This pdf of your paper in *Image, Memory and Monumentality* belongs to the publishers Oxbow Books and it is their copyright.

As author you are licenced to make up to 50 offprints from it, but beyond that you may not publish it on the World Wide Web until three years from publication (May 2015), unless the site is a limited access intranet (password protected). If you have queries about this please contact the editorial department at Oxbow Books (editorial@oxbowbooks.com).

THE PREHISTORIC SOCIETY

An offprint from

Image, Memory and Monumentality

archaeological engagements with the material world:
a celebration of the academic achievements of Professor Richard Bradley

edited by
Andrew Meirion Jones, Joshua Pollard, Michael J. Allen and Julie Gardiner

Prehistoric Society Research Paper No. 5

ISBN 978-1-84217-495-1

THE PREHISTORIC SOCIETY
Series Editors: Michael J. Allen and David McOmish
Managing Editor: Julie Gardiner

OXBOW BOOKS 2012
www.oxbowbooks.com

THE PREHISTORIC SOCIETY RESEARCH PAPERS

The Prehistoric Society Research Papers publish collections of edited papers covering aspects of Prehistory. These may be derived from conferences, or research projects; they specifically *exclude* the publication of single excavation reports. The Research Papers present the fruits of the best of prehistoric research, complementing the Society's respected *Proceedings* by allowing broader treatment of key research areas.

The Research Papers is a peer reviewed series whose production is managed by the Society.

Further information can be found on the Society's website (www.prehistoricsociety.org)

SERIES EDITORS: MICHAEL J. ALLEN AND DAVID MCOMISH

Editorial Advisory Committee:

M. Aldhouse-Green, N. Ashton, G. Barker, T. Champion
G. Cooney, J. Chapman, A.E.U. David, C. French
C. Gosden, F. Healy, A. Saville, A. Sheridan
G.J. Wainwright

THE PREHISTORIC SOCIETY

The Prehistoric Society's interests are world wide and extend from the earliest human origins to the emergence of written records. Membership is open to all, and includes professional, amateur, student and retired members.

An active programme of events – lectures, study tours, day- and weekend conferences, and research weekends – allows members to participate fully in the Society and to meet other members and interested parties. The study excursions cater for all preferences from the relatively luxurious to the more economical, including highly popular student study tours. Day visits to sites are arranged whenever possible.

The Society produces two publications that are included with most categories of membership: the annual journal, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* and the topical newsletter, *PAST*, which is published in April, July and November. In addition the *Prehistoric Society Research Papers* are published occasionally on which members may have discount.

Further information can be found on the Society's website (www.prehistoricsociety.org), or via the Prehistoric Society's registered address: ℅ Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 31–34 Gordon Square, London, WC1H 0PY.

The Society is a registered charity (no. 1000567)

THE PREHISTORIC SOCIETY RESEARCH PAPERS

Other volumes in this series, available from Oxbow Books

No. 1. *From Bann Flakes to Bushmills – papers in honour of Professor Peter Woodman*
eds N. Finlay, S. McCartan, N. Milner & C. Wickham-Jones (2009)

No. 2. *Land and People – papers in memory of John G. Evans*
eds M.J. Allen, N. Sharples & T. O'Connor (2009)

No. 3. *Materialitas; working stone, carving identity*
eds B. O'Connor, G. Cooney & J. Chapman (2009)

No. 4. *Is there a British Chalcolithic? People, place and polity in the later 3rd millennium*
eds M.J. Allen, J. Gardiner and A. Sheridan (2012)

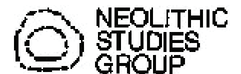
No. 5. *Image, Memory and Monumentality: archaeological engagements with the material world*
eds A.M. Jones, J. Pollard, M.J. Allen & J. Gardiner (2012)

Volumes in production

No. 6. *Neolithic Settlement in Ireland*
by Jessica Smyth (due 2013)

in prep. *Neolithic of Lowland Scotland*
eds K. Brophy, G. Macgregor, I. Ralston & D. McOmish

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland



CAMBRIDGE ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

University of
Chester

Allen
Environmental
Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF
Southampton

CONTENTS

List of Figures and Tables x
Contributors xii
Abstract xv
French Language Abstract xviii
German Language Abstract xx
Acknowledgements xxii
Preface: Richard Bradley: *By* ANDREW MEIRION JONES *and* JOSHUA POLLARD xxiii
Editors' Introduction xxvii
Tabula Gratularia xxxi

RICHARD BRADLEY; A SOCIAL PREHISTORIAN
1. Richard Bradley: the man on the other side of the wall 1
By BOB CHAPMAN

2. Drinking Tea with Richard Bradley 4
By SUSAN ALCOCK

THE SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF PREHISTORIC BRITAIN
3. Are Models of Prestige Goods Economies and Conspicuous Consumption Applicable to the Archaeology of the Bronze to Iron Age Transition in Britain? 6
By JOHN C. BARRETT

4. Stonehenge and the Beginning of the British Neolithic 18
By MIKE PARKER PEARSON

5. The Stonehenge Landscape Before Stonehenge 29
By COLIN RICHARDS *and* JULIAN THOMAS

6. Henges, Rivers and Exchange in Neolithic Yorkshire 43
By JAN HARDING

7. The Social Lives of the Small Neolithic Monuments of the Upper Thames Valley 52
By GILL HEY

8. Landscape Archaeology and British Prehistory: questions of heuristic value 64
By ANDREW FLEMING

9. Cursus Continuum: further discoveries in the Dorset Cursus environs, Cranborne Chase, Dorset 73
By MARTIN GREEN

AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF NATURAL PLACES
10. Prehistoric Woodland Ecology 80
By MARTIN BELL *and* GORDON NOBLE

11. Not Out of the Woods Yet: some reflections on Neolithic ecological relationships with woodland 93
By Michael J. Allen *and* Julie Gardiner

THE PASSAGE OF ARMS

12. Conquest Ideology, Ritual, and Material Culture 108
By Heinrich Härke

13. Diversity and Distinction: characterising the individual buried at Wilsford G58, Wiltshire 116
By Ann Woodward *and* Stuart Needham

14. Extended and Condensed Relations: bringing together landscapes and artefacts 127
By Chris Gosden

15. Missing the Point: implications of the appearance and development of transverse arrowheads in southern Britain, with particular reference to *petit tranchet* and chisel types 136
By Rosamund M.J. Cleal

16. Biographies and Afterlives 146
By Mark Edmonds

17. Contextualising Kilmartin: building a narrative for developments in western Scotland and beyond, from the Early Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age 163
By Alison Sheridan

RITUAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE

18. History-making in Prehistory: examples from Çatalhöyük and the Middle East 184
By Ian Hodder

19. Being Alive and Being Dead: house and grave in the LBK 194
By Alasdair Whittle

20. Ash and Antiquity: archaeology and cremation in contemporary Sweden 207
By Howard Williams

IMAGE AND AUDIENCE

21. In the Wake of a Voyager: feet, boats and death rituals in the North European Bronze Age 218
By Joakim Goldhahn

22. The Northernmost Rock-carvings of the Nordic Bronze Age Tradition in Norway: context and landscape 233
By Flemming Kaul

23. Ships, Rock Shelters and Transcosmological Travel in Scandinavia and Southern Africa 241
By J.D. Lewis-Williams

24. Images in their Time: new insights into the Galician petroglyphs 249
By Ramón Fábregas Valcarce *and* Carlos Rodríguez-Rellán

25. Circular Images and Sinuous Paths: engaging with the biography of rock art research in the Atlantic façade of north-west Iberia 260
By Lara Bacelar Alves

