

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

NEOLITHIC COMMUNITIES OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy.

November 1989.

Mark Andrew Patton.
Department of Anthropology
University College London.

ABSTRACT.

This thesis is concerned with socio-cultural developments in the Channel Islands during the period 5000 BC-1500 BC. Throughout the thesis, the main emphasis is on changing social relations within Channel Island Neolithic communities, and particular attention will be given to changing relations between island and mainland communities, in an attempt to assess the significance of insularity in the development of Neolithic societies.

The background to the thesis is given in the first two chapters. Chapter I begins with an outline of the history of archaeological research in the islands, and goes on to discuss the nature of the archaeological evidence, before outlining the theoretical approach adopted in this study, which is based on a realist epistemology and a dialectical approach to social relations. The environmental background to the Channel Island Neolithic is outlined in Chapter II. The development of Channel Island Neolithic communities is discussed in detail in four chronologically organised chapters (III-VI), dealing respectively with the Early Neolithic, the Middle Neolithic, the Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age. A more general discussion of the social aspects of the Channel Island Neolithic is presented in Chapter VII: this chapter begins by outlining long-term trends in changing social relations on the intra-/inter-communal, inter-island and regional levels, and goes on to discuss the relationships between insularity and social relations, before discussing the main theoretical implications of the thesis. Specialist data concerning lithic and ceramic typology are presented in Appendices i-v, and an inventory of relevant sites is given in Appendix vi.

Acknowledgements.

Many people have assisted me in the course of my research for this thesis, and it is impossible to acknowledge all by name. Thanks are due, first of all, to my supervisor, Dr. Barbara Bender, for her unfailing help and good advice.

My research on the islands themselves was facilitated by the assistance of numerous people, and I would like particularly to thank Hilary Stuart-Williams (Jersey Museum), Rona Cole and Bob Burns (Guernsey Museum) and Jean Bonnard (Alderney Museum) for giving me virtually unrestricted access to the museum collections. Dr Arthur Mourant and Dr John Renouf, both experts on Channel Island geology, have given me much valuable assistance in this area. Much of the recent archaeological work on the islands has been carried out by members of the local societies (La Société Jersiaise, La Société Guernesiaise and the Alderney Society), and I received help and hospitality from many of these people, particularly Margaret Finlaison, Brian Phillipps, Janine Tanguy and Myra Grant in Jersey, Heather Sebire, Wally Delamare, Tim Knight and Eric Lukis in Guernsey and Peter Arnold, Jacqui Langridge and Geoff Neale in Alderney.

During the second year of my research I spent a term in France, working on comparative material from Brittany and Normandy, and my stay there was made both fruitful and enjoyable through the assistance and hospitality of French colleagues, notably Prof. Pierre-Roland Giot and Prof. Jacques Briard (Université de Rennes I), Pierre Gouletguer (Université de Brest), Mike Ilett (Université de Paris I), Charles-Tanguy Le Roux, Michael Batt, Jean-Yves Tinevez, Olivier Kayser and Joel Lecornec (Direction des Antiquités de Bretagne), Jean L'Helgouach (Direction des Antiquités des Pays de la Loire), Antoine Chancerel (Direction des Antiquités de Basse-Normandie), Marie-Armelle Locard and Cyrille Billard (Direction des Antiquités de Haute Normandie). Museum curators in France were invariably helpful in giving me access to material,

and I wish particularly to thank Anne-Elisabeth Riskine (Musée Miln/Le Rouzic), Catherine Louboutin (Musée Nationale des Antiquités), Francoise Daniel (Musée des Jacobins, Morlaix), Jean-Yves Marin (Musée de Normandie), Hervé Joubaux (Musée de Bretagne) and Margareth Le Guellec-Dabrowska (Musée Départementale, Quimper).

Whilst preparing the final manuscript for the thesis, I spent three months based in the Instituut voor Culturele Antropologie of the University of Leiden as a participant in the ERASMUS academic exchange programme. Whilst in the Netherlands I had many stimulating discussions with Dutch colleagues, and I would like particularly to thank Prof. J.D. Speckmann (Instituut voor Culturele Antropologie), Prof. L.P. Louwe-Kooijmans & Dr Pieter van de Velde (Instituut voor Prehistorie) for their assistance, hospitality and comments. Dr Paul-Louis Van Berg (Institute Royale des Sciences Naturelles de Belgique) discussed his research on Early Neolithic pottery sequences with me in some detail, and showed me much material of interest.

In Britain, Dr Ian Kinnes (British Museum) was particularly helpful in giving me access to the material from Les Fouaillages, and in discussing this important site with me. Dr Bob Jones and Dr David Keen (Coventry Polytechnic) have recently completed an important research project on the Holocene environment of Jersey, and made their conclusions freely available to me. Clive Orton and Mike Czwarno (Institute of Archaeology) gave me invaluable assistance with statistical analysis of flint waste. Stéphane Rault, Sinclair Forrest, Helen Nilen (Queen's University, Belfast) and James Hibbs (University of Durham) are engaged in research in areas related to mine: I have enjoyed many stimulating discussions with these colleagues, and was given access to their own research material, most of it as yet unpublished.

Finally, I would like to thank members of staff, my fellow post-graduates and students at University College and in Leiden, for valuable discussions and constructive criticism of many of the ideas advanced in this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

<u>Chapter I. Introduction.....</u>	10
I.i. History of Archaeological Research.....	10
I.ii. Aims of this study.....	14
I.iii. The Archaeological Evidence.....	15
I.iv. Theoretical approach: towards a dialectical archaeology.....	24
I.v. From Biogeography to Sociogeography: social relations in an insular context.....	34
I.vi. Structure of the Thesis.....	38
<u>Chapter II. The Environmental Background.....</u>	40
II.i. Formation of the islands.....	40
II.ii. Solid Geology.....	43
II.iii. Topography & Soils.....	46
II.iv. Vegetational History.....	50
II.v. Food & Resources.....	50
II.vi. Factors affecting Navigation.....	54
<u>Chapter III. The Early Neolithic.....</u>	59
III.i. The Mesolithic of the Channel Islands...	59
III.ii. The earliest Neolithic of the Channel Islands	64
III.iii. Economy & Settlement in the Early Neolithic of the Channel Islands.....	73
III.iv. The Production & Exchange of stone axes.	77
III.v. The Emergence of Megalithic Ritual.....	85
III.vi. The Channel Islands in Regional Context: 5000- 4250 BC.....	88
III.vii. Early Neolithic society in the Channel Islands	97
<u>Chapter IV. The Middle Neolithic.....</u>	102
IV.i. The Early/Middle Neolithic Transition: 4500-4250 BC.....	102
IV.ii. Megaliths & Ritual Practice in the Channel Islands: 4250-3250 BC.....	105
IV.iii. Economy & Settlement in the Middle Neolithic of the Channel Islands.....	166
IV.iv. The Channel Islands in Regional Context: 4250- 3250 BC.....	168
IV.v. Middle Neolithic society in the Channel Islands	188
<u>Chapter V. The Late Neolithic & Chalcolithic.....</u>	198
V.i. From Middle Neolithic to Chalcolithic: transition points in the 3rd & 4th Millennia BC.	200
V.ii. Megaliths & Ritual Practice in the Channel Islands: 3250-2250 BC.....	211
V.iii. Economy & Settlement in the Late Neolithic & Chalcolithic of the Channel Islands.....	264
V.iv. The Channel Islands in Regional Context: 3250- 2250 BC.....	269
V.v. Late Neolithic & Chalcolithic society in the Channel Islands.....	280
<u>Chapter VI. The Early Bronze Age.....</u>	288
VI.i. The Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age transition: 2400-2250 BC.....	288
VI.ii. Ritual & Mortuary Practice in the Channel Islands: 2250-1500 BC.....	293

VI.iii.	Economy & Settlement in the Early Bronze Age of the Channel Islands.....	304
VI.iv.	The Channel Islands in Regional Context: 2250-1500 BC.....	310
VI.v.	Early Bronze Age society in the Channel Islands	316
<u>Chapter VII. Conclusion: social dimensions of the Channel Island Neolithic.....</u>		<u>321</u>
VII.i.	Intra- and inter-communal relations.....	325
VII.ii.	Inter-island relations.....	336
VII.iii.	Changing regional configurations.....	340
VII.iv.	Insularity and social relations.....	343
<u>Appendix i. Flint assemblages of the Channel Islands.....</u>		<u>351</u>
<u>Appendix ii. Stone axes from the Channel Islands: petrology & typology.....</u>		<u>381</u>
<u>Appendix iii. Early Neolithic pottery from the Channel Islands.....</u>		<u>397</u>
<u>Appendix iv. Middle Neolithic pottery from the Channel Islands.....</u>		<u>428</u>
<u>Appendix v. Late Neolithic & Chalcolithic pottery from the Channel Islands.....</u>		<u>461</u>
<u>Appendix vi. Inventory of sites.....</u>		<u>496</u>

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

(All illustrations are by the author except where stated otherwise in the text).

Chapter I.

- I.1. Map showing location of Channel Islands in relation to Northern France..... 11

Chapter II.

- II.1. Holocene sea-level changes affecting the Channel Islands..... 41
 II.2. The Channel Islands: solid geology..... 44
 II.3. The Channel Islands: topographic zones.. 47
 II.4. The Channel Islands: safe landing places 58

Chapter III.

- III.1. Flints from Channel Island sites..... 62
 III.2. Flints from Channel Island sites..... 63
 III.3. Pottery from Le Pinacle..... 67
 III.4. Pottery from Le Pinacle..... 68
 III.5. Shoe-last adzes from the Channel Islands 71
 III.6. Shoe-last adzes from the Channel Islands 72
 III.7. The Early Neolithic site of Le Pinacle.. 74
 III.8. Early Neolithic sites in the Channel Islands 75
 III.9. Unfinished axes from Le Pinacle..... 78
 III.10. Dolerite implements from Le Pinacle..... 79
 III.11. Dolerite implements from Le Pinacle..... 80
 III.12. Dolerite implements from Le Pinacle..... 81
 III.13. Les Fouaillages..... 86
 III.14. Distribution of sites of Cerny & Carn complexes 89
 III.15. Pottery of Cerny affinities from Brittany 92
 III.16. Polished stone ring from Jersey..... 95

Chapter IV.

- IV.1. Pottery from Grosnez Hougue..... 104
 IV.2. La Sergenté..... 108
 IV.3. La Hougue Bie..... 111
 IV.4. Grantez..... 112
 IV.5. Le Mont Ubé..... 113
 IV.6. La Varde..... 114
 IV.7. La Creux-ès-Faies..... 114
 IV.8. Le Déhus..... 115
 IV.9. Roberts Cross..... 115
 IV.10. La Hougue des Géonnais..... 116
 IV.11. Le Mont de la Ville..... 118
 IV.12. Faldouet..... 119
 IV.13. Le Trépied..... 119
 IV.14. Le Déhus, showing peristalith..... 126
 IV.15. Faldouet, showing features of mound..... 127
 IV.16. La Hougue Bie, showing features of chamber 133
 IV.17. La Hougue Bie: carvings..... 150
 IV.18. Le Déhus: anthropomorph..... 151
 IV.19. La Hougue Boète..... 153
 IV.20. Grosnez Hougue..... 156
 IV.21. Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin..... 158

IV.22.	Distribution of Middle Neolithic sites in the Channel Islands.....	161
IV.23.	Jersey passage graves: sources of stone.	165
IV.24.	Distribution of passage graves in Northern France.....	169
IV.25.	Distribution of Armorican vase-supports.	170
IV.26.	Distribution of vases à pied creux.....	171
IV.27.	Distribution of corbelled dry-stone passage graves.....	173
IV.28.	Distribution of passage graves of Kerdro-Vihan/Mané-Rutual type.....	174
IV.29.	Distribution of passage graves of Quelvezin type.....	175
IV.30.	Distribution of passage graves of Kerleven type.....	176
IV.31.	Distribution of monuments of the Grand Tumulus Carnacéen series.....	177
IV.32.	Middle Neolithic pottery from the Channel Islands.....	181
IV.33.	Vase-supports from La Hougue Bie.....	182
IV.34.	Vessels from Le Déhus & La Hougue des Géonnais.....	183
IV.35.	Suggested model of inter-island and island/mainland interaction during the Middle Neolithic period.....	187

Chapter V.

V.1.	Late Neolithic pottery from the Channel Islands.....	201
V.2.	Stone pendants from the Channel Islands.	202
V.3.	"Button axes" from the Channel Islands..	203
V.4.	Chalcolithic pottery from the Channel Islands.....	207
V.5.	Wristguards & arrowheads from Jersey....	208
V.6.	Flat copper axes from Jersey.....	209
V.7.	Pottery from La Hougue Mauger.....	210
V.8.	Ville-ès-Nouaux.....	216
V.9.	Le Couperon.....	216
V.10.	Les Pourciaux North.....	217
V.11.	Le Castel statue-menhir.....	224
V.12.	La Gran'mere du Chimiquiere.....	225
V.13.	The Little Menhir.....	226
V.14.	HER 1.....	231
V.15.	Beauport Cromlech.....	232
V.16.	Details of Beauport Cromlech.....	233
V.17.	The Ossuary.....	236
V.18.	Channel Island cists in circles.....	239
V.19.	Channel Island cists in circles.....	240
V.20.	L'Islet.....	241
V.21.	Le Pinacle.....	249
V.22.	Stratigraphy of Le Pinacle.....	251
V.23.	Late Neolithic & Chalcolithic ritual sites.....	256
V.24.	Distribution of menhirs in the Channel Islands.....	257
V.25.	Late Neolithic & Chalcolithic monuments in the Channel Islands: sources of stone.....	258
V.26.	Extent of land lost to rising sea-levels during the late 4th Millennium BC.....	259

V.27.	Chalcolithic settlements in the Channel Islands	260
V.28.	Distribution of Armorican gallery graves	263
V.29.	Distribution of Armorican Bell Beakers..	265
V.30.	Distribution of Armorican schist wristguards	266
V.31.	Distribution of Armorican tanged copper daggers	267
V.32.	Distribution of Grand Pressigny flint in Armorica.....	271
V.33.	Grand Pressigny flint blades from the Channel Islands.....	272

Chapter VI.

