorded over 400 rock art sites across southern and western Scotland in the 1960s-1980s.' Beckensall, an educationalist, who made Northumberland his home in the 1960s, recorded around 1000 panels in the county between the 1960s and 2000s. While Beckensall concentrated his recording efforts in Northumberland, he also published about the rock art of Cumbria, Durham, Kilmartin, Swaledale and Wensleydale.



Richard Bradley, in dedicating his influential book *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe* (1997, xiv) to Stan Beckensall, commented,

'Rock Art is one of those fields in which amateurs and professionals have been able to work together successfully. It is only right that I dedicate this book to the two people² who have done most to encourage and support me in this work: Stan Beckensall, the most devoted of amateur archaeologists ... Between them they have introduced me to the pleasures of studying rock art.'

Interestingly, in a parallel development reflecting the 19th century connection between Tate, in Northumberland, and Simpson, in Scotland, one hundred years later there existed a connection between Morris and Beckensall, signified in Morris bequeathing to Beckensall his Nikon camera, who used it proudly for many years, and his Scottish rock art archive, which was later returned to Scotland (Mazel 2006).

In recording thousands of rock art panels, the aforementioned amateur archaeologists laid the basis for the extensive funded surveys that have occurred during the last few decades in Northumberland, Durham Yorkshire, Scotland and Wales, which has not only led to more discoveries of rock art, but also to the creation of extensive databases of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age rock art. These projects have added considerably to our knowledge of the extent and nature of rock art made by our forbearers thousands of years ago, which is, in part, due to the incremental refinements in recording methodologies during these projects both in terms of the nature of data collected about the rock art and the improved visual recordings (e.g., Sharpe *et al.* 2008; Barnett *et al.* 2021).

Complementing the growth in the number of rock art panels, has been the development of chronometric dating techniques, such as uranium-series disequilibrium dating (e.g., Pike *et al.* 2009, Nash *et al.* 2012), Raman spectroscopy (Nash *et al.* 2016), and the application of desk-based colour algorithms (Nash & Jelly 2016). These revolutionary techniques have been applied to cave and rock shelter contexts that have an Upper Palaeolithic or Mesolithic rock art presence, such as Church Hole Cave, Creswell Crags (Bahn & Pettitt 2009) and Cathole Cave (Nash, this volume). Unfortunately, there have been no equivalent developments regarding the direct dating of open-air rock art, although there has been an increased focus on relative chronology using superimpositioning (Barnett *et al.*; Lambe, this volume).

Another benefit of various rock art projects during the last two decades has been encouraging, both virtual and *in situ*, of public engagement with rock art so that it can be enjoyed and appreciated by current and future generations. This has included the development of websites that provided unfettered access to considerable amounts of data, such as the Beckensall Northumberland rock art website, which presented over 1000 panels and supported by 6000 images.³ Between January 2005 and June 2008, visitor traffic to this website represented about 17 million successful requests (i.e., hits), just over 0.5 million successful pages requests, and 115,000 distinct hosts served, which indicates the number of people visiting the website (Mazel & Ayestaran 2010). In addition, the rock art of Britain and Ireland has been placed into a wider

² The other person mentioned by Bradley (1997) is John Coles.

³ Unfortunately, this website which was hosted by Newcastle University was taken down due to potential security flaws.

global context through websites such as the Bradshaw Foundation⁴ and the 1902 Committee⁵, and various themed pages on social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter (Mazel 2017).

Another aspect of some of the abovementioned projects that requires acknowledgement is the substantial contribution to the location and recording of rock art made by the large number of volunteers who have participated in them. Besides being recorders of rock art, they can also now be considered as advocates for the safeguarding of this fragile but priceless heritage. A great debt of gratitude is owed to them.

The rock art from the different periods represented in this volume provide a rich resource for study and debate, attracting increased attention from scholars, particularly during the last 30 years (Figure 3). This work has significantly enhanced our understanding of past human endeavour in Ireland and Britain, especially regarding the different types of imagery our ancestors held in their minds and rendered on rock surfaces in caves, rock shelters and in the open-air. These are a great legacy which are represented by both regional and chronological styles and techniques.

Fifteen years ago, we published *Art as Metaphor: The Prehistoric Rock-Art of Britain* (Mazel *et al.* 2007), which drew together 12 chapters dealing with different periods represented in British and Irish rock art but geographically focused on Northumberland, Yorkshire, Cumbria and southern Britain. This successor volume not only revisits most of the periods and regions represented in *Art as Metaphor*, but encouragingly has three chapters dealing specifically with the rock art of Ireland (Enlander; Lambe; O'Sullivan, all this volume), one focusing on the rock art of Scotland (Barnett *et al.*, this volume), along with another chapter about the primarily non-representational Neolithic linear art cut into chalk (Teather, this volume). While the Scottish chapter was co-authored by team members of ScRAP, a five-year (2017-2021) Arts and Humanities Research Council funded programme, the chapters concerning Irish rock art was based on recent thesis research: two masters (Lambe and O'Sullivan) and one doctoral (Enlander), all of which signal the growth and maturation of rock art studies in Britain and Ireland. These chapters together with the others in this volume contribute handsomely to our ever-increasing body of knowledge of British and Irish rock art and the people and communities who made it. Staying within the west of Britain, Wales and the Borderlands are also represented, covering some of the recent discoveries that extend much of the ancient past (e.g., Cowell *et al.*; Evans; Nash, all this volume). From much of the material covered in this volume, one common denominator appears to present, that of the intimate relationship of rock art with the landscape and ancient monuments. The relationship between rock art and the landscape is clearly shown in the chapters covering northern Britain, by Boughey, Deacon, Mazel and Sharpe, while a more-wider European context is considered by Teather. As evident in this volume, ancient rock art continues to fascinate and challenge people as a rich source of material for study and shedding light on our distant ancestors.

Reviewing *Art as Metaphor*, Barnett (2009: 860) commented, 'This book is a useful synthesis of recent discoveries and interpretations. While acknowledging that rock art studies are still evolving, it identifies new research directions and sets the scene for future initiatives. As Mazel concludes in the final chapter (p. 253) '...the availability of large datasets and the

⁴ <https://www.bradshawfoundation.com/>

⁵ <https://www.1902committee.com/>

increased interest in the rock art of . . . the British Isles makes this an exciting time for its study.' The last 15 years has been an exciting time for rock art studies in Britain and Ireland and it is our hope that this volume will help contribute to many more decades of discovery and research.

Acknowledgement

Thanks are due to Leigh Marymor who kindly created Figure 3 for us.

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