26. Advances in the Study of British Prehistoric Rock Art 273
By Stan Beckensall

27. Culturally Modified Trees: a discussion based on rock-art images 281
By Peter Skoglund

ALTERING THE EARTH

28. Landscape Edges: directions for Bronze Age field systems 289
By David Yates

29. Archaeology and the Repeatable Experiment: a comparative agenda 295
By Christopher Evans

30. Four Sites, Four Methods 307
By Aaron Watson

Index 328

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

List of Figures

Figure 4.1: Stonehenge in its landscape
Figure 4.2: Stonehenge, stone 27 as seen from outside the circle of sarsens
Figure 4.3: Excavation across the Stonehenge Avenue in 2008
Figure 4.5: Stonehenge in Stage 2
Figure 4.6: The closed chamber tomb of Carreg Samson, Pembrokeshire
Figure 4.7: Excavations at the Neolithic quarry at Craig Rhosyfelin, north of Preseli; a source of one of the types of rhyolite found at Stonehenge
Figure 5.1: The Greater Stonehenge Cursus, seen from the west
Figure 5.2: Section of the ditch of the Greater Cursus, excavation 2007
Figure 5.3: Excavation of the ditch of Amesbury 42 long barrow, excavation 2008
Figure 5.4: Tor Stone, Bulford Hill
Figure 5.5: Cuckoo Stone under excavation, 2008
Figure 5.6: Timber structure beneath Durrington 68 round barrow
Figure 6.1: Henges and other related sites with their orientation
Figure 6.2: Lowland henges in Yorkshire
Figure 6.3: The henges, springs and possible mires of the Ure-Swale Interfluve
Figure 7.1: The Radley oval barrow from the air and looking south-west
Figure 7.2: The structural sequence of the Radley oval barrow
Figure 7.3: Distribution of earlier Neolithic monuments and causewayed enclosures in the Thames Valley
Figure 9.1: Plan Fir Tree field location with archaeological sites
Figure 9.2: Plan of Down Farm and Canada Farm ring ditches side by side
Figure 9.3: Photo of Canada Farm Beaker burial
Figure 9.4: Photo Cursus burial in plough finish-off
Figure 9.5: Restored Down Farm barrow
Figure 10.1: Subsoil hollows and tree throw (a) Tree throw in a wood at Brighton: (b) fossil tree hole at Itford Bottom, East Sussex
Figure 10.2: a. Submerged forest tree, in the intertidal zone Goldcliff East, Wales: b. section of relationships of tree to the old land surface and charcoal
Figure 11.1: Reconstruction of flint mine at Grimes Graves, Norfolk
Figure 11.2: Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age flint scatters of the Beachy Head Group
Figure 11.3: Causewayed enclosures, long barrows and flint mines in Sussex
Figure 11.4: Timber henge reconstructed in woodland
Figure 11.5: Archaeological and ecological contrasts between the Wessex chalk and the South Downs
Figure 11.6: Beaker occupation sites on the chalkland of southern England
Figure 11.7: Plan and section of ard marks.
Figure 12.1: Re-enactment of the Great Trek in South Africa
Figure 12.2: History and archaeology in Wessex, fifth/sixth centuries
Figure 13.1: Wilsford G58. 1 bone tube, 2 antler handle, 3 bone plate, 4 boar's tusk, 5 grooved stone block, 6 bronze low-flanged axehead
Figure 13.2: Wilsford G58. Stone battle-axe
Figure 13.3: Wilsford G58. Bronze double-pronged object
Figure 15.1: J.G.D. Clark's transverse arrowheads types A – D
Figure 15.2: Sites mentioned in the text
Figure 15.3: Chronology: southern Britain
Figure 15.4: Chronology: Netherlands, Belgium, N. France,
Figure 15.5: S-shaped bowls, from Het Vormer, Netherlands, Broome Heath and Staines
Figure 16.1: Flint axes from Upton Lovell G2a
Figure 16.2: Cornish Axe from Perry Oaks
Figure 16.3: Axe found while draining: details of provenance and accession accompanied by Monkman's name
Figure 16.4: Roughout blade recovered by the Knowles family at Tievebulliagh
Figure 16.5: Labelling on plaster casts of the Belmont Hoard
Figure 16.6: a. axes from Swiss Lake Villages; b. Danish Axe; c. Display case for Danish flint dagger
Figure 16.7: Small and heavily damaged axe from the Cambridgeshire Fens
Figure 16.8: Small roughout found in the vicinity of Stake Beck, Great Langdale, Cumbria
Figure 16.9: Axe blade from the Mitchelson Collection, Yorkshire Museum. Place and memory of discovery is not fixed
Figure 17.1: Location of Kilmartin Glen and its prehistoric monuments

Figure 17.2: Looking south-east down Kilmartin Glen towards Loch Crinan and Jura
Figure 17.3: Engraving by William Daniell, 1817, showing Temple Wood South stone circle in the foreground
Figure 17.4: 1. Early Neolithic sites around Kilmartin Glen; 2. The 'avenues' at Upper Largie and Ballymeanoch
Figure 17.5: Kilmartin Glen and environs during the Late Neolithic and decorated stones
Figure 17.6: Kilmartin Glen and environs during the Chalcolithic
Figure 17.7: Kilmartin Glen and environs during the earliest Bronze Age
Figure 17.8: Kilmartin Glen and environs during 1. The Early Bronze Age; 2. The Middle Bronze Age
Figure 18.1: Çatalhöyük ; the sequence of Buildings 65, 56 and 44
Figure 18.2: Çatalhöyük ; high and low density hot-spots in Level ?G and G in the northern 4040 Area
Figure 18.3: Çatalhöyük ; arrangement of the buildings and midden areas in the south-west
Figure 20.1: Mjölby cemetery (Ög); pseudo-runic inscription at the memory grove
Figure 20.2: Mjölby cemetery (Ög); boat-shaped ash grove at
Figure 20.3: Tingstad (Ög); memory grove
Figure 20.4: Hulterstad (Öl); memory grove incorporating 19th century gravestone
Figure 20.5: Glömminge (Öl); memory grave incorporating a 19th century iron cross
Figure 20.6: Kila church (Sö); entrance to the memory grove flanked by two late 17th century grave-slabs
Figure 20.7: Krokek (Ög) old church, Raä Krokek 28:1
Figure 20.8: St. Anna (Ög); anchor as focal point of the memory grove
Figure 20.9a: Rälla (Öl); family burial ground with an antiquated entrance
Figure 20.9b: Rälla (Öl) pine forest memory grove
Figure 21.1: Map of Scandinavia showing the places and areas mentioned
Figure 21.2: The discovery of rock art of Bredarör on Kivik in Scania, Sweden
Figure 21.3: Feet and boat images from Bohuslän in Sweden
Figure 21.4: The cist and rock art from Rege, Rogaland
Figure 21.5: Rock art and exfoliation from Lilla Ryafällan, Sweden
Figure 21.6: Feet, boats and cairn from Måsebo torp, Lofta parish in Tjust
Figure 21.7: Rock art and cairn at Törnsfall 107, Sweden
Figure 21.8: Cairn and rock art at Törnsfall 107, showing the small test-excavated area
Figure 21.9: Some of the rock art found underneath the cairn Törnsfall 107
Figure 22.1: Farming landscape on Flatøy, Nordland
Figure 22.2: Two ship images from Flatøy, Nordland
Figure 22.3: Rock carving ship of Nordic Bronze Age tradition, Hjemmeluft, Alta, Finmark
Figure 22.4: Ship images from Gisslegärde and Bottna, Bottna Parish, Bohuslän
Figure 23.1: The three tiers of Bronze Age cosmology
Figure 23.2: Southern African San cosmology and interaction
Figure 23.3: Tracing of a portion of the painted panel in RSA FET3
Figure 24.1: Map of sites that are discussed
Figure 24.2: Foxa da Vella (Rianxo, A Coruña) as recorded by the authors
Figure 24.3: Top: Rechaba stone disc, with a decorative pattern of concentric circles; bottom: boulder with percussion marks
Figure 24.4: Coto da Braña 3 and Pozo Ventura
Figure 25.1: Various approaches to prehistoric monuments by Michel Le Goffic
Figure 25.2: Weapon carvings at Auga da Laxe (Galicia, Spain) and the idealised picture
Figure 25.3: The model produced by Peña and Rey of the rock art in the Morrazo peninsula (Galicia) showing the spatial relationship with settlements and the burial record
Figure 25.4: The carved outcrop of Penedo do Encanto (Ponte da Barca, Portugal)
Figure 26.1: Complex rock art at the Ben Lawers site, overlooking Loch Tay
Figure 26.2: Ben Lawers: a rock outcrop excavated by Richard Bradley overlooking Loch Tay
Figure 26.3: Fowberry Plantation, Northumberland: a decorated slab removed from outcrop and lower surface re-carved
Figure 26.4: Part of a large panel at Hunterheugh, Northumberland
Figure 26.5a: A drawing of Ketley Crag rock shelter motifs
Figure 26.5b: The location of the motifs under the rock overhang
Figure 26:6: A superb example of rock art on a slab; only part exposed, and re-covered
Figure 27.1: Principal drawing of different ways of pruning trees
Figure 27.2: Human in top of tree. Tanum parish, (RAÄ 66), Sweden
Figure 27.3: Detail of Runohällen in Tanum
Figure 27.4: Leaf-stack constructed with poles to stabilise bunches. Slätthög parish, Sweden
Figure 28.1: The orientation of lowland Bronze Age straight boundaries in field systems
Figure 29.1: The Godwin Ridge phasing sequence