VI.1.	Early Bronze Age pottery from Jersey....	290
VI.2.	Early Bronze Age pottery from Jersey....	291
VI.3.	Early Bronze Age pottery from Jersey....	292
VI.4.	La Tete des Quennevais: site plan.....	296
VI.5.	La Tete des Quennevais: sections of platform	298
VI.6.	La Tete des Quennevais: cists.....	299
VI.7.	The Bronze Age site of Le Pinnacle.....	303
VI.8.	The settlement of La Moye I.....	306
VI.9.	Early Bronze Age settlements in the Channel Islands.....	308
VI.10.	Distribution of Armorican tumuli.....	311
VI.11.	Early Bronze Age pottery from the Channel Islands.....	312
VI.12.	Halberd from Chateau l'Etoc.....	314

Chapter VII.

VII.1.	Changing relationships between ritual & domestic sites.....	329
--------	---	-----

CHAPTER I.

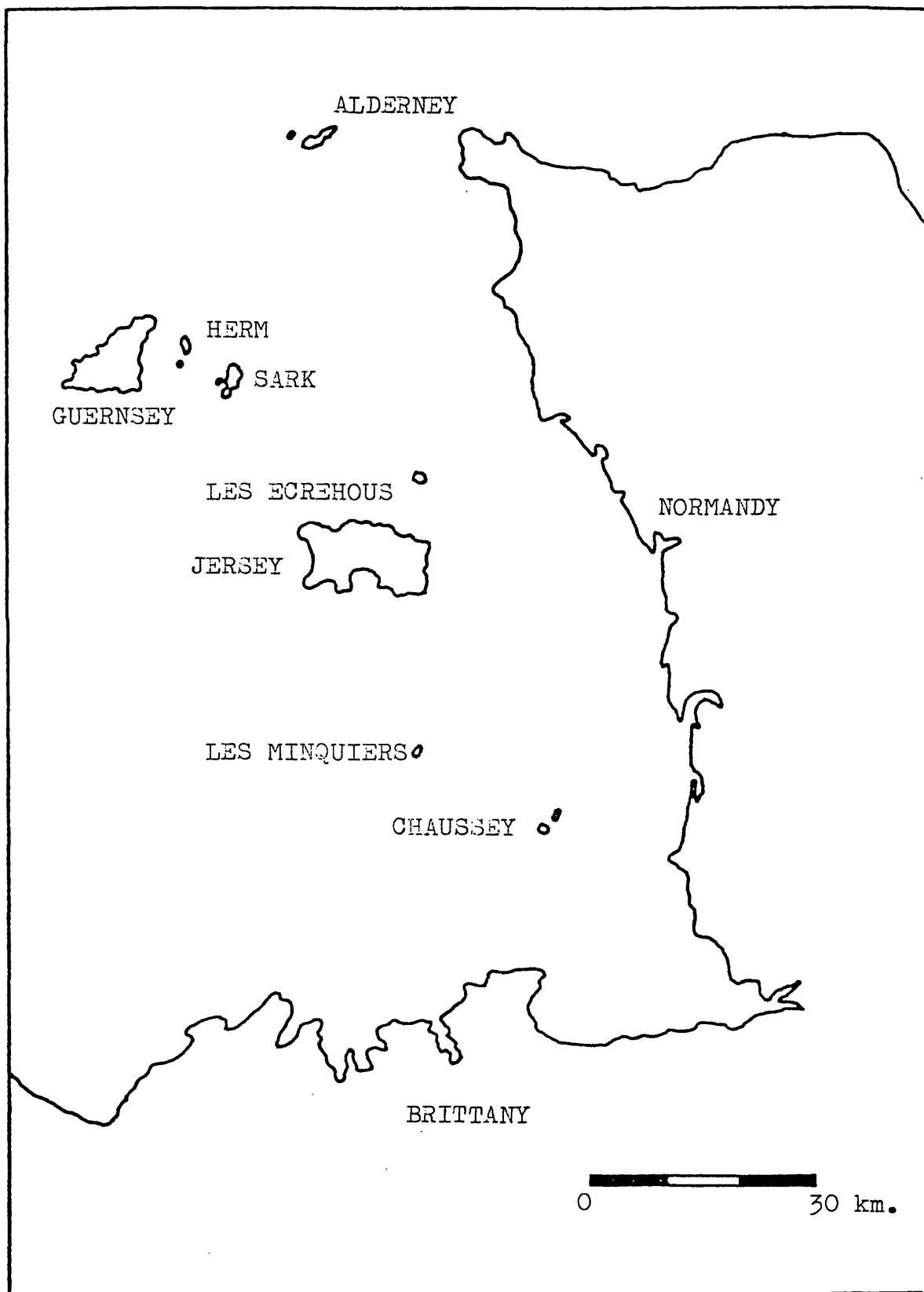
INTRODUCTION.

The Channel Islands lie in the Bay of Mont Saint-Michel, to the West of the Cotentin Peninsula, and to the North of Brittany (Fig.I.1). There are five major islands: Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark and Herm, and three smaller islands, Burhou, Jethou and Brecquou. There are also three extensive reefs: Chaussey, Les Ecréhous and Les Minquiers, which probably represent the remains of islands almost completely submerged by rising Holocene sea-levels and subsequent marine erosion. With the exception of Chaussey, (a French possession), the islands are semi-independent possessions of the British Crown, but this British connection is an accident of history; geographically and archaeologically the islands form part of the Armorican region, and the earliest regular contact between the islands and mainland Britain seems to have taken place during the 1st Century BC.

I.i. History of archaeological research.

The earliest antiquarian accounts of the prehistoric monuments of the islands date to the 17th and 18th Centuries (POINGDESTRE 1682, FALLE 1734, MOLESWORTH 1787), but serious archaeological work began in the mid-19th Century with the pioneering work of the Lukis family in Guernsey. Frederick Corbin Lukis (1788-1871) was responsible for the earliest scientific excavations in the Channel Islands, at the megalithic monuments of Le Déhus (LUKIS 1846), La Varde, La Creux ès Faies, Le Trépied, La Platte Mare and Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin on Guernsey, and at several monuments on Herm. A comprehensive record of these excavations is contained in the Collectanea Antiqua, an unpublished work comprising six volumes of text and illustrations, produced by F.C.Lukis between 1853 and 1865. The manuscript is in the Guernsey Museum. The work of F.C.Lukis was essentially confined to Guernsey and Herm, apart from a single foray to Jersey in 1848 to retrieve artifacts from the

Fig.I.1.



spoilheaps of the workmen who were ransacking the monument of Le Mont Ubé (LUKIS 1849). His son, Francis du Bois Lukis, carried out a series of excavations on Alderney. In 1870, S.P.Oliver published the first comprehensive list of known prehistoric sites in the Channel Islands. Oliver was responsible for the first scientific excavation on Jersey, at the gallery grave of Ville-ès-Nouaux (OLIVER 1870). The formation in 1873 of La Société Jersiaise, followed in 1893 by the Guernsey Society of Natural Science (later La Société Guernesiaise), provided an institutional basis for archaeological research in the islands, and the journals of these societies provided a medium for the publication of excavation reports. Early excavations by La Société Jersiaise at Ville-ès-Nouaux, (BELLIS & CABLE 1884), and at Beauport (CABLE 1877) were followed by a series of important excavations on Jersey in the early part of the 20th Century: La Motte (NICOLLE & SINEL 1912, 1914a, WARTON 1913), Grantez (NICOLLE et al. 1913), Les Platons (BAAL & SINEL 1915a), La Hougue Mauger (BAAL & SINEL 1915b), La Sergenté (NICOLLE 1924), The Ossuary (DARRELL HILL 1924), Grosnez (RYBOT 1924), La Hougue Bie (BAAL et al. 1925), La Hougue des Géonnais (BAAL & GODFRAY 1929). In Guernsey, most of the known sites had already been excavated by Lukis, and the only excavations that took place during this period were at L'Islet (CAREY-CURTIS 1912) and at Le Déhus, where re-excavation was undertaken by V.C.C.Collum (1933). The excavation techniques of the early 20th Century were, in most cases, no better than those of the late 19th Century: the reports on the excavations at Les Platons, La Hougue Mauger, La Sergenté and La Hougue des Géonnais are a good deal less detailed than Lukis' accounts of his excavations in Guernsey in the 1840's. The re-excavation of Le Déhus, which involved the creation of at least one entirely imaginary side-chamber, as well as the mis-dating of the monument to the Iron Age, must be seen as a distinct step backwards. The most important development of the early 20th Century, however, was the publication

of two works of synthesis, (KENDRICK 1928, HAWKES 1937), which have become the standard works of reference for Channel Island prehistory.

A major step forward came in the 1930's, with the excavation of the site of Le Pinnacle, Jersey, by A.D.B. Godfray and C. Burdo (1949, 1950). Father Christian Burdo was Professor of anthropology and philosophy at the Jesuit college in Jersey: his excavation techniques represent a considerable advance on those of the 1920's, and his report on the Pinnacle excavation is one of the most detailed accounts of any Channel Island excavation.

With the exception of the important excavations on the Palaeolithic site of La Cotte de St. Brelade, Jersey, the 1950's and 1960's were a disappointing period for Channel Island archaeology, with few new discoveries and few significant publications. An important megalithic complex was discovered during the construction of the St. Helier gasworks (WEDGEWOOD & MOURANT 1954), but a full investigation was impossible owing to lack of time and resources.

The 1970's saw a revival of interest in Channel Island prehistory, with excavations at the Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic settlement of Les Blanchés Banques, Jersey (FINLAISON in press), and re-excavations at Beauport, Jersey (JOHNSTON 1972), and at Les Pourciaux and Tourgis, Alderney (JOHNSTON 1973, 1974). This trend has continued into the present decade, with excavations at the megalithic site of Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (KINNES 1982 & in press), and at the Early Bronze Age site of La Moye I, Jersey, (PATTON 1988a, b), and re-excavation of Le Pinnacle, Jersey (FINLAISON & PATTON in press). Most recently, re-excavation has been commenced at the passage grave of La Hougue des Géonnais, under the direction of Sinclair Forrest & Stéphane Rault. The 1980's have also seen the appearance of a number of books dealing with Channel Island prehistory (JOHNSTON 1981, KINNES & GRANT 1983, BENDER 1986, JOHNSTON 1986, PATTON 1987a, KINNES & HIBBS 1988). With the exception of Johnston 1986 (a collection of conference papers) all of

these books are aimed quite specifically at the non-specialist reader.

Given the renewed interest in Channel Island prehistory over the past two decades, it is perhaps surprising that no detailed academic review of the subject has been attempted since the publication of the standard works in 1928 and 1937. Such a study is clearly overdue, as it is necessary to take account, not only of discoveries in the Channel Islands since 1937, but also of the very considerable developments in our understanding of the prehistory of North-Western France, and of the wide range of techniques and analytical methods available to modern archaeology. In a more general sense, it is also necessary to take account of developments in archaeological theory: the volumes by Kendrick and Hawkes are classic examples of the culture-historical approach, and modern anthropological archaeology has moved beyond this paradigm to levels of explanation and interpretation that would have been inconceivable in 1937. The volume by Callow & Cornford (1986) has shown the way forward for the Palaeolithic, but the later prehistory of the islands awaits similar coverage.

I.ii. Aims of this study.

This study attempts to provide such coverage for the Neolithic period (5000-2000BC). The principal aims of the study are as follows:

- a) To record in detail the archaeological evidence for the Neolithic of the Channel Islands.
- b) To examine the changing relationships between the Channel Islands and the Armorican mainland during this period.
- c) To develop a model for socio-cultural change in the Channel Islands during the Neolithic period, and in particular to examine the effects of insularity on their historical and cultural trajectory.

Evans (1973,1977) has drawn attention to the research potential of island archaeology, and contrasts the

islands of the Mediterranean with those of the Pacific:

" The particular interest of the Mediterranean islands often consists chiefly in what they can tell us about the interaction of island with mainland and island with island, rather than with their development in isolation."

(EVANS 1977:p13).

With regard to the Channel Islands, there is extensive evidence both for island/island and island/mainland interaction. An obvious material expression of this is the network of stone axe exchange (see appendix ii), but stone axes probably represent only the durable tip of the iceberg: interaction may also have involved exchange of food, non-durable objects (of wood, leather, plant fibre etc.) and people, none of which would necessarily leave any trace in the archaeological record. This study aims to compare and contrast the sequences on the different islands, to compare and contrast insular and mainland sequences and to relate the insular sequences to the pattern of regional variation on the Armorican mainland. In looking at relationships between mainland and island sequences, particular stress will be placed on development and change over time. Because of this diachronic focus, it will be necessary to look at the Final Mesolithic and at the Early Bronze Age as well as the Neolithic strictu sensu. The transition periods between the Mesolithic and the Neolithic, and between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age may be of particular importance in understanding the socio-cultural development of prehistoric communities in the islands.

I.iii. The archaeological evidence.

The evidence for the Neolithic period in the Armorican area as a whole is often characterised as being heavily dominated by megalithic monuments. This is certainly the case in the Channel Islands: of 126 sites listed in appendix vi, 79 are megaliths (63%). By contrast, only 10 of the sites are settlements (8%), of which 6 have been excavated. Five of the settlement sites are exclusively

of Early Bronze Age date, whilst 3 have produced evidence for Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic occupation; only one settlement has produced evidence for Middle Neolithic occupation, and only one has produced evidence for Early Neolithic occupation. The general scarcity of settlement sites compared with the abundance of megaliths creates a major imbalance in the archaeological evidence, and it is in an attempt to rectify this imbalance that flint scatter sites have been considered in some detail in this thesis. The inventory (appendix vi) includes 24 flint scatter sites, which thus form 19% of the total corpus of sites. These sites are surface collections, mostly the results of fieldwork by amateur archaeologists in the islands, starting in the early 20th Century and continuing to the present day. The specific problems involved in the study of such assemblages are discussed in appendix i.

Hibbs (1986) has drawn attention to the post-depositional factors affecting the distribution of megalithic sites in the islands. He cites Poingdestre (1682) as stating that "halfe a hundred" dolmens existed in Jersey at the beginning of the 17th Century.¹ Poingdestre's estimate is probably no more than a guess: certainly he does not list these monuments. De Guerin's (1921) work on place-names in Guernsey suggests an original concentration of at least 68 dolmens and 39 menhirs, but again, this may be excessive: some of the place-names are of ambiguous significance, and several place-names within a restricted area may refer to a single monument. What is clear is that the number of monuments surviving today is as follows:

JERSEY: 19 Megalithic structures; 5 Menhirs.

GUERNSEY: 13 Megalithic structures; 5 Menhirs.

and that the number of monuments (megalithic structures and menhirs) definitely recorded as having

¹ Poingdestre is referring specifically to "pouquelayes", i.e. monuments having capstones and orthostats, thus excluding menhirs.

been destroyed since 1800 is as follows:

JERSEY: 8
GUERNSEY: 4
ALDERNEY: 2
HERM: 6

giving a total of 20 sites. Thus just over 25% of the definitely known monuments from the islands² have been destroyed during the last two centuries. There is, of course, no means of establishing the number of sites that have been destroyed since Roman times without any record being kept.

Hibbs (1986) lists the following as the most significant post-depositional transforms affecting the distribution of monuments in the islands:

- 1) Eustatic change.
- 2) Colluviation/sand deposition.
- 3) Agriculture.
- 4) Quarrying.

To these should be added a fifth, building works, since many sites have undoubtedly been lost during the expansion of the towns of St. Helier and St. Peter-Port, and as a result of recent housing developments outside the towns.

Of these factors, quarrying is probably the most significant as far as megalithic monuments are concerned. The fine granites of the Channel Islands were an important export during the 19th Century, and Oliver (1870) identified this industry as the major threat to the monuments.

The other destruction factors are by no means specific to megaliths. Settlements and other sites are likely to have been lost to rising sea-levels, to building developments and to agriculture. A megalith, however, is instantly recognizable to the layman, and moreover is often surrounded by folklore and superstition, so that the destruction of a monument is more likely to have been

² This includes only those sites which can be identified with certainty, and only those which have been totally destroyed.

noted and recorded (if only in folk tradition) than that of a settlement.

The Channel Islands are intensively farmed, and the predominant crops are potato, cauliflower, broccoli and tomato. None of these would normally produce crop-marks that might permit the identification of archaeological features through aerial photography. The only possibility for the identification of ploughed out sites, apart from intensive geophysical survey, is the collection of artefacts from the surface of ploughed fields.

Destruction factors will certainly have distorted the distribution pattern of sites, since they will not have affected all areas to the same extent. Prehistoric coastal settlements are likely to have been lost to eustatic change and marine erosion, whilst sites located in the granitic areas of the islands (see Ch.II) are the most likely to have been destroyed by quarrying. Colluviation has almost totally obscured any evidence from the valleys of the islands. Some indication of the distortion caused by agriculture can be gained (cf. HIBBS 1986) by comparing the distribution of recorded sites and the distribution of enclosed land at the time of the Agrarian Revolution. Land-use statistics for the late 18th Century are available for Jersey and Guernsey, (see Tables I.1 & I.2).

Table I.1: Extent of enclosed land on Jersey, 1795 (source;Dury 1952) and distribution of known sites.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>% of land enclosed</u>	<u>No.of sites in</u>
<u>1795</u>		<u>Inventory</u>
		<u>(appendix vi).</u>
St.Saviour	100	1
St.Lawrence	97	1
St.Helier	92.5	9
Grouville	92	1
St.Clement	91.5	5
St.John	87	1
St.Peter	87	2
St.Mary	86	3
St.Martin	83.5	3
Trinity	80.5	3
St.Ouen	66	11
St.Brelade	36.5	20

Table I.2: Extent of enclosed land on Guernsey, 1795
(source; Dury 1953) and distribution of known sites.

Parish	% of land enclosed in 1795	No. of sites in Inventory (appendix vi).
St. Andrew	100	1
St. Saviour	98.5	3
Castel	95.8	3
St. Peter-Port	95.8	1
St. Pierre du Bois	90.6	5
St. Sampson	86.9	7
St. Martin	83.2	2
Forest	80.9	2
Vale	73.6	11
Torteval	71	0

The high number of sites from the parishes of St. Ouen and St. Brelade, Jersey, and Vale, Guernsey is especially revealing. The relationship between destruction factors and distribution of sites, however, is not a simple one, for the factors responsible for the destruction of sites may equally be responsible for their discovery and recording. Of the 126 sites listed in appendix vi, 28 were discovered as a result of erosion, 18 as a result of quarrying and 5 as a result of building works.

It is clear from the above discussion that the distribution pattern of known sites reflects a non-random sample of the prehistoric landscape, and this will inevitably pose problems in the interpretation of the archaeological evidence.

A further problem arises from the incomplete nature of the evidence available with regard to the sites listed in appendix vi. Of the 126 sites listed, 70 have been excavated: many of these, however, were excavated during the 19th Century or during the early years of the 20th Century, and detailed accounts are often lacking.

Table I.3 summarises the history of archaeological excavations in the Channel Islands (including only those sites listed in appendix vi).

Table I.3: Archaeological excavations in the Channel Islands.

<u>Period</u>	<u>No. of sites excavated</u>	<u>No. of sites re-excavated</u>
1830-1840	9	0
1840-1850	14	1
1850-1860	5	0
1860-1870	2	1
1870-1880	5	0
1880-1890	2	1
1890-1900	0	0
1900-1910	0	0
1910-1920	9	2
1920-1930	6	1
1930-1940	7	1
1940-1950	0	0
1950-1960	0	0
1960-1970	1	0
1970-1980	3	3
1980-1990	7	2

In general, the excavations carried out since 1960 are the best recorded. The quality of excavations carried out between 1910 and 1940 ranges from very good (Le Pinacle) to very poor (La Hougue Mauger, La Hougue des Géonnais), and there is a similar variation among 19th Century excavations. Excavated sites can be classified according to the amount of stratigraphic and contextual information recorded³:

Group A: Detailed stratigraphic/contextual information.

Group B: Significant stratigraphic/contextual information.

Group C: Some stratigraphic/contextual information.

Group D: No stratigraphic/contextual information.

In the case of Group D sites, interpretation must depend solely on the site itself, and on the excavated material (if this survives).

Table I.4 shows the breakdown of excavated sites listed in appendix vi according to these 4 groups, (numbers in brackets refer to re-excavations).

³ This refers specifically to the quality of recording, and not to the stratigraphic integrity of the sites themselves.

Table 1.4: Excavated sites in the Channel Islands; quality of stratigraphic/contextual information recorded.

<u>Group</u>	<u>JER</u>	<u>GUE</u>	<u>ALD</u>	<u>HER</u>	<u>Total</u>
A	6(3)	5	0(2)	0	11(5)
B	8(1)	1	0	0	9(1)
C	15(1)	6(1)	0	5	21(2)
D	8	6	2	8	24

Apart from the sites listed in the inventory, the most important category of evidence consists of items of material culture: flint and stone tools and pottery. Some of the artefacts are from the listed sites, but others, (particularly stone tools) are chance finds. Almost all of the artefacts are stored in the 3 island museums; the Museum of La Société Jersiaise (La Hougue Bie), the Guernsey Museum (Candie), and the Alderney Museum (St. Annes). Many of the chance finds are essentially unprovenanced, and some must certainly have arrived in the islands in recent times, (as witness, for example, a particularly fine copper axe recently discovered in Guernsey, which has been identified as belonging to a well-defined Gangetic type!). Even where chance finds have a specific provenance, there may be problems. Stone axes were collected by country people in the Channel Islands in Medieval and later times: they were believed to be "thunderbolts" and to act as charms against witchcraft. Without some form of archaeological context, the place of finding cannot necessarily be assumed to represent the place of deposition in prehistoric times. The agricultural practice of moving topsoil from fertile areas to barren areas in order to extend the cultivated zone may have resulted in more drastic transplantations of entire assemblages from one part of an island to another.

Stone axes form a particularly interesting class of evidence, since they can provide an index of island/island and island/mainland interaction. The petrology and typology of Channel Island axes are discussed in appendix ii. This consideration follows on from important research in Brittany by P-R. Giot and C-T. Le Roux, but the axes of the Channel Islands have not

previously been considered in detail.

The solid geology of the Channel Islands includes no chalk, so that the only sources of flint available to Neolithic communities were beach pebbles and mainland sources. The majority of flint assemblages from the islands reflect the exclusive utilization of beach pebbles, and this has given rise to assemblages characterised by small flakes, with a low proportion of definable "tools" (0.8% of the assemblage from La Hougue des Géonnais, 2.5% of the assemblage from La Moye I).

The nature of these assemblages makes chronological distinction difficult, and discussions of chronology have usually depended exclusively on the presence/absence of particular type-fossils such as barbed and tanged arrowheads. In appendix i, the flint assemblages are discussed in detail, and metrical analysis is employed in an attempt to develop a chronological framework.

Most of the Neolithic pottery from the islands comes from the excavated sites; a high proportion from megalithic monuments. The absence of securely stratified and excavated Early and Middle Neolithic domestic sites poses a problem of interpretation; it is often unclear whether an assemblage is a representative sample of pottery in use at a particular period, or whether it reflects a restricted selection for specifically ritual/funerary usage. Whilst there are some clear stratified sequences from the Channel Islands, (e.g. Les Fouaillages, Le Pinacle, Ville-ès-Nouaux), the dating of pottery styles depends heavily on the sequences that have been developed on the Armorican mainland (see Appendices iii-v). This raises a problem, since it pre-empts any consideration of the possibility that the adoption of a given style may have been later on the islands than on the mainland, or that particular styles may have persisted for longer in an insular: it is necessary to assume that mainland and insular developments are contemporary.

Human skeletal remains are recorded from 24 of the sites listed in appendix vi, representing a minimum of 82

individuals: human bones are preserved, however, from only 12 of these sites, and often the number of bones does not reflect the number of skeletons described in the written accounts. Table I.5 lists the surviving skeletal remains from sites listed in appendix vi.

Table I.5: Human skeletal remains from Channel Island sites.

<u>Site</u>	<u>No.of complete skeletons</u>	<u>Minimum No.of individuals</u>
JER 14	0	20
JER 30	0	1
JER 34	7	9
JER 35	0	1
JER 48	0	1
JER 54	0	2
JER 55	0	4
JER 56	0	1
GUE 1	0	8
GUE 2	0	6
HER 1	0	2
ECR 1	0	1

The surviving remains are probably too fragmentary and incomplete for any serious demographic study, and no studies have been undertaken from the point of view of physical anthropology or palaeopathology. Nine of the listed sites have produced some evidence for the nature of funerary practice.

Animal bones have been found on 7 of the listed sites, but only at Le Pinacle were these found in a securely stratified context. Marine shells are more common, and large quantities of limpet shells have been found in several of the megalithic monuments, along with smaller quantities of other species.

Palaeobotanical evidence is extremely rare; many of the sites were excavated before the development of the relevant techniques, and recently excavated sites have yielded little, by virtue of unfavorable preservation conditions. There is a small quantity of charred seeds and beans from the Chalcolithic horizon at Le Pinacle. Recent research by David Keen and Bob Jones (see Ch.II) has made a very significant contribution to the understanding of the islands' vegetational history.

The above discussion has focussed largely on the inadequacies of the data, not because these are overwhelming, but because it is necessary to define them before proceeding with a detailed analysis. Archaeological data are, almost by definition, imperfect and incomplete, and the quality of the information from the Channel Islands compares well with that from other areas that are discussed at length in the archaeological literature.

I.iv. Theoretical approach: towards a dialectical archaeology.

Throughout this study, the main emphasis in interpretation is on the development of social relations: relations within an individual community, between communities, between one island and another, between islands and the mainland and between regions. The first serious discussion of social relations in European prehistory was in the work of Gordon Childe (cf 1951,1958). Working within a culture-historical approach, he attempted to develop a Marxist paradigm to explain the rise, expansion and collapse of prehistoric cultures. In the second quarter of the 20th Century, this project was unacceptable, both theoretically and politically, and most of Childe's contemporaries, whilst respecting his encyclopedic knowledge of European prehistory, regarded his use of Marxist theory as an eccentricity. The theoretical aspects of Childe's work were not taken up by any of his students, and after his death in 1957 there was little archaeological discussion of social relations. The concept of "social archaeology" was revived in the 1970's by Renfrew and others (RENFREW 1972,1973, SHERRATT 1972,1973, RANDSBORG 1973). Following the lead of the American "New Archaeology" (cf BINFORD 1962,1965), these studies adopted a methodological and conceptual framework borrowed from the natural sciences. Central to this framework is an analytical methodology, with emphasis on the generation and testing of hypotheses. In Renfrew's (1972,1982) work, hypotheses are evaluated according to

the criterion of "potential falsifiability" developed from Popper (1959). The more potentially falsifiable a hypothesis is, the more valuable it is considered to be. Feyerabend (1975) criticises the restrictive nature of rigid scientific methodology, which in the social sciences tends to privilege techno-environmental explanations over social explanations, ultimately reducing human agency to a passive recipient of external forces. In adopting a systems model, Renfrew (1972) considers society as an intercommunicating network of subsystems, each of which is explained in terms of its function within the total cultural system. Cultural systems are regarded as essentially homeostatic (or conservative), thus stability is considered to be "normal" and it is change that requires explanation.

Criticism of the prevailing functionalist and determinist trends in archaeological interpretation have come from Marxist (FRIEDMAN & ROWLANDS 1978, BENDER 1978) and post-structuralist approaches (HODDER 1982,1986, HODDER ed 1982), and most recently, Shanks & Tilley (1987a,b) have argued for a complete reappraisal of the aims and epistemology of archaeology.

One of the problems of "processual" archaeology has been that, in the process of constructing a functionalist model of human society, individual people like ourselves, with the ability to think, choose and act, seem to have disappeared altogether:

"...this particular framework of interpretation...is concerned with 'Man' rather than men, for it looks at the human species, or at a particular community, as an organic totality which behaves as such, seeking 'its' own survival and reproduction."

(PATTON 1987b:p8).