List of Tables

Table 5.1: Relevant radiocarbon dates for the Stonehenge area
Table 13.1: analyses of the bronze objects from Wilsford G58
Table 21.1: Example of feet images from burial contexts in Bronze Age Scandinavia
Table 24.1: Presence on the rocks of some prehistoric motifs
Table 29.1: Cambridgeshire Roman site 'league table'
Table 29.2: Comparative site mapping densities

CONTRIBUTORS

Prof. Susan Alcock
Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University, Box 1837/60 George St., Providence, RI 02912, USA
Email: Susan_alcock@brown.edu

Dr Mike Allen
Allen Environmental Archaeology, Redroof, Green Rd, Codford, Wiltshire, BA12 0NW
and
School of Applied Sciences, Bournemouth University, Fern Barrow, Poole, BH12 5BB
Email: aea.escargots@gmail.com

Dr Lara Bacelar Alves
Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos das Universidades de Coimbra e Porto (CEAUCP), Polo da Universidade do Porto, Gabinete 107 – Torre A, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Via Panorâmica, s/n, 4150–564 Porto, Portugal
Email: larabacelar@sapo.pt

Prof. John C. Barrett
Dept. of Archaeology, University of Sheffield, Northgate House, West Street, Sheffield, S1 4ET, UK
Email: J.Barrett@sheffield.ac.uk

Dr Stan Beckensall
4, Leazes Crescent, Hexham, NE46 3JX

Prof. Martin Bell
Department of Archaeology, School of Human and Environmental Sciences, University of Reading, Whiteknights, PO Box 227, Reading RG6 6AB
Email: m.g.bell@reading.ac.uk

Prof. Bob Chapman
Department of Archaeology, School of Human and Environmental Sciences, University of Reading, Whiteknights, PO Box 227, Reading RG6 6AB
Email: R.W.chapman@reading.ac.uk

Dr Ros Cleal
The National Trust, Alexander Keiller Museum, High Street, Avebury, Wiltshire, SN8 1RF.
Email: Rosamund.Cleal@nationaltrust.org.uk

Prof. Mark Edmonds
Department of Archaeology, University of York, King's Manor, York, YO1 7EP
Email: mre500@york.ac.uk

Christopher Evans
Cambridge Archaeological Unit, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge, CB2 3DZ
Email: cje30@cam.ac.uk

Prof. Ramón Fábregas Valcarce
GEPN, Dpto. Historia I, Facultade de Xeografía e Historia, USC, Praza da Universidade, 1. 15782, Santiago de Compostela, Spain
Email: ramon.fabregas@usc.es

Emeritus Prof. Andrew Fleming
Stoneleigh, Clifford, Herefordshire HR3 5ER
Email: andrewfleming43@btinternet.com

Dr Julie Gardiner
% Allen Environmental Archaeology, Redroof, Green Rd, Codford, Wiltshire, BA12 0NW
Email: jpg.escargots@googlemail.com

Prof. Joakim Goldhahn
Archaeology, School of Cultural Sciences, Linnaeus University, 391 82 Kalmar, Sweden
Email: joakim.goldhahn@lnu.se

Prof. Chris Gosden
Institute of Archaeology, 36 Beaumont St, Oxford, OX1 2PG
Email: chris.gosden@arch.ox.ac.uk

Dr Martin Green
Down Farm, Sixpenny Handley, Salisbury, Wiltshire, SP5 5RY
Email: mgreendownfarm@gmail.com

Dr Jan Harding
School of Historical Studies, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU
Email: j.d.harding@ncl.ac.uk

Prof Heinrich Härke
Abt. für Archäologie des Mittelalters, Universität Tübingen, Germany; Honorary Research Fellow, University of Reading, Whiteknights, PO Box 227, Reading RG6 6AB
Email: h.g.h.harke@reading.ac.uk

Dr Gill Hey
Oxford Archaeology North, Mill 3, Moor Lane Mills, Moor Lane, Lancaster, LA1 1GF
Email: gill.hey@oxfordarch.co.uk

Prof Ian Hodder
Stanford Archaeology Center, PO Box 20446, Stanford University, Stanford CA 94309, USA
Email: i.hodder@stanford.edu

Dr Andrew Meirion Jones
Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Southampton, Avenue Campus, Highfield, Southampton, SO17 1BF
Email: amj@soton.ac.uk

Dr Flemming Kaul
Nationalmuseet Denmark, Fredriksholms Kanal 12, DK 1220, Copenhagen
Email: flemming.kaul@natmus.dk

Emeritus Prof. David Lewis-Williams
Rock Art Research Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, Private Bag X3, Johannesburg, Wits, 2050, South Africa

Dr Stuart Needham
Langton Fold, North Lane, South Harting, West Sussex, GU31 5NW
Email: sbowman1@waitrose.com

Dr Gordon Noble
Department of Archaeology, University of Aberdeen, St Mary's Building, Elphinstone Road, Aberdeen, AB24 3UF
Email: g.noble@abdn.ac.uk

Prof. Mike Parker Pearson
Dept. of Archaeology, University of Sheffield, Northgate House, West Street, Sheffield, S1 4ET, UK
Email: M.Parker-Pearson@Sheffield.ac.uk

Dr Joshua Pollard
Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Southampton, Avenue Campus Highfield, Southampton, SO17 1BF
Email: C.J.Pollard@soton.ac.uk

Prof. Colin Richards
School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, The University of Manchester, Manchester, M13 9PL
Email: colin.c.richards@manchester.ac.uk

Dr Carlos Rodríguez-Rellán
℅ GEPN, Dpto. Historia I, Facultade de Xeografía e Historia, USC, Praza da Universidade, 1. 15782, Santiago de Compostela, Spain
Email: carlos.rellan@usc.es

Dr Alison Sheridan
Archaeology Department, National Museums Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1JF
Email: a.sheridan@nms.ac.uk

Dr Peter Skoglund
Department of Historical Studies, University of Gothenburg, Box 200SE-405 30, Göteborg, Sweden
Email: peter.skoglund@gu.se

Prof. Julian Thomas
School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, The University of Manchester, Manchester, M13 9PL
Email: julian.thomas@manchester.ac.uk

Dr Aaron Watson
Email: a.watson@monumental.uk.com

Prof Alasdair Whittle
Department of Archaeology and Conservation, Cardiff University, Humanities Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff, CF10 3EU
Email: whittle@cardiff.ac.uk

Prof Howard Williams
Dept. of History & Archaeology, University of Chester, Parkgate Road, Chester, CH1 4BJ
Email: howard.williams@chester.ac.uk

Dr Ann Woodward
17 Great Western Road, Dorchester, Dorset, DT1 1UF
Email: annwoodward0@btinternet.com

Dr David Yates
℅ Department of Archaeology, School of Human and Environmental Science, University of Reading, Whiteknights, PO Box 227, Reading RG6 6AB
Email: dtyates@dtyates.freeserve.co.uk

24

Images in their Time: new insights into the Galician petroglyphs

Ramón Fábregas Valcarce and Carlos Rodríguez-Rellán

Richard Bradley's research on Iberian open-air rock art has proved essential in understanding its relationship with prehistoric landscapes. However, there remain a number of constraints and issues surrounding the interpretation of open-air rock art which are considered here. A consensus about the chronology of this phenomenon (which places it in the local Bronze Age) has been challenged, with some researchers claiming an Iron Age date for many petroglyphs. This is subject to critical scrutiny and here rejected. Matters are not helped by the absence of a comprehensive catalogue of the open-air rock art, and the fact that most sites have never been studied in depth. An opportunity is also taken to review the interpretation of Galician rock art as an open or hardly-restricted phenomenon, drawing attention to physical constraints that existed on its observation. Another controversial issue among specialists has been the precise relationship between Galician rock art and the domestic sphere, leading to a presentation of dichotomous 'sacred' versus 'domestic' areas. While contemporary settlements might be difficult to detect, this dichotomous image is shown to be erroneous, with human activity being demonstrated in the surroundings of many petroglyphs.

> kann dich tausendmal rufen, du stehst nur da, ich erreich dich nie
> Ulla Meinecke, *Zauberformel*

An outline of the issue

The role played by the work of Richard Bradley in North-west Iberia is essential for understanding the present level of knowledge about the open-air rock art phenomenon in this region; such research, embodied in many publications (Bradley 1997; Bradley & Fábregas 1999; Bradley *et al.* 1995, among others), has profoundly influenced the investigations conducted in this area ever since, in particular those approaching the relationship of rock art with the landscape and surrounding territories. However, after two decades since Bradley's first trip to Galicia, there are still a number of constraints affecting our appraisal of the open-air rock art, hinting at some of the present knowledge having feet of clay.

Over 2000 sites are known in the four provinces of Galicia and Northern Portugal (Fig. 24.1), but, in spite of the huge bibliography

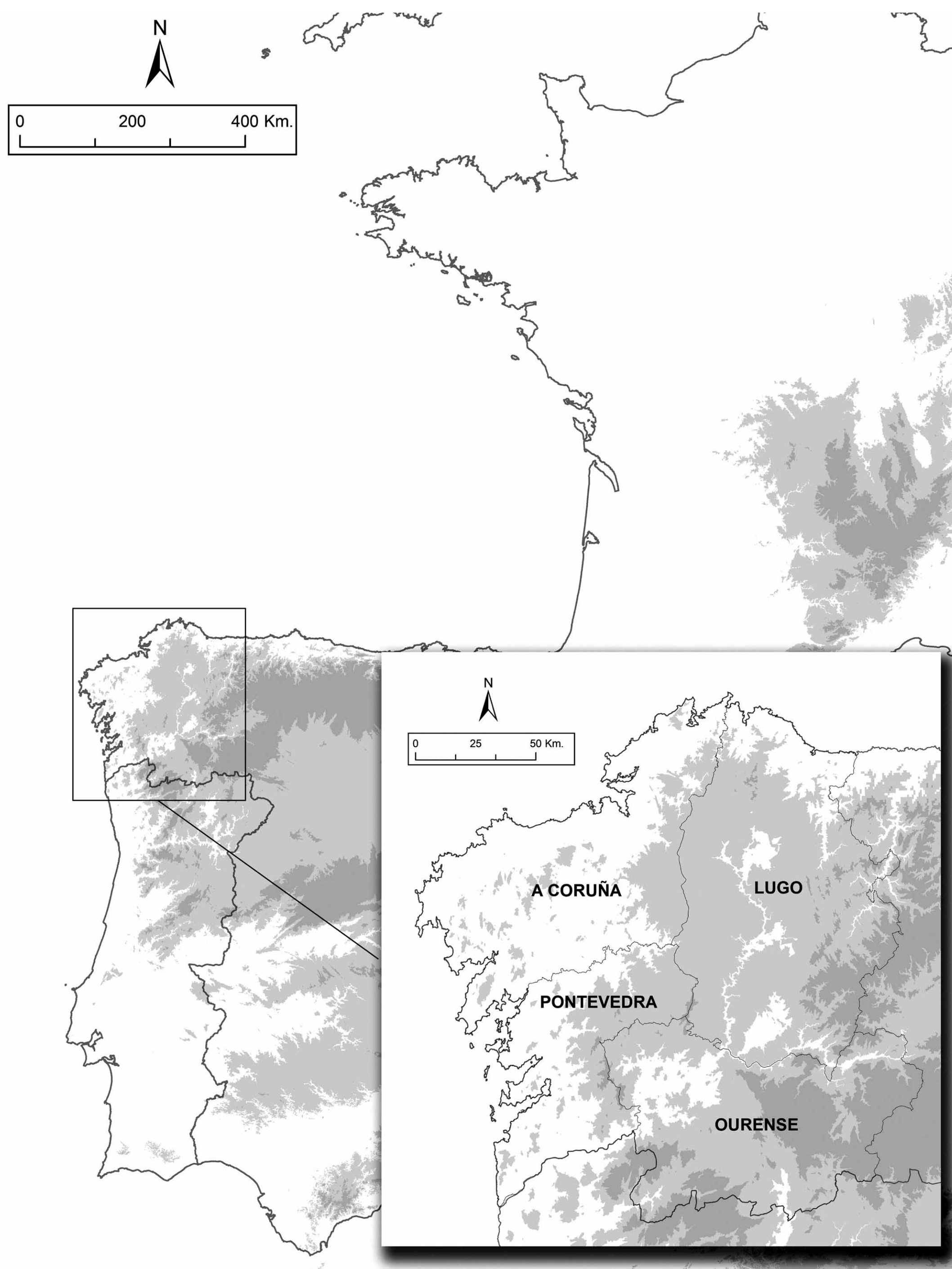


Figure 24.1: Map of sites that are discussed

generated, no comprehensive catalogue of the open-air rock art is available as yet. We must conform ourselves with partial syntheses for certain areas in order to assess the contents of this archaeological assemblage: a first attempt at systematic cataloguing is that of García & Peña (1980) who recorded over 500 rocks from the Pontevedra province (the richest area of all); Vázquez (2006) made a statistical study of about 1006 rocks from all around Galicia, based on published references up to 1991. Along with this, we have other analysis undertaken by us in two areas: Northern Barbanza Peninsula (south-west coast of A Coruña) and the Deza district (interior of the province of Pontevedra), based on a list of, respectively, 164 and 92 rocks (Table 24.1). The results suggest two basic things: most Galician petroglyphs display geometric images