Much of the debate in contemporary European social theory has focussed on the relationship between individual praxis and the social formation, and this question has recently been addressed in the archaeological literature (MILLER & TILLEY eds 1984, SHANKS & TILLEY 1987a,b, PATTON 1987b). Popper (1966)

distinguishes between methodological holism and individualism in the social sciences: the "processual" approach generally gives rise to explanations that are, in Popper's terms, holistic. The central problems of a holistic approach are, firstly, that it is unable to explain the genesis of the specific social formations and social institutions that are identified as fulfilling particular functions, and secondly, that it gives rise to models of human society that are inadequate as explanations of the lived reality of social life. Individualism, however, is equally inadequate, since it involves the artificial extraction of the individual from the social field. In this thesis, a dialectical approach is adopted in order to move beyond the individualism/holism dichotomy and avoid functionalism and determinism.

Gouldner (1980) distinguishes two traditions within post-Marxist thought, which he characterises as "Scientific" and "Critical" Marxism. The former (cf ENGELS 1934) is deterministic and de-emphasises agency and praxis, whilst the latter is more explicitly dialectical in its conception of the relationship between the social formation and individual praxis. Marx's own position, as Gouldner stresses, is ambiguous. On the one hand he writes:

"...but here individuals are dealt with only insofar as they are the personification of economic categories...and class interests. My standpoint, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can, less than any other, make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them."

(MARX 1970:pp20-21).

but on the other, he states that:

"Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself...The tradition of all past generations weighs like an alp upon the brain of the living."

(MARX 1878:p5).

In Critique de la Raison Dialectique⁴, Sartre builds on the "critical" tradition in the work of Marx, and attempts to develop a dialectical approach to social phenomena, taking praxis as a starting point. For Sartre:

"The dialectic...must proceed from individuals, and not from some kind of supra-individual ensemble."

(SARTRE 1976:p37).

and:

"...the dialectical movement is not some powerful unitary force revealing itself behind history like the will of God. It is, first and foremost, a resultant...it is men as they are, dominated by scarcity and necessity and confronting one another in circumstances which history or economics can inventory but only dialectical reason can explain."

(Ibid:p37).

and more specifically:

"The entire historical dialectic rests upon individual praxis insofar as it is already dialectical."⁵

(Ibid:p80).

The criticism most frequently levelled at Sartre's social theory, (cf FOUCAULT 1970), is that, in focussing on praxis and intentionality, it reifies an individualist conception of subjectivity that is an ideological component of capitalist social relations (cf SHANKS & TILLEY 1987b:p77). The advantage, however, of a dialectical approach such as that proposed by Sartre is that it facilitates the deconstruction of the holism/individualism dichotomy. Sartre quotes Marx's famous statement that "Man makes his own history..." (see above).

and then continues:

⁴ SARTRE 1976, but originally published in 1960. In this thesis all references are to the English translation of the Critique.

⁵ Individual praxis is dialectical in that it always involves the transcendence of an existing reality towards a future totalisation.

"If this statement is true, then both determinism and analytical reason must be categorically rejected as the method and law of human history. Dialectical rationality, the whole of which is contained in this sentence, must be seen as the permanent and dialectical unity of freedom and necessity...Man must be controlled by the dialectic insofar as he creates it, and create it insofar as he is controlled by it."

(SARTRE 1976:pp35-36).

Shanks & Tilley have recently made a similar point:

"Action is in dialectical relation to structure and social context. It begins in structure, is mediated by structure and ends in structure, but its realization in the world may result in the rearticulation or transformation of structure...structure is both a medium and an outcome of social practice."

(SHANKS & TILLEY 1986:p72).

The individual actor of Sartre's dialectic is by no means the reified autonomous individual of the capitalist market place: s/he is always situated within a socio-historical field, but is nonetheless credited with the same abilities and characteristics as we credit ourselves (cf MILLER & TILLEY 1984:p2). Similar conceptualisations of the relationship between praxis and social structure can be found in Bourdieu's (1977) "social action theory" and in Giddens' (1979) notion of "structuration".

The dichotomy between materialism and idealism can be similarly deconstructed. A dialectical approach cannot be characterised either as materialist or as idealist, since "infrastructure" and "superstructure" are seen to be in dialectical relation to one another. The idea of dialectical relationships may seem, superficially, to be similar to the concept of "feedback" in systems theory: in reality the two are quite different. The concept of feedback depends upon a functionalist separation of particular spheres (religion, politics, economics etc) as interacting subsystems, whereas a dialectical approach denies the validity of such a separation. Systems theory also depends upon the idea of equilibrium or homeostasis, in which the various sub-systems interact to maintain the status quo until a "kick from the outside", (climatic change for example) upsets the balance, forcing the

system to adjust and find a new equilibrium (cf FLANNERY 1968). This framework, therefore, considers stability as the natural state of all systems. A dialectical approach makes no such assumption: on the contrary, social formations are considered always to embody the possibility for their own transcendence (cf FRIEDMAN & ROWLANDS 1977).

Sartre makes a fundamental distinction between analytical (or scientific) reason and dialectical reason. The central difference between the two concepts is that analytical reason claims to occupy a position external to the field of enquiry, whereas the dialectician is situated within his/her field. "Processual" approaches in archaeology are examples of analytical reason, which Sartre rejects as an approach to social phenomena. For Sartre, the historical dialectic is not a theory or a hypothesis but, a priori, a condition of praxis and thus of the possibility of history. If the structure of praxis is dialectical, then this applies equally to the praxis of the archaeologist in studying a prehistoric community, and to that of the people who made, used and deposited the artefacts that form the basis of his/her study. Thus:

"...the dialectic is both a method and a movement in the object...we assert simultaneously that the process of knowledge is dialectical, that the movement of the object is itself dialectical, and that these two dialectics are one and the same."

(SARTRE 1976:p20).

If a dialectical approach to archaeology is accepted, then notions of "scientific objectivity" must be abandoned, but not in favour of a conceptual free-for-all, in which all views of the past have equal validity:

"Archaeology, we contend, is an interpretative practice, an active intervention engaging in a critical process of theoretical labour relating past and present. It is entirely misleading to pose the problem...in terms of either a purely factual representation...purged of subjective bias or a presentist quest for liberation from the dogmatic burden of the archaeological record through unrestrained fictionalising and mythologizing."

(SHANKS & TILLEY 1987a:p103).

The subjective/objective dichotomy is redundant since subject and object, past and present, are in dialectical relation to one another (cf ROWLANDS 1984).

Earle & Preucel (1987) have attacked the "radical critique", (i.e. post-structuralist and Marxist approaches in archaeology), on the grounds that it lacks explicit methodology. There is a general insistence in the work of "post-processual" archaeologists, (cf HODDER ed 1982, MILLER & TILLEY eds 1984, SPRIGGS ed 1984), that consideration must be given to "unobservable" aspects of prehistoric societies (such as social relations and ideology) as well as to quantifiable factors such as climatic change and availability of resources. Many of the interpretations that have been developed within the post-processual school are not hypotheses in the positivist sense, because they cannot be "independently tested". Wylie (1982) argues from a realist perspective, however, that the concept of hypothetico-deductive testing is inadequate in practice, because all facts are necessarily constructed within a theoretical context, so that they can never be truly "independent", and because all scientific understanding depends on theoretical extensions beyond observables. According to Wylie, the problem identified by Earle & Preucel:

"...only arises if it is assumed that scientific knowledge is characteristically reducible to observational data and that only observables are knowable. This...is tantamount to accepting an extremely restrictive form of empiricism which, if consistently held, would rule out physics as a scientific enterprise and would call most established explanatory theory into question."

(WYLIE 1982:p42).

The realist alternative proposed by Wylie is that models are constructed to order data by accounting for factors assumed to have been instrumental in generating them. Such models are set apart from "pure speculation" by virtue of the fact that they are constrained both by the available data, and by "plausibility considerations" introduced with the analytic model and mediated by

background knowledge of how such phenomena could be generated.

A realist epistemology as suggested by Wylie is much less restrictive than the positivist methodology defended by Earle & Preucel, and does not privilege particular types of explanation or rule out discussion of potentially valid interpretations on the grounds that they are "untestable". The procedure adopted is one of:

"Trying out different explanatory ways of conceptualising the data...to see if, when the data are conceived as the outcome of one type of mechanism rather than another, they are better integrated or take on more intelligible form."

(Ibid:p42).

Throughout this thesis, the emphasis, as stated at the beginning of this section, is on the development of social relations, and in attempting to understand prehistoric social relations, a Marxist approach is taken as a basic theoretical starting point. One criticism that could be made in relation to "Marxist" approaches in prehistory is that since Marx's work was concerned with capitalist societies it is largely irrelevant to a consideration of the non-capitalist societies of European prehistory. The writings of Marx (1965) and Engels (1972) on "pre-capitalist" societies cannot be taken as a starting point, since they are firmly grounded in what is now seen as the naive evolutionism of 19th Century anthropology (cf MORGAN 1877). One of the important developments of French "structural Marxism" (cf GODELIER 1978, MEILLASSOUX 1960,1964,1972, TERRAY 1969), was the attempt to analyse non-capitalist societies using the conceptual framework developed by Marx in his analysis of capitalist society (cf MARX 1970). This is not to deny the historical specificity of capitalist forms of social organisation: what is drawn from Marx is an approach to the analysis of society focussing on the material basis of social relations. Structural Marxism was not a monolithic movement, and there have been significant disagreements between scholars working within this

framework. One of the most important of these disagreements (cf KAHN 1981) has focussed on the issue of "primitive communism" and the existence or non-existence of exploitation in "tribal" societies. Meillassoux (1960,1964,1972) argues that exploitation does exist in tribal societies, but distinguishes it from exploitation in capitalist society by stressing its basis in control of the "means of reproduction" rather than control of the means of production⁴. This involves two levels of exploitation: exploitation of women by men, and exploitation of young men by the elders who control their access to potential wives. Control of the means of reproduction is mediated through ritual and the control of sacred knowledge, and in some instances, through control of valuables necessary for bridewealth payments. Through these mechanisms of control, elders can make demands upon the labour of women and young men. Godelier & Deluz (1967) and Terray (1969) have criticised this view, arguing that the appropriation of surplus by elders cannot be seen as exploitation in Marx's sense, since it is in the order of things that the young men will themselves become elders in due course. Godelier & Deluz assert on this basis that "class" and "exploitation" do not exist in such societies: there are several objections to this claim, not least of which is the fact that women, whilst they may become old, rarely achieve the status of "elders". According to Godelier (1964), authority and surplus appropriation in tribal societies is "functional", and exists to serve "common interests", and this functionalism is central to recent attempts to sustain the concept of primitive communism (GODELIER & DELUZ 1967, HINDESS & HIRST 1975, TERRAY 1969). The concept of primitive communism raises a fundamental problem for any attempt to explain social change within a Marxist paradigm: on the one hand one asserts that social change occurs through the transcendence of contradictions

⁴ see Bender 1978 for a discussion of this concept from an archaeological perspective.

within society, yet on the other hand one maintains that a class-less society without social contradictions evolves into a class society. In Godelier's work, this problem is only resolved by emphasising "inter-systemic" contradictions (between the forces and relations of production) and regarding "intra-systemic" contradictions (e.g. class conflict) as epi-phenomenal (GODELIER 1966). Ultimately this amounts to techno-environmental determinism and comes closer to the cultural materialism of Harris (1969) (criticised by FRIEDMAN 1974 as "vulgar materialism") than to the dialectical materialism of Marx. Meillassoux's conceptualisation of social relations in tribal societies allows for a greater degree of flexibility, since it does not privilege inter-systemic over intra-systemic contradictions, or the forces of production over the social relations of production in explaining social change.

One of the central problems in French structural Marxism (cf SCHOLTE 1979) has been the adoption of an essentially ahistorical paradigm. Societies are analysed as static entities in terms of their internal structure and the question of social dynamics is rarely addressed. This arises partly from the influence of Levi-Strauss (1955), who introduced the concept of "hot" and "cold" societies (societies which have history and those which do not)⁷, and it must be seen as a further departure from Marx's own approach, which is explicitly historicist. Friedman & Rowlands (1977) have attempted to integrate concepts drawn from structural Marxism within a dynamic framework, and their model will be discussed in the body of the thesis, particularly in Chapters IV, V & VII.

To summarise the discussion, whilst structural Marxism has made an important and positive contribution to the understanding of tribal societies, it embodies two major problems. Firstly, there is a tendency, particularly in the work of Godelier and Terray, to resort (at least in the last instance) to techno-environmental determinism.

⁷ See Bender 1985 for a critique of these concepts.

Secondly, the emphasis is frequently on explaining social relations in static rather than dynamic terms. The latter poses a particular problem when it comes to applying the tenets of structural Marxism to archaeological evidence, since the nature of the archaeological record is such that diachronic considerations are necessarily of primary importance. These problems within structural Marxism can perhaps be seen as reflecting a more fundamental inadequacy: the lack of emphasis on praxis and agency in understanding social relations and social change. Herein, perhaps, lies the key to the development of a truly dialectical social theory and, by extension, a dialectical archaeology.

I.v. From biogeography to sociogeography: social relations in an insular context.

Recent approaches to island prehistory, (CHERRY 1981, KAPLAN 1976, TERRELL 1977, 1986), have borrowed heavily from the "Theory of Island Biogeography" of MacArthur & Wilson (1967). MacArthur & Wilson are essentially concerned with the colonization of islands by animals and plants, and with the survival and development of island species. Their work suggests that two main variables, distance and island size, may be used to predict the likelihood of dispersal or movement between islands. The existence of "stepping stone" islands may have a marked influence on biological exchanges: these assist species dispersal, but where the "stepping stones" are small, they may act through competitive exclusion to filter species from the migration pool. Because island colonization is usually carried out by a very small proportion of a mainland population, MacArthur & Wilson argue that only some of the genetic traits that are present in the mainland population will reach an island context, but that those which do are likely to become accentuated and elaborated through in-breeding. Cherry (1981) has pointed out a significant difference between animal and human colonization of islands: the colonization of islands by animals is usually accidental,

whereas colonization by people may be intentional. Few terrestrial animals (except birds) are able to cross stretches of sea on a regular and organised basis, so that following the colonization of an island, genetic interchange with mainland populations is very limited. People, by contrast, may have boats, and may make regular journeys between islands and the mainland, so that the degree of isolation is reduced. MacArthur & Wilson's work is concerned almost exclusively with the dispersal and survival of genetic characteristics: in explaining the development of human societies it is necessary also to consider cultural characteristics. The advantage of models derived from island biogeography is that they facilitate discussion of the question of insularity, and its effects on the development of prehistoric societies. The disadvantage of such models is that they can lead to ecological determinism and reductionism (cf TERRELL 1986). Clearly the Theory of Island Biogeography must be adapted and modified if it is to inform our understanding of insular prehistory.