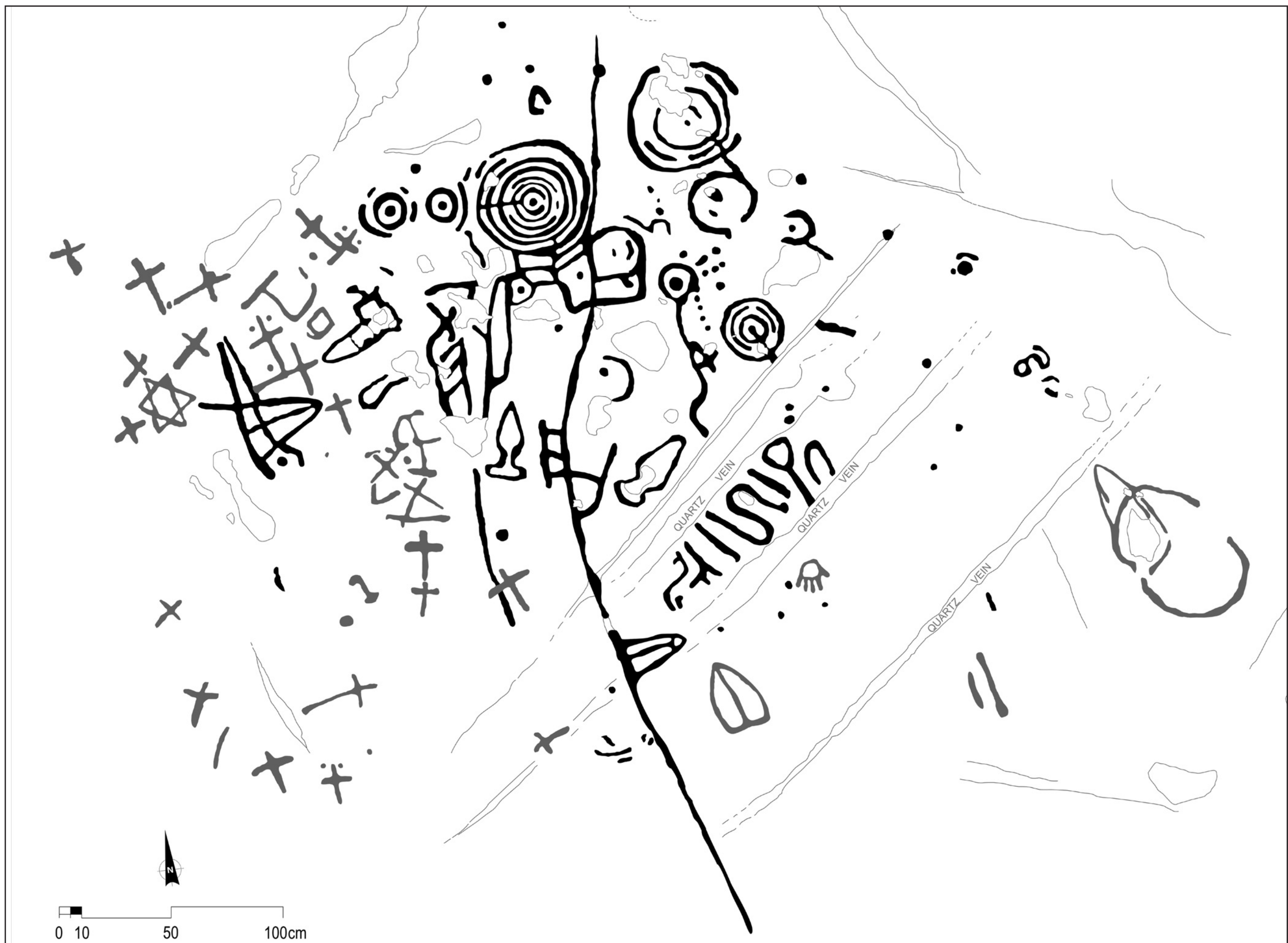


Figure 24.2: Foxa da Vella (Rianxo, A Coruña) as recorded by the authors (modern motifs in light gray)

composed of cup-marks and an assorted array of circular motifs, while – except in the North Barbanza – the naturalistic group, made up fundamentally of deer and daggers/halberds is far less represented. The geometric group (those closer to their Atlantic counterparts) are more widespread, reaching well into inland Galicia, while the other is concentrated in the coastal areas, only the weapons occurring occasionally in more interior locations, as in the Deza region.

In addition, most sites have never been studied in depth, so we are not sure about the precise number and nature of the motifs present on the panels, whose observation is usually difficult because of their heavy weathering. Even some of the better known petroglyphs are not well recorded: the systematic use of artificial lights has shown that in 70% of the cases previous studies had ignored a significant part of the existing engravings. A good example of this may be the petroglyph of Foxa da Vella (Rianxo, A Coruña), much referenced in the literature (Fig. 24.2), in which we discovered daggers, zoomorphs, serpentiforms and circular combinations that had gone unnoticed in previous analyses. Such a state of affairs led us to approach with great caution some chronological proposals for Galician rock art based on alleged frequencies of association between motifs (Santos 2008; Fábregas *et al.* 2009).

In 1991, by the time of Bradley's first involvement with Galician open-air rock art, there was an apparent consensus about the chronology of this phenomenon, roughly spanning the local Bronze Age. Only a little after, Peña and Rey (1993) put forward a new proposal relating the petroglyphs to the 3rd–2nd millennium BC transition, a timespan slightly widened in a later work (2001). Generally accepted by most specialists, it has

Table 24.1: Presence (%) on the rocks of some prehistoric motifs

	García & Peña (1980)	Vázquez Rozas (2006)	North Barbanza Peninsula	Deza region
Cup-marks	89.56	62.12	52.40	72.83
Circular combinations	75.57	78.62	37.20	41.03
Zoomorphs	19.84	12.82	36.00	–
Weapons	3.81	3.37	2.47	5.43
Labyrinths	0.76	1.98	0.62	–
Total rocks	>500	>1062	164	92

been challenged by certain authors (Santos 2008; Santos & Seoane 2010) contemplating the making of a significant number of images up to the local Iron Age. Therefore, in spite of advancement in knowledge about the Copper Age and Bronze Age periods in north-west Iberia, the dating of the open-air rock art remains a bone of contention, among other reasons due to the intrinsic difficulty of obtaining absolute dates from carvings executed on exposed granitic surfaces where superimpositions are scarce and difficult to assess.

A view from within

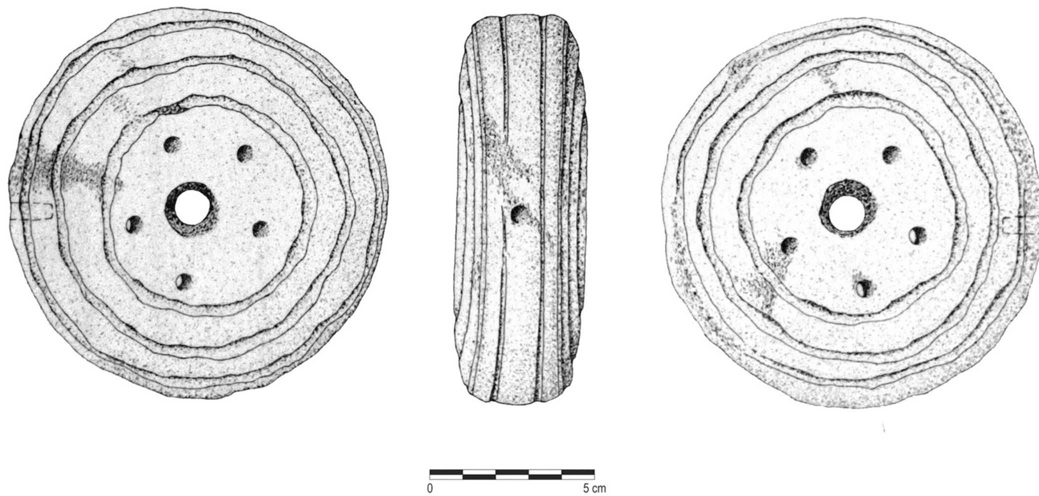
One of the main features of Galician rock art is its great variability, increasing along with the growth in the number of petroglyphs. Thus, in the last decade we observe the discovery of art sites of a distinct nature and also new types of images that are incorporated into the iconographic corpus with the result that, quite often, earlier assumptions must now be duly qualified. With respect to the dating of this phenomenon, despite the difficulties already mentioned, we feel that there are several threads of evidence that we can follow with an aim to at least overcome partially this daunting obstacle on the way to understanding the wider context of Galician petroglyphs.

The cup-marks and circles, being the most common representations, are quite difficult to date, for the simplicity of the first leads to a well attested resilience, being often associated with Neolithic mounds, but also lasting into historic times. The curvilinear motifs are not easy to date either for, in sharp contrast with Irish cases, they are seldom carved on Galician megalithic slabs and only a few portable objects, such as the Rechaba discs display curvilinear designs (Fábregas 1992; Fig. 24.3). It seems reasonable though, taking into account this scanty evidence together with that of similar carvings in the British Isles and Ireland (Bradley 2007, 97; 2009, 114–9), that the circles could go back to the later 4th/early 3rd millennium BC, while, almost certainly, persisting until the 3rd/2nd millennia BC transition.

The Neolithic anchoring for the circular themes is shared by other, less common, motifs such as the boxed U's from Pozo Ventura (Poio, Pontevedra) or the single circles within an oval enclosure found there and at Coto da Braña 3 (Cotobade, Pontevedra) which resemble megalithic examples, not just in a formal sense, but also in the way they structure themselves on the panels (Sartal 1999; Costas & Pereira 2006; Alves 2008) (Fig. 24.4).

But within the mainstream of Galician petroglyphs, the representations of weapons (halberds and daggers) constitute the most valuable chronological yardstick, since these may be indirectly dated by comparison with their metallic counterparts. In the case of the halberds, though the examples found in north-west Iberia lack a clear context, their British prototypes have a chronology of *c.* 2200–2050 BC, while in the Argar culture their presence in the funerary record goes between 2000 and 1800 BC (Fábregas *et al.* 2009). Daggers have not such a clear-cut timespan, their typology being more difficult to assess on the carvings, yet they seemingly reproduce items ranging from the Bell Beaker times to the local early Bronze Age and are at least partly contemporary with halberds (Peña 2003).