This thesis is concerned with the development of social relations in an insular context, so clearly it will be necessary to consider the relationship between the environment and the social formation. It is important to stress, however, that geography does not determine the social formation: it is part of the context in which the social formation is defined. It is often said that the environment constrains, (FRIEDMAN & ROWLANDS 1977), but it may also create particular social possibilities. On the one hand islands are, by definition, circumscribed: there is a definite limit to the possibility of expansion. On the other hand, islands provide a diverse ecosystem: in a small island such as Jersey or Guernsey, all communities could potentially have had direct access to the resources of the sea as well as to those of the land. This direct access to the sea, not available to all continental communities, may have been an important consideration in maintaining the population: if crops or domestic animals died through disease or poor husbandry,

the sea could provide a nutritional safety-net. The ecological diversity of an insular system may have been a factor in terms of the health of individuals within a community: many deficiency diseases can be caused by over-reliance on one food source, from which particular nutrients are lacking. Islanders may also have an advantage in terms of defence, since the sea acts as a barrier to a potential aggressor and the nature of the coastline may limit the number of locations where an attack could take place. Against this, however, the possibility of in-breeding in an insular population could result in a high incidence of congenital illnesses and deformities: a problem that could be avoided if contact with the mainland was maintained through regular exchange of marriage partners. The Channel Islands did not, by any means, constitute a closed system during the Neolithic. Material culture and monument forms attest to a continued close relationship with the Armorican mainland, and the existence on all of the islands of significant numbers of stone axes of mainland origin (see appendix ii) suggests an important axis of exchange and interaction. There is no shortage in the islands of rock suitable for the manufacture of stone axes, and from the functional point of view the axes imported from the mainland are in no way superior to those made locally. Flint axes imported from Normandy are quite definitely inferior (more brittle) as compared with local axes. Why, then, did exchange take place ? Ethnographic studies of exchange networks (MALINOWSKI 1922, KIRCH 1986), suggest that the context of exchange is frequently more social than commercial. Objects acquired through competitive exchange may carry prestige and may be involved in the mediation of power relationships. The possession of such objects may be essential if a person is to progress socially, (for example, if a boy is to be accepted as a man, or if a young man is to marry). Since access to the exchange network may be restricted, the "means of reproduction"

(cf MEILLASSOUX 1972, BENDER 1978) can be controlled^a. This possibility for control of the means of reproduction may be accentuated in an insular context. The acquisition of such objects involves a sea journey: this requires a boat and knowledge of how to sail it, and it involves an element of danger. Access to boats could be controlled, as could knowledge of navigation and pilotage, creating a possibility for the development and maintenance of asymmetrical social relations. All these factors are significant in the Kula cycle of Melanesia (MALINOWSKI 1922): access to the boats is strictly controlled and only a few men are competent as captains. In the Channel Islands, the exchange networks linking the islands and the mainland embody the possibility for asymmetrical relations not only between individuals within a community, but also between islands, and between insular and mainland communities. Guernsey is more distant from the mainland than Jersey (see Fig.I.1), and furthermore, the distance between Guernsey and the mainland is greater than that between Jersey and Guernsey. There is reason to suggest (see appendix ii) that communities in Guernsey acquired mainland axes indirectly through exchange with communities in Jersey rather than directly through exchange with mainland groups. It seems likely (see Ch.VII) that for at least part of the Neolithic period, a situation of dependency existed (cf ROWLANDS 1987), with Jersey constituting a core area to which Guernsey and Sark were peripheral. If communities in Guernsey and Sark were dependent on communities in Jersey for access to commodities necessary for social reproduction, then Jersey communities were dependent on mainland groups for access to these same commodities. In a continental context, a competitive situation may exist: community A may obtain a particular commodity by exchange with any one of communities B,C or D. In an insular context the

^a Such an exchange system is not a necessary condition for control of the means of reproduction but it does provide a mechanism through which such control can be mediated and maintained.

possibilities may be more limited: tides, currents and the distribution of safe landing places (see Ch.II) will limit the number of mainland communities with which islanders can easily interact. In these conditions a monopoly situation may develop whereby islanders' access to continental commodities is controlled by one group of mainland communities, and this creates the possibility for an asymmetry between mainland and island groups.

The above discussion is intended as a brief sketch of the possibility for an island sociogeography and these considerations will be further developed in Chapter VII. The application of models derived from island biogeography has made a significant contribution to our understanding of insular prehistory, but it is argued that it is necessary to move beyond this essentially ecological framework in order to understand the development of social formations in an insular context.

I.vi. Structure of the thesis.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapters I & II provide a background, with Ch.I as a general introduction and Ch.II as a discussion of the environmental context of Neolithic societies in the Channel Islands. Most of the data are presented in Chapters III-VI, which are organised chronologically, dealing respectively with the Early Neolithic, the Middle Neolithic, the Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age. The criteria on which these periods are defined are presented at the beginning of the respective chapters. It has been necessary to present the data in considerable detail since in general, these have not been satisfactorily presented elsewhere. No detailed review of the Channel Island Neolithic has been attempted since the publication of the volumes by Kendrick (1928) and Hawkes (1937), and the discussions in these volumes are, in most cases, out of date. Three major categories of data, concerning stone axes, flint assemblages and ceramic typology, have been presented in Appendices i-v, rather than in the main text. The Channel Island sites discussed

in the thesis are listed in Appendix vi, with map references and bibliographic details. Interpretation and discussion is incorporated in Chapters III-VI, and more general conclusions are drawn in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND.

Before considering the prehistory of human settlement in the Channel Islands, it is necessary to look briefly at those aspects of the natural environment which will have affected human groups. This is not to suggest that human culture is to be seen as a passive adaptation to environmental conditions, but rather that human societies exist and develop in relation to particular objective circumstances which both create social possibilities and constrain them (see Ch.I). In any case, the environment can not be seen as an "independent variable" in relation to human society, since human action has been an important factor in transforming and modifying it. Meillassoux (1964:p89) writes:

"The action of the environment is not unilateral, since by their actions people produce a transformation in nature which then becomes the object of some new human action".

Jones *et al.* (1989) have stressed the extent to which the environment and landscape of the islands have been modified by human agency from Mesolithic times onward.

II.i. Formation of the islands.

Table II.1 shows the present surface area of the islands (in km²).

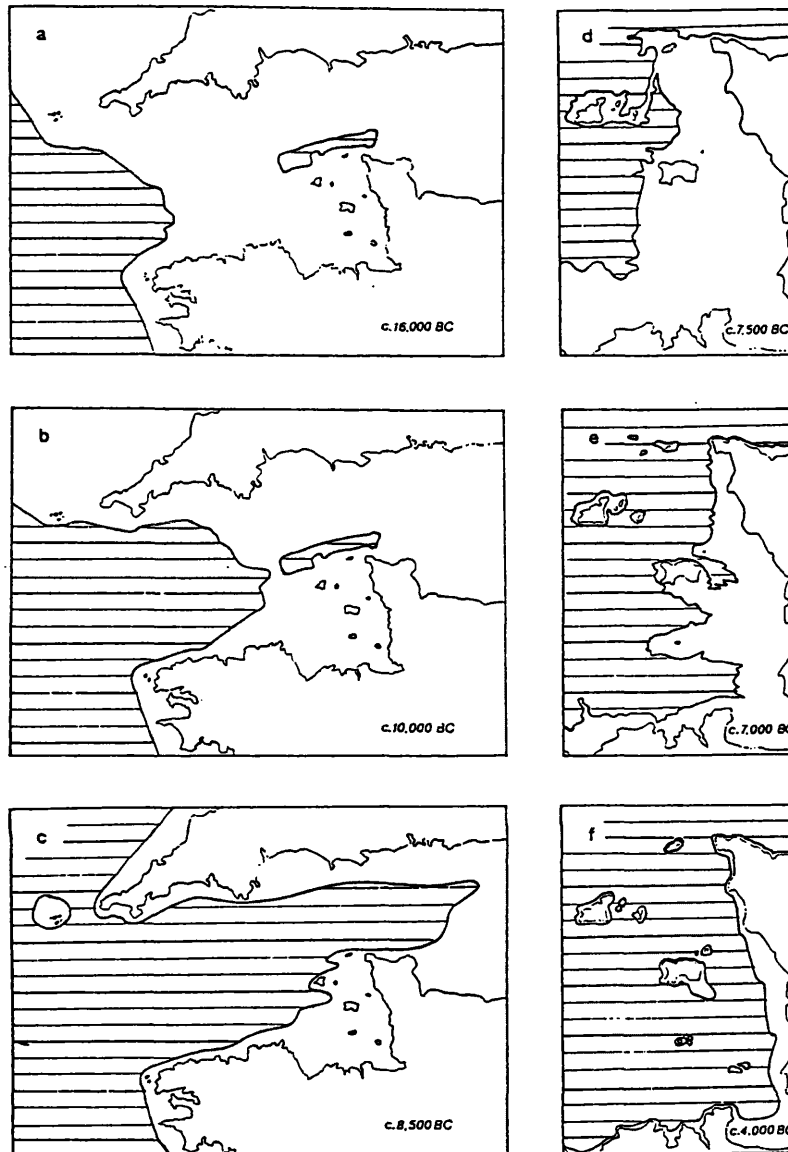
Table II.1: Surface area of the Channel Islands.

<u>Island.</u>	<u>Area (km²).</u>
Jersey	140
Guernsey	80
Alderney	10
Sark	8
Herm	2
Burhou	0.25
Jethou	0.25
Brecquou	0.75
Chaussey	1
Les Ecréhous	0.25
Les Minquiers	0.25

Figure II.1 shows the effect of Holocene sea-level

Fig. II.1.

Holocene sea-level changes affecting the Channel Islands.



changes on the Channel Islands. Recent research by Jones et al. (1989) suggests that sea-levels had reached the current low tidal limit by the early 6th Millennium BC. If this is accepted, it must be concluded that all of the islands were cut off from the French mainland before the beginning of the Neolithic (at around 4800 BC: see Ch.III). It is possible that Jersey was still accessible from the Cotentin at exceptionally low tides (KINNES 1986), but Guernsey, Sark and Alderney were already islands before the beginning of the 6th Millennium BC. Guernsey and Herm may have been joined to one another at the beginning of the Neolithic (the Little Russell Channel which separates them is less than 12 metres in depth), but would certainly have been separated at an early stage in the 5th Millennium BC, if not before. Throughout much of the Neolithic period, however, the islands remained significantly larger than they are today (Fig.II.1). Herm and Jethou may have been joined to one another until the late 4th Millennium BC, Sark and Brecquou likewise. The reefs of Chaussey, Les Ecréhous and Les Minquiers would have been substantially larger than they are today: Les Minquiers may have been an island of approximately the same size as Alderney, Chaussey may have been even larger, Les Ecréhous somewhat smaller. The sea-level rise peaked at around 3250 BC, when mean sea-level was 2-3 metres above that of today (JONES et al. 1987): coastal farmland was lost as a result of marine incursions, forcing people into increasingly marginal areas (PATTON 1988a,b). The effects of this high sea-level persisted for around 2000 years, after which sea-levels fell to their present level. In broad terms, the pattern of sea-level changes identified by Jones et al. corroborates the evidence from Normandy and Brittany (ELHAI 1963, MORZADÉC-KERFOURN 1969, 1974, TERS 1973), but a Late Neolithic/Bronze Age sea-level higher than the present level has not been identified on the Armorican mainland, and may relate to specific tectonic factors affecting the Channel Islands at this time. The size and shape of the islands will have been

affected by erosion, as well as by sea-level change per se, but this is a much more difficult factor to quantify. It is known, for example, that a significant area of land in the South-eastern part of Jersey has been lost since the 16th Century A.D. as a result of erosion of loessic deposits by the sea: the off-shore islet of La Motte is shown on a 16th Century map as the tip of a peninsula. Erosion may have significantly diminished the size of Les Ecréhous, Les Minquiers and Chaussey.

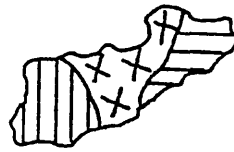
II.ii. Solid geology.

Fig.II.2 shows the solid geology of the Channel Islands in simplified form. Intrusive igneous rocks (granites, diorites and grano-diorites) constitute the most important complex, covering the North-west, South-west and South-eastern parts of Jersey, the Northern and Western parts of Guernsey, the central part of Alderney and the whole of Herm and Jethou, as well as the reefs of Les Ecréhous, Les Minquiers and Chaussey. These rocks are exceptionally hard, and most of the megalithic monuments are built with them. Granite pebbles were used as hammerstones, but the crystals in the granite are generally too large for the rock to be useful in the manufacture of axes and other tools: around 7% of Channel Island axes are made of diorite, and around 45% are made of dolerite which occurs in numerous dykes and sills within the intrusive igneous series. The Southern part of Guernsey, the Western part of Alderney and the whole of Sark and Brecquou are formed of gneiss, a hard metamorphic rock which forms the raw material for around 12% of stone axes found in Guernsey, and 41% of those found in Sark. Extrusive igneous (volcanic) rocks (rhyolites, andesites, tuffs and ignimbrites) occur only in the Eastern part of Jersey. A block of rhyolite has been used as a capstone on the passage grave of Faldouet (see Ch.IV), the only example of the use of volcanic rock in the construction of Channel Island megaliths. Axes of volcanic rock are extremely rare in the islands. There are three complexes of sedimentary rock in the islands:

Fig.II.2.

The Channel Islands: solid geology.

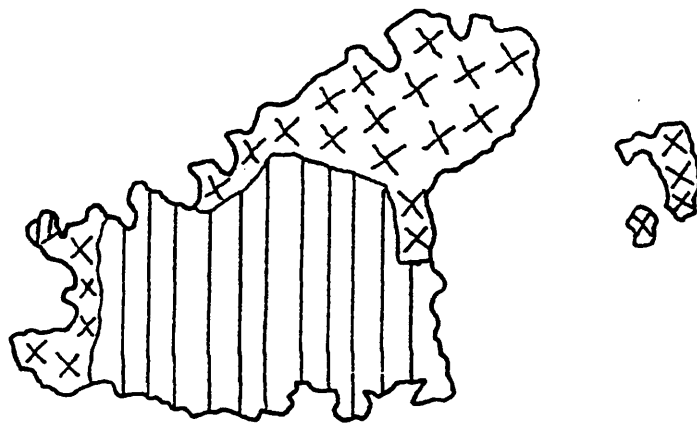
Alderney



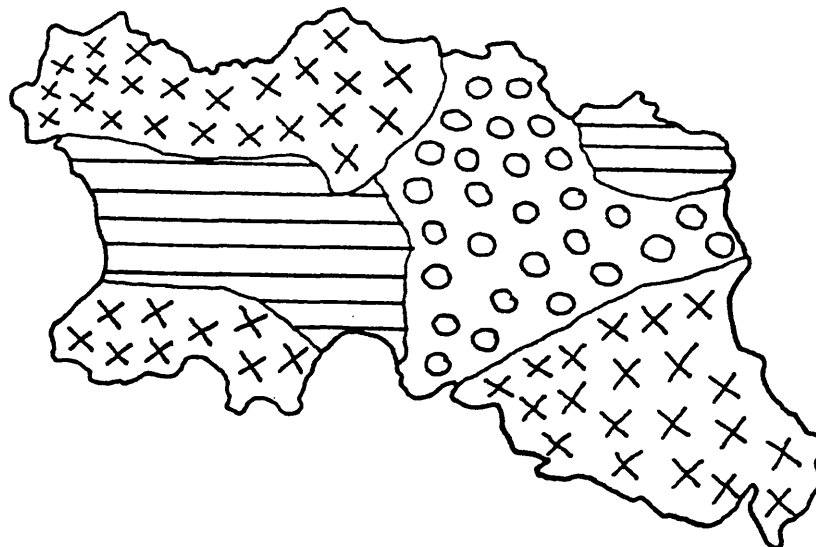
Sark



Guernsey/Herm



Jersey



Key to Fig.II.2.

|||| Metamorphic complex.

≡≡≡ Sedimentary complex.

oo
oo Extrusive igneous complex.

xx Intrusive igneous complex.

xx

the brioverian shale which forms the central part of Jersey¹, the Rozel conglomerate in the North-eastern corner of the same island, and the sandstone which forms the Eastern part of Alderney and the whole of Burhou. These sedimentary rocks are the softest in the islands, and were rarely used in megaliths or for the manufacture of stone tools: the gallery grave of Le Couperon, Jersey, however (see Ch.IV), is made entirely of local Rozel conglomerate.

II.iii. Topography and soils.

Four main topographic zones can be identified in the Channel Islands:

- 1) Plateau, average height of 100 m above present sea-level.
- 2) Valleys, dissecting the plateau and carrying small streams (the main source of fresh water in the islands).
- 3) Coastal plain.
- 4) Coastal marsh.

Most of the marshland has either been drowned by Holocene sea-level rises, or deliberately drained during the post-Medieval period. In Jersey, many of the major valleys have been dammed and flooded to provide water for the island's rapidly expanding population. Fig.II.3 shows the islands at c4500 BC, with topographic zones indicated.

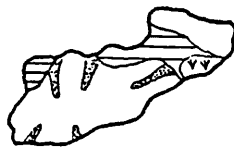
These topographic zones correspond broadly to the distribution of particular soil types. Much of the plateau on the interior of the islands is covered by substantial depths (over 5 m) of fertile loess, the product of aeolian deposition at the end of the last glacial period. The coastal headlands have been more exposed to subsequent wind erosion, and are not covered by loess: the soil of these headlands is extremely thin (often less than 50 cm) and has formed in situ through breakdown of the underlying granitic or gneissic subsoil. The valleys are filled with colluvial deposits. A range

¹ There is also a small outcrop of brioverian shale at Pleinmont, in the South-western corner of Guernsey.

Fig.II.3.

The Channel Islands: topographic zones.

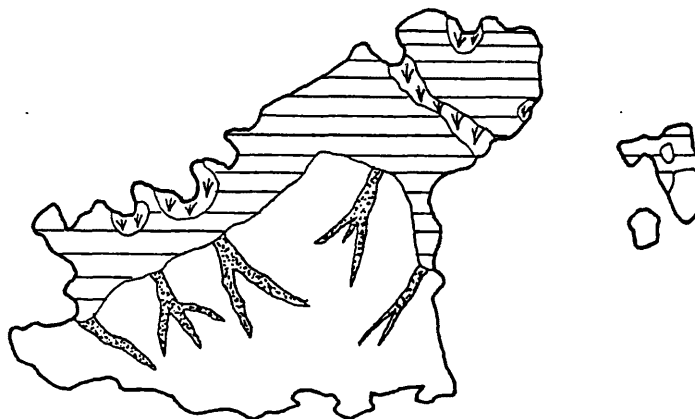
Alderney



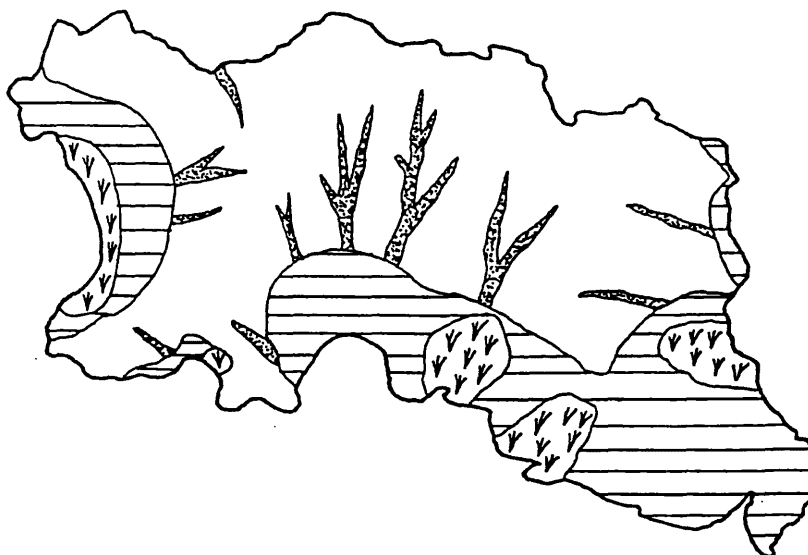
Sark



Guernsey/Herm



Jersey.



Coastlines shown are estimated coastlines for the period 4500-3500 BC.

Key to Fig.II.3.



Coastal plain.



Valley.



Marsh.

(unshaded): Plateau.

of soil-types are found on the coastal plains: loessic and colluvial deposits occur, particularly in the South-eastern part of Jersey, whilst dune sand dominates in the Western part of Jersey and the Northern parts of Guernsey, Alderney and Herm. Dune sand seems on the whole to be relatively recent (not earlier than the late 4th Millennium BC²) and Jones *et al.* (1989) suggest that it was deposited as a result of on-shore sand barrier migration associated with sea-level rises during the late 4th Millennium BC. The hypothetical sand barriers would have separated brackish coastal marshland from the open sea. This marshland was inundated by the sea at the time of the Holocene maximal sea-level. Peat deposits, testifying to the existence of such marshland, have been found beneath marine sand in the bays of St.Ouen, St. Aubin and L'Ouaisné, Jersey, Vazon and Bordeaux, Guernsey, and Longis, Alderney. In the modern context most cultivation takes place on the loessic soils of the interior, whilst the colluvial deposits of the valley floors are used mainly for pasture. During the Neolithic period, the valley floors were probably occupied by wetland deposits, so that cultivation and pasture would have been largely confined to the interior and the coastal plain. The thin soils of the headlands are rarely cultivated today, but there is some evidence (PATTON 1988a,b) for short-term cultivation of these areas during the Early Bronze Age, probably a response to the loss of cultivable land on the coastal plain as a result of rising sea-levels.

² At Les Blanches Banques, Jersey, dune sand was found beneath the stones of the Ossuary (a Chalcolithic tomb), and beneath Chalcolithic occupation horizons. At La Tête des Quennevais, however, the dune sand was clearly stratified above a level containing Early Bronze Age pottery, and at Les Fouaillages, Guernsey, it was stratified above a ritual complex with Early Neolithic and Chalcolithic levels.

II.iv. Vegetational history.

The palynological evidence discussed by Jones et al. (1989) suggests that throughout the 7th-10th Millennia BC (the Boreal & Pre-Boreal periods), the vegetation was dominated by birch woodland, with sedges, willow and birch carr on the valley floors and coastal plain. From the beginning of the Atlantic period (c6600 BC), oak and hazel were the dominant species, with local pockets of elm and birch woodland in the interior and extensive alder fen woodland in coastal wetland areas. The palynological evidence suggests a decline in elm during the Atlantic period (corresponding to the earliest Neolithic occupation of the islands) and it is suggested (JONES et al. 1989) that elm may have been exploited as animal fodder. A more general decline in arboreal pollen throughout the Atlantic and Sub-boreal periods can probably be related to human activity, with clearance both for pastoralism and for cultivation. The vegetational history outlined by Jones et al. is essentially similar to the sequences identified by Elhai (1963) in Normandy and by Morzadec-Kerfourn (1976) in Brittany.

II.v. Food and resources.

Food resources can be grouped into the following categories:

- 1) Wild terrestrial fauna.
- 2) Wild flora.
- 3) Domestic animals.
- 4) Cultivated plants.
- 5) Marine resources.

The availability of wild terrestrial fauna is unclear. Remains of deer were found at Grantez and remains of horse at Grantez and La Hougue Boëte, Jersey³, but it is unlikely that the islands could have sustained large populations of these animals for any length of time. As sea-level rose during the Holocene period, some large mammals (particularly deer) would probably have been

³ These sites are of Middle Neolithic date: see Ch.IV.

51

stranded on the islands, and small local populations could have persisted: these populations, however, would have been seriously depleted by the activities of Mesolithic hunters. Clutton-Brock (1981) considers that there were few populations of wild horses surviving in Northern and Western Europe after the end of the last glaciation, owing to the predominantly forested environment of the early Holocene. Given the vegetational history of the islands outlined by Jones et al. (1989) it seems difficult to conceive of significant wild horse populations in the Channel Islands at the beginning of the Neolithic. There is, however, no clear evidence for the domestication of the horse in Europe prior to the 2nd Millennium BC (CLUTTON-BROCK op cit.), and the significance of horse remains found in Early/Middle Neolithic contexts at La Hougue Boëte and Grantez, and at the Breton sites of Mané-Lud à Locmariaquer and Le Moustoir à Carnac, Morbihan (LE ROUZIC 1911, MINOT 1958), remains uncertain. Birds and their eggs may have been an important source of food. The extensive coastal marshes which existed until the late 4th Millennium BC would have supported large populations of wildfowl which could have been exploited throughout the Mesolithic and Early/Middle Neolithic periods. Gull's eggs can easily be collected on the cliffs around the islands⁴.

Renouf & Urry (1976) list 33 edible plant species indigenous to the Channel Islands, including 5 types of nut, 7 root vegetables, 8 green vegetables, 5 edible stems and 4 species of seaweed. To these must be added numerous edible fungi. It is not possible to establish how many of these species were actually exploited by human communities, since many are difficult to recognise archaeologically. Hazelnuts were certainly exploited: remains were found in an Early Neolithic context at Le Pinacle, Jersey (see Ch.III).

Domestic animals were introduced, at least to Jersey,

⁴ During the German occupation of the islands between 1940 and 1945, the islanders were short of food, and gull's eggs provided an important source of protein.

at the very beginning of the Neolithic. Remains of cattle, sheep and pig were found in the Early Neolithic deposit at Le Pinacle (4500-4800 BC).

Cereal cultivation was also practiced from the beginning of the Neolithic: cereal pollen (genus uncertain) was found in a sample from L'Ouzière, Jersey (JONES et al. 1989), in a pre elm-decline context (i.e. early 5th Millennium BC). Legumes were probably cultivated at an early stage also, though there is no certain evidence for this prior to the Chalcolithic period: macrofossils of broad bean (*Vicia faba*) were found in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age horizons at Le Pinacle, Jersey. Some of the indigenous plant species listed by Renouf & Urry (these include turnip, wild parsnip, radish) may have been cultivated, but this would be almost impossible to identify from the archaeological record. Jones et al. (1989) comment on the occurrence of pollen of hemp or hop⁵ in Early/Middle Neolithic deposits at L'Ouzière, Jersey: this may relate to wild hops growing in coastal fens, but could reflect cultivation of hops for brewing or of hemp for rope-making and/or as a narcotic.

The resources of the sea have always been important to Channel Island communities. The modern fishing economy is based essentially on lobster, crab and spider-crab, which are caught in baited traps. Fish are also abundant, however, particularly conger, plaice, mackerel and pollack, all of which may have been exploited by prehistoric communities. Unfortunately, fish and crustacean remains have rarely been recovered in an archaeological context in the islands. Molluscs, including limpet, mussel, cockle, whelk and winkle can easily be collected around the coasts of the islands. Ormer and oyster are now rare, but this is certainly a feature of recent overexploitation. Seals do not occur regularly in Channel Island waters today, but in

⁵ These species are inseparable on present criteria of identification.

prehistoric times they did occur and were exploited. Evidence for this comes from the reef of Les Minquiers, where bones of Grey Seal were associated with Early/Middle Bronze Age pottery (see Ch.VI). During the Bronze Age, the reef of Les Minquiers was no larger than it is today, and certainly could not have supported a permanent human population, so that the evidence must reflect periodic hunting expeditions, either from Jersey or from the French mainland. During the Early and Middle Neolithic, however, Les Minquiers would have been a much larger island (Fig.II.1), and may have supported a human population.

Apart from food, four other resources would have been important:

- 1) Water.
- 2) Wood.
- 3) Stone.
- 4) Skins and textiles.

Fresh water is available in streams, which run in the major valleys of the islands (see Fig.II.3). There are, additionally, many smaller streams, some of which terminate in coastal waterfalls. The streams rarely dry-up entirely, even in the summer. Sea water could have provided an important source of salt, and may have been used for cooking purposes.

Wood must have been a particularly important resource, for the construction of buildings and boats and as a fuel. The exploitation of wood for these purposes, combined with clearance for cultivation and pasture are likely to have put considerable pressure on available resources, particularly on the smaller islands. Unfortunately, detailed palynological information is available only for Jersey. In Jersey, the palynological evidence (JONES et al. 1989) suggests a progressive decline of woodland throughout the Neolithic period, and further woodland clearance at the beginning of the Bronze Age. From around 1400 BC there is evidence to suggest coppicing of alder in fen and marsh carr: deliberate woodland management perhaps in response to dwindling natural resources.

The availability of stone has been discussed above. Economically, the most important local rocks are found in the intrusive igneous and metamorphic complexes which occur on all of the islands. Flint was an important resource, available only in the form of beach pebbles. Rising sea-levels are likely to have restricted the availability of flint, as the beaches on which the pebbles were collected became more distant from the submerged sources.

Skins, obtained from domestic and hunted animals, and wool⁶ would have been used for clothing and skins may also have been used for tents. A pottery spindle-whorl from a Middle Neolithic context at Grantez, Jersey, suggests the use of spun fabric (probably wool) by this stage.

II.vi. Factors affecting navigation.

There can be no doubt that navigation was an important aspect of life in the Channel Islands throughout the Neolithic period. The arrival of cultivated cereals and domesticated animals in the Channel Islands⁷ must reflect sea-borne contact with the French mainland, and the evidence for stone axe exchange (see Appendix ii) suggests that inter-island and island/mainland contact was maintained on a regular basis throughout the Neolithic.

Navigation is affected by four main factors:

- 1) Level of maritime technology and navigational skill.
- 2) Distance between points.
- 3) Tides and currents.
- 4) The distribution of safe landing places.

⁶ There is still much debate concerning the origins of wool use. Sherratt (1983,1987) argues that wool, along with other "secondary products", was first used at around 3000 BC, but this view has been criticised by Chapman (1983).

⁷ It is conceivable that some elements of the "Neolithic package" may have arrived in Jersey at a time when the island was accessible from the mainland at particularly low tides. The arrival of such elements in Guernsey and Alderney, however, must reflect sea-borne contact.

The level of maritime technology is an unknown quantity, since no Neolithic boats are known, either from the Channel Islands or from North-western France. The most likely types of vessel are skin boats⁸, canoes or rafts, with or without outriggers. There is no clear evidence for the use of sails at this early stage (JOHNSTONE 1980), and oars are probably the most likely form of propulsion.

Table II.2 shows the shortest distances between islands and the French mainland⁹. The most interesting point to be drawn from this is the relative isolation of Guernsey, Sark and Herm from the French mainland: the possible significance of this has been alluded to in Ch.I. and will be further discussed in subsequent chapters.

The tides and currents around the Channel Islands are notorious among modern yachtsmen, and whilst changes in sea-level will undoubtedly have caused local tidal modifications, the basic pattern is unlikely to have changed significantly since the separation of Jersey from the mainland in the early 6th Millennium BC. The main tidal flow, which runs alternately from North to South and from South to North according to the state of the tide, can in places reach a speed of 7 knots. In sailing North or South (e.g. from Jersey to Guernsey or from Guernsey to Alderney), it is possible, with careful timing, to take advantage of this. Sailing East or West (e.g. from Guernsey to the Cotentin) poses greater problems, since it involves crossing the tidal stream. In reality, a pilot with a small unmotorised craft would not attempt to sail due East from

⁸ Some of the carvings from the passage grave of Mané-Lud à Locmariaquer, Morbihan (SHEE-TWOHIG 1981), are generally considered to represent boats. Johnstone (1980) states that these representations have "the turned-down ends more characteristic of skin boats, with the effect of skin-shrinking on their shapes". None of these carvings have any indication of sails.

⁹ The offshore islands of Burhou, Jethou and Brecquou have been excluded from the table: Burhou can be considered together with Alderney, Jethou with Herm and Brecquou with Sark.

Table II.2: Minimum distances by sea (km):

	Jsy	Gsy	Aly	Srk	Her	Ecr	Min	Chy	Fra
Jersey		28	50	19	29	7	18	34	24
Guernsey	28		30	11	4	45	62	80	48
Alderney	50	30		30	30	50	08	96	15
Sark	19	11	30		5	34	54	76	36
Herm	29	4	30	5		44	64	96	42
Les Ecréhous	7	45	50	34	44		36	48	12
Les Minquiers	18	62	80	54	64	36		20	36
Chaussey	34	80	96	76	96	48	20		15
France	24	48	15	36	42	12	36	15	

Guernsey to Cap Flammanville (the closest point on the Cotentin coast) but would sail either South-east towards Carteret or North-east towards Jobourg, taking advantage of the tidal stream. Because of the change in direction of the tidal stream with each tide, however, accurate navigation would only be possible if a journey could be completed within a single tide (i.e. within 6 hours). The distance which could be covered with safety would of course depend upon the speed of the vessel. An experimental skin boat modelled on Bronze Age rock-carvings from Scandinavia, and propelled by 6 oarsmen (JOHNSTONE 1980:pl12) was found to have an average speed of 3 knots. Assuming a speed of 3 knots, the maximum distance which could be covered in a 6 hour period is 18 nautical miles (32 km). The tidal situation is thus likely to have accentuated the isolation of Guernsey, Herm and Sark from the French mainland, since a direct voyage would probably not be possible within a 6 hour period¹⁰. Voyages between Jersey and the Cotentin, between Jersey and Guernsey, and between Guernsey and Alderney would, however be possible.

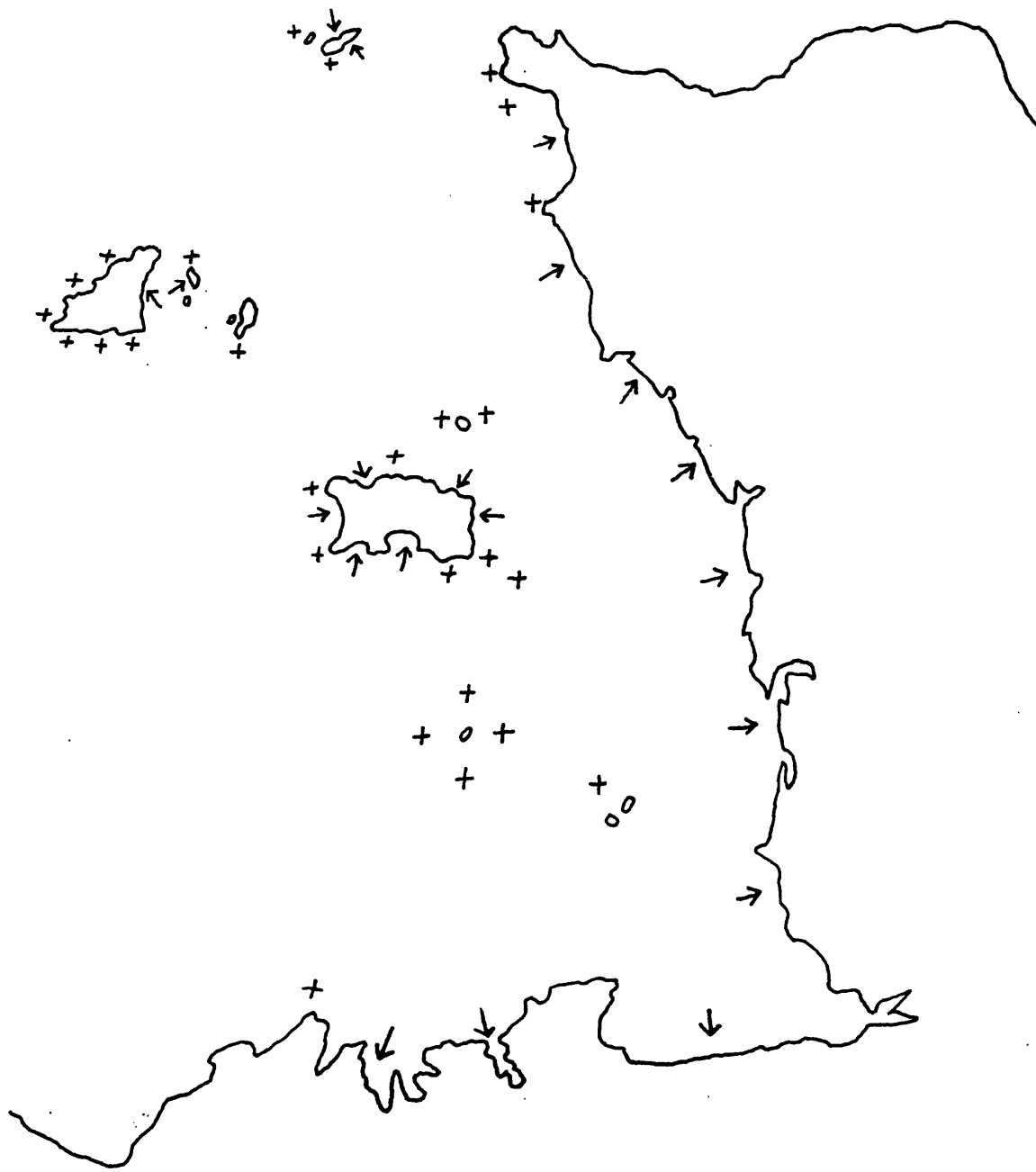
Fig.II.4 shows the distribution of safe landing places in the Channel Islands and adjacent coast of France. The Western coast of the Cotentin is dominated by long sandy beaches (cf ELHAI 1963), and boats could have been beached at virtually any point along its length. The coasts of the islands themselves are potentially more hazardous, and the South-eastern and Northern coasts of Jersey and the Southern coasts of Guernsey and Alderney are likely to have posed particular problems. Boats sailing from Jersey to the Cotentin would probably have set out from St.Catharine's Bay on the North-east coast of the island, whilst boats sailing between Jersey and Guernsey are likely to have set out from Plémont or Grève de Lecq on the North-west coast of Jersey, or from the Eastern coast of Guernsey.

10

Such a voyage, within a 6 hour period, would require an average speed of 5 knots, which seems unlikely.

Fig.II.4.

The Channel Islands: safe landing places.



→ Safe landing place.

+ Dangerous rocks.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY NEOLITHIC.

The Early Neolithic covers a period of 500-600 years from c4800 to c4250 BC, during which time farming practices (crop cultivation and animal husbandry) became firmly established in the Channel Islands, pottery and polished stone tools appeared and the earliest megaliths were constructed. In order to contextualise these developments, the preceding Mesolithic period needs to be considered: this is done in section III.i, which is followed by a consideration of the development of sedentary farming communities in the islands (III.ii), and by discussions of economy & settlement (III.iii), stone axe exchange (III.iv) and megalithic ritual (III.v) during the Early Neolithic. The development of inter-island and island/mainland relationships is discussed in section III.vi, and the chapter concludes with a discussion of changing social relations during the Neolithic.

III.i. The Mesolithic of the Channel Islands.

The evidence for the Channel Island Mesolithic is at best ambiguous, consisting entirely of surface flint scatters (KENDRICK 1928, HAWKES 1937). Certainly it is clear that the three major islands were occupied, or at least visited, during part of the Mesolithic period, but it is by no means certain whether the islands were occupied by permanent communities of gatherer-hunter-fishers at the time of the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition. The economy of Channel Island Mesolithic communities is completely unknown, though it is likely to have depended heavily on coastal resources. This may explain the relative scarcity of Mesolithic material on the islands, since if settlements were located on or near the coast, they are likely to have been destroyed by subsequent rises in sea-level (cf HIBBS 1983). The identification of Mesolithic sites by Kendrick & Hawkes is based on a few isolated microliths, and no attempt has

previously been made to study the assemblages in detail.

The Channel Island flint assemblages are considered in Appendix i to this thesis. Four groups of assemblages are identified on the basis of cluster analysis of metrical data, and it is suggested (because of the occurrence of particular tool types) that assemblages in two of these groups (A and B) are of Mesolithic date. Assemblages in both groups are characterised by the presence of fine narrow blades (Fig.III.1g-j), which are rare in Channel Island Neolithic contexts.

Group A comprises three sites: Le Pinnacle I and Le Col de la Rocque, Jersey and Creve Coeur, Guernsey. The assemblage from Le Col de la Rocque includes a tanged point (Fig.III.1a), microdenticulates (Fig.III.1b) and blade-cores of type C1 (see Appendix i), and it seems reasonable to follow Kendrick (1928) and Hawkes (1937) in assigning this assemblage to the Mesolithic. The assemblage from Le Pinnacle I is from a sealed Early Neolithic context, and the fact that this assemblage is grouped together with Col de la Rocque in the cluster analysis could be taken to suggest a degree of continuity between the Mesolithic and the Early Neolithic in terms of flint-working styles. The Pinnacle I assemblage, however, includes no microliths of any form, and the similarity with the Col de la Rocque assemblage suggested by the cluster analysis may be an artefact of collection bias (see Appendix i). The assemblage from Le Catel de Rozel, Jersey, is in some respects similar to that from Col de la Rocque, though the assemblages are not grouped together in the cluster analysis: microdenticulates are present (Fig.III.1c-d), as are type C1 cores (Fig.III.1e) and narrow blades.

Group B comprises only two assemblages, from L'Emauve and Les Porciaux/Mannez, both in Alderney. Both of these assemblages include blunted-backed blades (Fig.III.2a-c). The assemblage from L'Emauve also includes two trapezes (Fig.III.2g-h) and two shouldered flakes with dorsal retouch at the distal end (Fig.III.2k-l). The assemblage from the South side of Le Squez, Jersey, is not grouped

with the Alderney sites in the cluster analysis, but is similar in other respects: blunted-backed blades (Fig.III.2d-f) and narrow blades are present in quantity. Microburins are also present in the Le Squez assemblage. The relationship between the assemblages of group B and the Le Squez assemblage is discussed in Appendix i, and it is argued that the three assemblages (L'Emauve, Les Pourciaux/Mannez, Le Squez South) can be considered together. Blunted-backed blades occur in small numbers in several other assemblages (see Appendix i). Trapezes are rarer: the only known examples from the islands are those from L'Emauve (see above), and two from Grosnez Hurel, Jersey (Fig.III.2i-j). The site of Grosnez Hurel is an interesting one, though unfortunately the flint assemblage is not sufficiently large for inclusion in metrical or statistical analyses: the assemblage includes (in addition to the two trapezes) two type C1 cores and two notched flakes¹ (Fig.III.2m-n).

Virtually all of the known Mesolithic sites in Western Normandy date to the "Middle Stage"² (AUDOUARD 1986, FOSSE et al. 1986), and the assemblages from L'Emauve, Les Pourciaux/Mannez and Le Squez South are in certain respects similar to the Cotentin assemblages. The predominance of blunted-backed blades in the three Channel Island assemblages and the presence of microburins in the Le Squez assemblage are strongly suggestive of a link with the Norman Middle Stage Mesolithic. The presence of trapezes in the assemblages from L'Emauve and Grosnez Hurel is perhaps more surprising, since trapezes are completely unknown in Mesolithic assemblages from the Cotentin (FOSSE et al. 1986, CHANCEREL pers.comm). Trapezes are more characteristic of the Breton Mesolithic (ROZOY 1978, KAYSER 1984): they are often considered as a type-fossil of the Southern Breton Final Mesolithic (Téviezien facies), although they do also occur in Breton Middle

¹ i.e. éclats à coche (cf G.E.E.M. 1975).

² i.e. c7000-9000 BC.

Fig.III.1. Flints from Le Col de la Rocque (a-b,f-j) and Le Catel de Rozel (c-e).

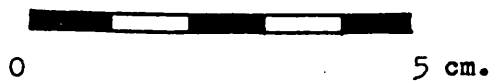
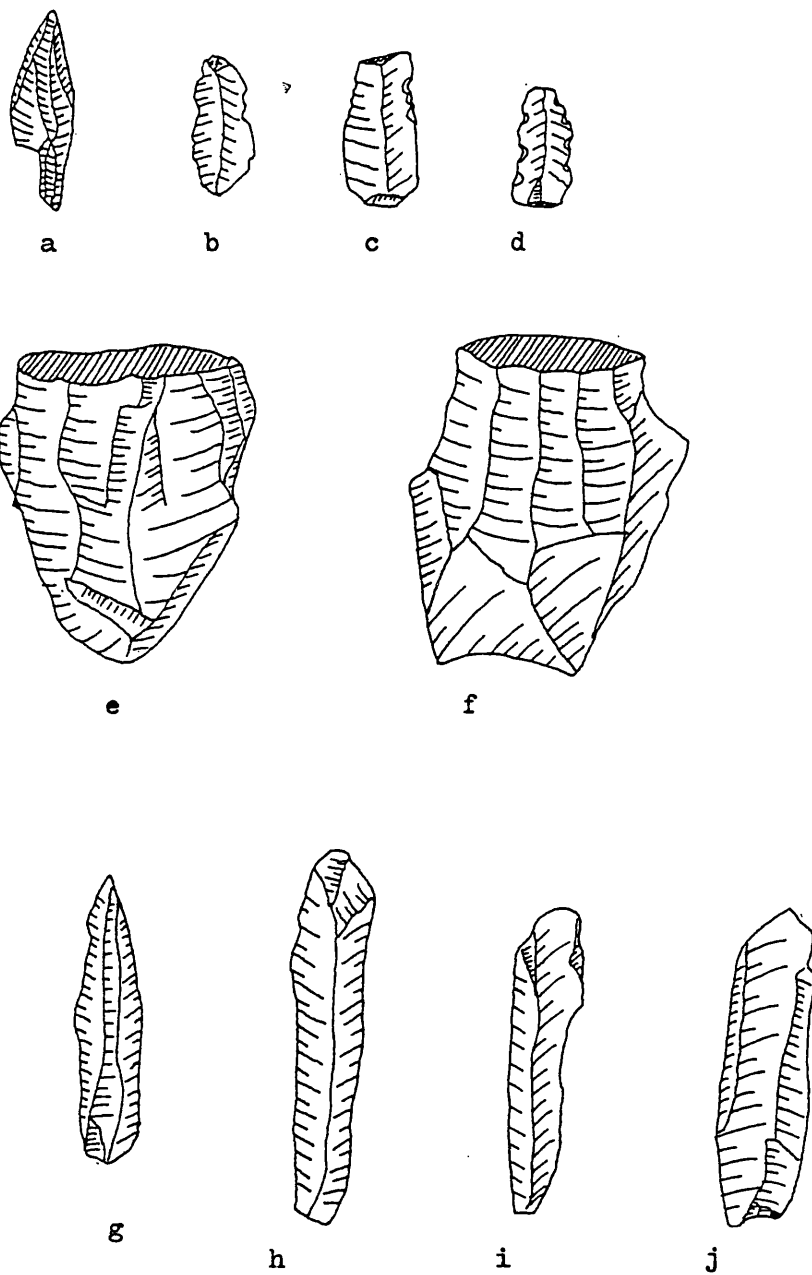
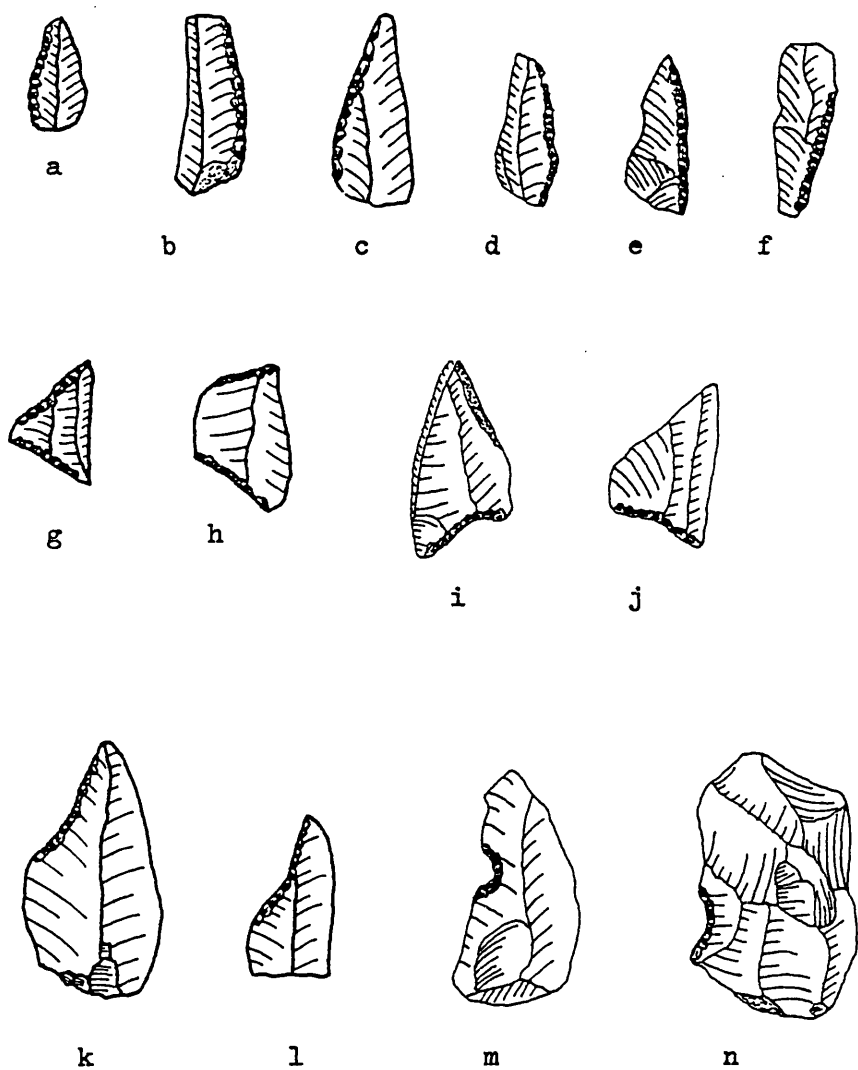


Fig.III.2. Flints from Channel Island sites.



Les Pourciaux/Mannez (a-b), L'Emauve (c,g-h,k-l), Le Squez South (d-f), Grosnez Hurel (m-n).

stage assemblages, as at Kerjouannou à Arzon, Morbihan (ROZOV 1978). retouched flakes of the type illustrated on Fig.III.2k-1 are also a feature of the Kerjouannou assemblage (ROZOV op cit.). Certainly it seems more reasonable to assign the group B assemblages to the Middle stage rather than to the Final Mesolithic. Blunted-backed blades (which are an important element of the three main Channel Island assemblages), and microburins (which are present at Le Squez), are completely absent from Téviezien assemblages. One problem, however, is that we simply do not know what a Cotentin Final Mesolithic assemblage looks like.

The significance of the group A assemblages is still more problematic. Microdenticulates, which are present in the assemblages from Le Col de la Rocque and Le Catel de Rozel, do not feature to any significant extent in Breton or Norman Mesolithic assemblages, and tanged points are unknown in Armorica. because of this difficulty in relating these assemblages to the mainland material, it is not possible at this stage to assign them to a particular phase within the Mesolithic sequence.

III.ii. The earliest Neolithic of the Channel Islands.

The earliest Neolithic occupation of the islands dates to around 4800 BC. At Le Pinnacle, Jersey (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949), one of the earliest known sites, there is unambiguous evidence for stock-raising (cattle, sheep & pig), and the use of pottery and polished stone tools, whilst pollen samples from St.Ouen's Bay (JONES et al. 1989) attest to cereal cultivation at around the same date. Although in the first quarter of the 5th Millennium BC it may still have been possible to walk from the Cotentin to Jersey at low tide (KINNES 1986), there can be no doubt that Guernsey was an island long before the beginning of the Neolithic, and that domestic animals and cereals can only have arrived there by boat. The evidence from the sites of Le Pinnacle, Jersey (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949), and Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (KINNES 1982 & forthcoming, KINNES & GRANT 1983) suggests that the

"Neolithic package" arrived in both islands at more or less the same time. Jersey may have served as a "stepping-stone island" (cf MacARTHUR & WILSON 1967) between the mainland and Guernsey: this requires a maximum sea journey of only 28 km (as opposed to the 28 km direct journey between Guernsey and the Cotentin), and does not involve sailing out of sight of land at any stage. There is no clear evidence for Early Neolithic occupation in Alderney or Sark, but sherds of Cerny style pottery (see Appendix iii) have been found on Les Ecréhous and Les Minquiers, showing that these islets were occupied or visited during the Early Neolithic (Les Ecréhous is 7 km from Jersey, Les Minquiers 18 km).

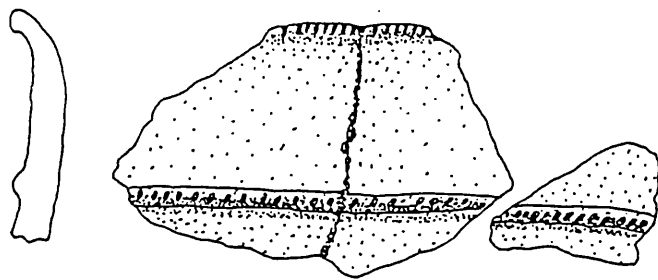
Thomas (1988) has argued that the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition marks a conceptual shift in archaeological approaches as well as an actual transition in prehistory: Palaeolithic and Mesolithic societies tend to be understood in ecological/subsistence terms, whereas Neolithic societies are understood in social terms. The processes associated with the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition itself have also tended to be understood in ecological terms (cf ZVELEBIL & ROWLEY-CONWY 1984, ZVELEBIL 1986), but discussion of the social dimensions of this transition has been opened up by Alexander (1980), Bender (1978), Dennell (1984) and Thomas (1988).

In discussing the earliest Neolithic of the British Isles, Thomas (1988) has questioned Case's (1969) assumption that colonisation was the main process involved. He notes that deep-sea fishing appears to have been a significant element in the economy of British coastal Mesolithic communities: this would, of course, require a considerable degree of seamanship, and may well have brought British and continental communities into contact with one another. Thomas argues, therefore, that Mesolithic fishermen from the British Isles may have learned about pottery and polished stone technology through such contact, and acquired domestic animals and grain by exchange with continental communities. It is difficult to assess the relative roles of Neolithic

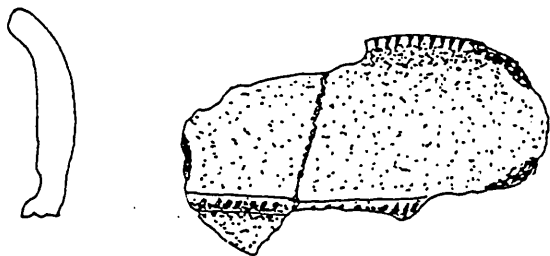
colonists and indigenous Mesolithic communities in the Neolithisation of the Channel Islands, since we know so little about the Mesolithic of the islands. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion, however, that colonists were involved in the process at some stage. The Neolithic does seem to have arrived in the islands as a package, and it seems to represent a more or less direct transposition of Northern French Neolithic culture³ onto the islands (see, for example, the degree of similarity between mainland and insular ceramic sequences: Appendix iii). Subsequently, there is evidence for a degree of divergence between the Early Neolithic sequences of the islands and the mainland, and this is a theme to which we will return later in the chapter.

The earliest pottery from the Channel Islands (cf Fig.III.3, III.4), is of the Cerny style, known from Normandy and the Paris Basin (see Appendix iii). Radiocarbon dates from material associated with Cerny pottery in Northern France (CONSTANTIN 1985) range from 3950 bc to 2790 bc (4800-3600 BC), with the majority clustering between 3740 bc and 3580 bc (4580-4360 BC). The Cerny complex can be seen as the final "outpost" of a long process of expansion, which has its origins in the Linearbandkeramik cultures of Central Europe (CONSTANTIN 1985). The Channel Islands have been considered (CONSTANTIN op cit., KINNES 1986), as the most Westerly outpost of the Cerny complex, but this has recently been called into question. Recent excavations at La Table des Marchands à Locmariaquer, Morbihan, revealed a pre-megalithic horizon with pottery which L'Helgouach (pers.comm) has compared with the assemblage from Les Fouaillages. Cerny elements have also been noted in assemblages from Le Lizo, Er Lannic, Le Castellic, Mané-Gragueux, Kerlescan and Kercado, all in the département