The north-west Iberian rock art, being located outdoors, has usually been considered as a phenomenon whose contemplation would be little restricted, in contrast, for example, with megalithic art. Therefore, petroglyphs were traditionally regarded as easily to perceive and, therefore, virtually accessible to anyone going about the prehistoric landscape. This concept is related to the notion of the open-air rock art as, basically, a method of regulation of the space devised by early farmer groups still with a high degree of mobility that would not be often in direct contact (Bradley 1997); an 'intergroup'



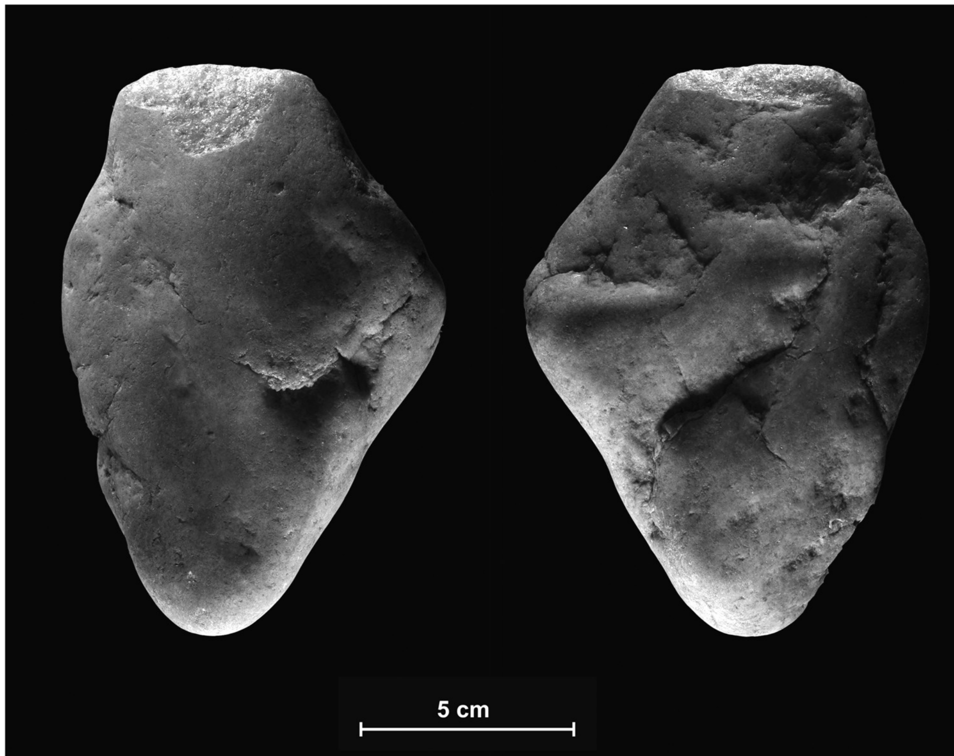


Figure 24.3: Top: Rechaba stone disc, with a decorative pattern of concentric circles; bottom: boulder with percussion marks recovered in Os Mouchos petroglyph (Rianxo, A Coruña)

communication mechanism – a sort of code of signals or messages – designed to mediate in the use of the landscape by neighbouring groups, establishing preferential or exclusive access by one of them to specific spaces with an economic and/or symbolic significance.

However, the evidence that a considerable proportion of the petroglyphs are located far from major pathways and from those points allowing a direct control of the most economically attractive areas (Peña & Rey 2001; Fábregas *et al.* 2010), together with the possible existence of strategies which enabled people to modulate the perceptibility of the carvings from the surrounding space (by selecting more or less conspicuous rocks and profiting from the contrast between the colour of the grooves and that of the rock surface), has led us to review the interpretation of the Galician rock art as an open or hardly-restricted phenomenon; endorsing our revisionist approach come also the recent finds of prehistoric art inside small granitic rock-shelters.

The increasing evidence of the existence

Figure 24.4: Coto da Braña 3 (Cotobade, Pontevedra) and Pozo Ventura (Poio, Pontevedra) (after A. de la Peña)

of physical constraints in the observation of petroglyphs, coupled with the acceptance of a certain 'wish to hide' that could exist in some of the open-air rock art sites, indicates the potential existence of an aim to define different levels of access to the petroglyphs and, according to them, of different audiences, a possibility that was first recognised in the Galician rock art by Richard Bradley (2002; 2009). At the same time, this fact makes clear the need to review the idea of this phenomenon as a simple 'landscape marker' meant to be seen by a broad audience, eventually surpassing the community responsible for the carvings to reach out other neighbouring and rival groups.

Consistent with this 'open' character, Galician petroglyphs were traditionally conceived – with very few exceptions (like the engravings of weapons) – as a phenomenon addressed to a general, passive and low-skilled audience. As stated before, there is a vast array of figures, geometric and naturalistic, sometimes amounting to complex scenes of hunting and riding. It is possible that many of these motifs had a relatively constrained range of meanings while others would have been more polysemic (ie, a halberd or a human figure as compared to a cup-mark or a circular combination). However, the meaning of these images could be profoundly mutable from both a synchronic and diachronic point of view, since it would depend, to a great extent, on the characteristics of their audience, so that a given panel could encompass several layers of meaning, from practical information for accessing daily resources to sacred knowledge, and they would be available to the observer in so far as it had command of the necessary clues (Bradley 2002; 2009). This concept of audience substantially increases the polysemy of the petroglyphs while admitting a more active role to the observers; likewise, this circumstance, by itself, could have modulated the degree of accessibility of each petroglyph in an even more effective way than physical constraints did.

Around the rocks

For years now, one of the controversial issues among specialists has been the precise relationship between Galician rock art and the domestic sphere. The main obstacle to

this definition was the lack of data about the latter, which only recently could be overcome. Most researchers point to the coastal plain and mid-slope valleys as the preferential spaces for settlement, in contrast to the peaks and elevations – the 'megalithic space' – less densely occupied (Fábregas 2009; Peña & Rey 2001); other authors opted for an opposite view, considering precisely those higher areas more suitable for habitation, while the valleys would remain relatively empty (Santos 2010).

The difficulties associated with dense vegetation, the aggressive post-depositional processes, and the marked invisibility of the settlements themselves led to most of these being recorded through the work of commercial archaeology linked to major public works (generally of linear courses such as highways, railroads, pipelines, etc) whose results, although essential for our appraisal of the matter, often provide a partial picture.

The available data seem to suggest that around the mid-3rd millennium BC, coinciding with the introduction to the north-west of the Bell Beaker ware and a relative improvement in weather conditions (Fábregas *et al.* 2003), an expansion to the 'megalithic space' on the top of the sierras would have occurred, without meaning the abandonment of the areas occupied earlier. Although keeping much of its itinerant nature, settlements grow more complex at this point, probably in parallel with the increase of social asymmetry. Precisely at this time, the main creative impulse of the open-air rock art would have taken place, in a context of economic intensification involving an exploitation of different biotopes, necessary to sustain the processes described above.

In parallel to the notion of the alleged duality between densely settled zones and others virtually unoccupied, some authors have developed a dialectics of 'sacred' versus 'domestic' areas; in our view these schemes have somewhat curtailed the understanding of the open-air rock art as well as the space and the social context in which it arises. A number of authors (Edmonds 1999; Díaz-Andreu 2001; Insoll 2004; Bradley 2005) have strongly criticised the definition of 'sacred' and 'ritual' as opposed to and separate from 'secular' and 'domestic', a criticism particularly relevant to our case study, due to the proliferation in the last two decades of concepts such as 'sacred landscapes' (Parcero *et al.* 1998), a term that loosely encompasses those places with a large accumulation of monuments (either megaliths or rock art), of which domestic activity would have been virtually 'expelled'. In the case of Galician rock art, such segregation is mainly caused by a specific interest to frame the rock art in a period – the Iron Age – in which the separation begins to become clearer but also, to some extent, by the use of a rigid concept of 'sacred' and 'ritual'.

The ritual probably had a polymorphic and variable nature and – as defined by its own conventions – could have materialised in many different ways and in relation to a variety of objects and contexts, ranging from those ceremonies of local, informal and ephemeral character to others highly organised and encoded (Bradley 2000) and may be simultaneously sacred and secular (Insoll 2004). In this sense, if we accept the idea that ritual does not have the sole purpose of communicating or transmitting religious beliefs and that mythological and/or symbolic features are a fundamental aspect of day-to-day activities, it becomes unnecessary to propose such a divide (Tilley 1994; Bradley 2000).

The data derived from the local archaeological record point towards the view that ritual and daily life are intertwined. The documentation of clearly ritual items, such as the 'megalithic idols' in the middle of a domestic site (Fábregas *et al.* 2007), the identification of structures for the segregation of the habitation space with close similarities to megalithic constructions (Gianotti & Cancela 2005) or, directly, the discovery of sites where the domestic and funerary-ritual spheres appear to be mixed and even confused (Vázquez Liz 2005; Aboal *et al.* 2005), lead us to think that prior to, and during the time of development of the petroglyphs everyday life and ritual would have been deeply interrelated.

Archaeological work at rock art sites also reinforces that idea: the few excavations have recorded the existence of elements with a possible ritual and domestic nature, as occurs in As Campurras site (Gondomar, Pontevedra): a petroglyph with several cup-marks beside which was documented a small pavement and an engraved *stela* as well as remains of huts and post-holes together with lithics and pottery; the whole area was surrounded by a bank (Villar 2008). The radiocarbon dates from the dwelling and the palaeosol coeval

to the *stela* (and probably to the petroglyph), roughly correspond to the first half of the 4th millennium BC (*ibid.*). Something very similar was reported at Betote (Sarria, Lugo), where a granitic outcrop displaying cup-marks was encircled by a lithic ring. Outside it, lithic and ceramic materials assignable to the Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age (Cano 2008), as well as fire structures and ditches were found.

Another example comes from Crastoeiro (Vila Real, Portugal): the excavations undertaken around two petroglyphs displaying circular combinations and cup-marks documented stone pavings dating to the Second Iron Age, showing that these places were still relevant at that time; however, the finds of sherds belonging to the Final Neolithic and the Bronze Age could indicate that the panels were first carved during those periods (Dinis & Bettencourt 2009).

Special attention should be paid to the excavation at the foot of the petroglyph in Laxe dos Carballos (Campo Lameiro, Pontevedra). Although the results are considered preliminary (Santos 2008; Santos & Seoane 2010), this fact did not prevent the excavators from using it as a foundation stone for a controversial shift on the timing of almost the entire Galician rock art, which is ascribed by them to the 1st millennium BC. This interpretation is based on the existence of a layer, containing a channel and a post-hole, roughly dated between the 8th and 4th centuries BC, which has been related to the 'time of use' of the petroglyph on the basis of their consideration as the surface during the engraving episodes, since it '*coincides with the lower limit of the distribution of the carvings*' (Santos & Seoane 2010, 22). While the aforementioned level might be truly linked with activities held in front of the petroglyph at that later period, its alleged association with the entire engraving process is rather dubious. We believe that an argument based on such an extraordinary stratigraphic relationship must be handled with extreme caution, especially taking into account the complex soil processes documented in this area (Kaal *et al.* 2008) and the vast archaeological implications arising from this interpretation, for which –moreover– further support is hardly found in north-west Iberia.

With the exception of the mentioned sites, the space immediately adjacent to the petroglyphs usually provides very little material, probably due to the shallow depth of the terrain and the often intense erosion, as observed in the petroglyphs of A Gurita (Porto do Son, A Coruña), Foxa da Vella and Os Mouchos (both in Rianxo, A Coruña) where only several boulders with evidence of percussions – probably used for the engraving of the motifs – could be recovered (Fig. 24.3), or Pedra das Procesións (Gondomar, Pontevedra), one of the largest petroglyphs in Galicia, depicting halberds and daggers, whose excavation only recovered a quartzite core with several flake removals, a piece of granite with evidence of abrasion and two small blocks of ochre, thought to be related to prehistoric painting (Vázquez 2005).

It is rather more common to find evidence of anthropogenic activities in a radius of a few hundred meters from the petroglyphs, where soils may be deeper. One good example was provided by the archaeological excavations carried out during the construction of the Rock Art Interpretation Centre of Campo Lameiro (Pontevedra), the area with the highest density of petroglyphs in north-west Iberia: a few hundred metres from several spectacular rock art sites, the foundations of many prehistoric huts were found (López & Méndez 2010); unfortunately, a precise chronology is not available yet.

In other cases, although the domestic nature of the sites found in the immediate vicinity of the petroglyphs cannot be proven beyond doubt, at least human activity has been demonstrated: in the surroundings of the petroglyph of Os Sagueiros (Rodeiro, Pontevedra), composed of several cup-marks, small quantities of lithics and pottery were recovered on the surface, including Bell-Beaker sherds; also 100 m from the aforementioned Pedra das Procesións, a pottery scatter was reported, featuring Chalcolithic pottery. The systematic fieldwalking around the carved rocks of Poza da Lagoa and Coto da Fenteira (Redondela, Pontevedra) led to the detection of several pottery scatters that could be tied to radiocarbon determinations framing them in the earlier Bronze Age; interestingly, one of the petroglyphs at Poza displayed several halberds and daggers (Fábregas 2009).

Beyond the petroglyphs

The Galician open-air rock art is a complex event, open to analysis from multiple per-

spectives, thus making it one of the most dynamic study subjects from the recent prehistory of north-west Iberia. One of the main issues is precisely its chronology: as stated before, we think that, with present knowledge, there is little doubt that the 'hard core' of this phenomenon mainly belongs to the 3rd millennium BC. Nevertheless, this is also a phenomenon with a long history so there are motifs that arguably have roots in the local Neolithic and, likewise, there are indications that, long after their inception, some carved surfaces retained a degree of significance, up to the Late Bronze or the Iron Age.

When approaching the chronology of the petroglyphs we must consider their biography and sometimes several stages or 'strata of significance' might be distinguished: an initial one when the carvings were executed, an action perhaps linked to social gatherings or ritual activity; a second phase would contemplate the continuing use of the carved panels, with eventual additions or maintenance activities (as to the latter, we must bear in mind the evidence of repainting on megalithic slabs (see Carrera 2011) and also the signals of groove refreshing on certain surfaces) and deposition of materials or objects; a third stage would take place when the original use or meaning of the art was lost but the local communities, remaining aware of its presence, had still some interaction with the carved panels, adding new motifs or taking protective measures, including desecration or engraving apotropaic images such as crosses.

In this regard, we should note that the reading of rock art images involves knowledge, memories and iconic associations, all culturally mediated processes (Tilley 2008) affecting the ability to interpret the images and their perception too. From our present perspective, characterised by a profound visual nature in which sight is a primary sense for social development, is difficult to understand that a given individual may be unable to perceive certain images. Yet our experience with Galician traditional peasant societies – immersed in a less visual world – indicates that, quite often, they would be unable to perceive part of the motifs recorded in petroglyphs, despite having lived with them for centuries.

Working in areas close to the large concentrations of rock art, we have confirmed that most petroglyphs had gone unnoticed for rural communities, even those panels with greater monumentality. Interestingly, this 'inability' would have fundamentally affected the figurative motifs (zoomorphs and, less so, weapons). In contrast, geometric motifs did not go so unnoticed, being formally close to daily items such as wheels or pans. It is no coincidence, in our view, that precisely these motifs are more affected by destruction and/or Christianisation episodes, as in Pedra Escrita (Oia, Pontevedra). In complex panels, with different kinds of figures, crosses and other modern motifs tend to concentrate exclusively or preferentially around the geometric elements, as seen in Pedra da Boullosa and Chan da Lagoa (Campo Lameiro, Pontevedra) or in Pedra Xestosa (Laxe, A Coruña).

The few studies on the folklore concur with our observations: Aparicio (1995; 1996) remarks the short number of panels associated to legends or myths. This folklore is indifferent to the motif being displayed but, curiously, it is mostly linked to crosses and other modern motifs, suggesting that these stories are relatively modern (*ibid.*), in contrast with megaliths or hill-forts, objects of attention and superstitions by the Galician peasantry ever since. We noted this same pattern when doing field work in the North Barbanza Peninsula, where, despite the monumentality of many panels, the few legends recorded were linked to peculiar formations in the landscape, while the petroglyphs themselves had gone virtually unnoticed. This may be due to the absence among these populations of the iconic associations necessary to 'read' the images and even to identify them as man-made products, although this hypothesis must be tested with further fieldwork.

Bibliography

Aboal Fernández, R., Ayán Vila, X.M., Criado Boado, F., Prieto Martínez, P. & Tabares Domínguez, M. 2005. Yacimientos sin estratigrafía: devesa do rei, ¿Un sitio cultual de la Prehistoria Reciente y la Protohistoria de Galicia? *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 62(2), 165–80

Alves, L.B. 2008. O sentido dos signos- reflexões e perspectivas para o estudo da arte rupestre do pós-glaciar no Norte de Portugal. In R. de Balbín Berhman (ed.), *Arte Prehistórico al aire libre en el sur de Europa,* 381–413. Castilla y León: Junta de Castilla y León

Aparicio Casado, B. 1995. Etnoarqueología de los grabados rupestres de la provincia de Pontevedra. *Actas del XXII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología (Vigo, 1993)* 2, 111–6

Aparicio Casado, B. 1996. La interpretación popular de los grabados rupestres gallegos. In A.A. Rodríguez Casal (ed.), *Humanitas: estudios en homenaxe ó Prof. Dr. Carlos Alonso del Real*. 257–84

Bradley, R. 1997. *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe: signing the land*. London: Routledge

Bradley, R. 2000. *An Archaeology of Natural Places*. London: Routledge

Bradley, R. 2002. Access, style and imagery: the audience for prehistoric rock art in Atlantic Spain and Portugal, 4000-2000 BC. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21(3), 231–47

Bradley, R. 2005. *Ritual and Domestic Life in Prehistoric Europe*. London: Routledge

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

Bradley, R. 2009. *Image and Audience: rethinking prehistoric art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bradley, R. & Fábregas, R. 1999. La ley de la frontera: grupos rupestres galaico y esquemático y prehistoria del Noroeste de la Península. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 56(1), 103–14

Bradley, R., Criado, F. & Fábregas, R. 1995. Rock art and the prehistoric landscape of Galicia: the results of field survey between 1992 and 1994. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 61, 347–70

Cano Pan, J.A. 2008. Intervención arqueolóxica en Betote, dentro das obras da Autovía A-6 Nadela-Sarria, Sarria, 165–6 (Lugo). *Actuacións Arqueolóxicas. Ano 2006*. Xunta de Galicia, Santiago de Compostela

Carrera Ramírez, F. 2011. *El Arte Parietal en Monumentos Megalíticos del Noroeste Peninsular*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 2190

Costas, F.J. & Pereira, E. 2006. Los petroglifos de 'A Cabeciña' en Mougás, Oia. *Glaucopis* 12, 259–70

Díaz-Andreu, M. 2001. Marking the landscape: Iberian post-Paleolithic art, identities and the sacred. In G. Nash & C. Chippindale (eds), *European Landscapes of Rock-art,* 158–75. London: Routledge

Dinis, A.P. & Bettencourt, A.M.S. 2009. A arte Atlântica do Crastoeiro (norte de Portugal): contextos e significados. *Gallaecia* 28, 41–7

Edmonds, M. 1999. *Ancestral Geographies of the Neolithic: landscape, monuments and memory*. London: Routledge

Fábregas Valcarce, R. 1992. *Megalitismo del Noroeste de la Península Ibérica: tipología y secuencia de los materiales líticos*. Madrid: UNED

Fábregas Valcarce, R. 2009. A context for the Galician Rock Art. In R. De Balbín, P. Bueno, R. González & C. Del Arco (eds), *Grabados rupestres de la fachada atlántica europea y Africana,* 69–83. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 2043

Fábregas Valcarce, R., Martínez Cortizas, A., Blanco Chao, R. & Chesworth, W. 2003. Environmental change and social dynamics in the second–third millennium BC in NW Iberia. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 30, 859–71

Fábregas Valcarce, R., Bonilla Rodríguez, A. & Cesar Vila, M. 2007. *Monte dos Remedios (Moaña, Pontevedra): un asentamiento de la prehistoria reciente*. Santiago de Compostela: Tórculo Edicións

Fábregas, R., Rodríguez, C. & Rodríguez, E. 2009. Representacións de armas no interior de Galicia (Comarca de Deza, Pontevedra): unha reflexión sobre a distribución e cronoloxía destes motivos. *Gallaecia* 28, 49–68

Fábregas Valcarce, R., Rodríguez Rellán, C. & Rodríguez Álvarez, E. 2010. New approaches to the configuration and the spatial distribution of prehistoric rock art in the North of the Barbanza Peninsula (Galicia, NW of Spain). In A. Bettencourt, M.J. Sanches, L.B. Alves & R. Fábregas Valcarce (eds), *Conceptualising Space and Place: on the role of agency, memory and identity in the construction of space from the Upper Palaeolithic to the Iron Age in Europe,* 133–40. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 2058

García Alén, A. & Peña Santos, A. 1980. *Grabados rupestres de la provincia de Pontevedra*. A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza

Gianotti García, C. & Cancela Cereijo, C. 2005. Neolítico Final: Montenegro. Testemuña da ocupación humana durante o Neolítico Final e o Período- Alto-Medieval na Península do Morrazo. In F. Criado Boado & E. Cabrejas Domínguez (eds), *Obras Públicas e Patrimonio: estudo arqueolóxico do Corredor do Morrazo,* 50–4. Traballos de Arqueoloxía e Patrimonio 35. Santiago de Compostela: Instituto de Estudios Galegos Padre Sarmiento

Insoll, T. 2004. *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*. London: Routledge

Kaal, J. Martínez Cortizas, A.; Eckmeier, E., Costa Casais, M., Santos Estévez, M. & Criado Boado, F. 2008. Holocene fire history of black colluvial soils revealed by Pyrolysis-GC/MS: a case study from Campo Lameiro (NW Spain). *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35, 2133–43

López Alonso, J. & Méndez Fernández, F. 2010. Escavación en área no aparcadoiro do Centro de Interpretación e Documentación da arte rupestre, Campo Lameiro (Pontevedra). *Actuacións Arqueolóxicas. Ano 2008,* 72–3. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia

Parcero Oubiña, C. Criado Boado, F. & Santos Estévez, M. 1998. Rewriting landscape: incorporating sacred landscapes into cultural traditions. *World Archaeology* 30(1), 159–36

Peña Santos, A. 2003. *Galicia: prehistoria, castrexo e primeira romanización*. A Nosa Terra: Vigo

Peña Santos, A. & Rey García, J.M. 1993. El espacio de la representación: el arte rupestre galaico desde una perspectiva territorial. *Pontevedra. Revista de Estudios Provinciais* 10, 11–50

Peña Santos, A. & Rey García, J.M. 2001. *Petroglifos de Galicia*. A Coruña: Vía Láctea

Santos Estévez, M. 2008. A new proposal for the chronology of Atlantic Rock Art in Galicia (NW Iberian Peninsula). In G. Nash & G. Children (eds), *The Archaeology of Semiotics and the Social Order of Things,* 141–52. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1833

Santos Estévez, M. 2010. The spaces of representation and the domestication of landscape in rock art societies. In Å. Fredell, K. Kristiansen & F. Criado Boado (eds.) *Representations and Communications: creating an archaeological matrix of late prehistoric rock art,* 144–57. Oxford: Oxbow Books

Santos Estévez, M. & Seoane Veiga, Y. 2010. Rock art and archaeological excavations in Campo Lameiro, Galicia: a new archaeological proposal for the Atlantic

rock art. In Å. Fredell, K. Kristiansen & F. Criado Boado (eds), *Representations and Communications: creating an archaeological matrix of late prehistoric rock art,* 16–30. Oxford: Oxbow Books

Sartal Lorenzo, M.A. 1999. O petroglifo Pozo Ventura (Poio, Pontevedra). *Gallaecia* 18, 119–35

Tilley, C. 1994. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: places, paths and monuments.* Oxford: Berg

Tilley, C. 2008. *Body and Image: explorations in landscape phenomenology 2.* Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press

Vázquez Liz, P. 2005. Idade do Bronce: Devesa de Abaixo-Os Torradoiros. In F. Criado Boado & E. Cabrejas Domínguez (eds), *Obras Públicas e Patrimonio: estudo Arqueolóxico do Corredor do Morrazo,* 63–9. Traballos de Arqueoloxía e Patrimonio 35. Santiago de Compostela: Instituto de Estudios Galegos Padre Sarmiento

Vázquez Rozas, R. 2005. El yacimiento de Auga da Laxe, Gondomar, Pontevedra. *Minius* 13, 27–46

Vázquez Rozas, R. 2006. Aproximación estadística a los petroglifos gallegos. *Minius* 14, 349–64

Villar Quinteiro, R. 2008. Proxecto de investigación arqueolóxica da Chan do Cereixo, Donas, Gondomar (Pontevedra). *Actuacións Arqueolóxicas. Ano 2006,* 23–4. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia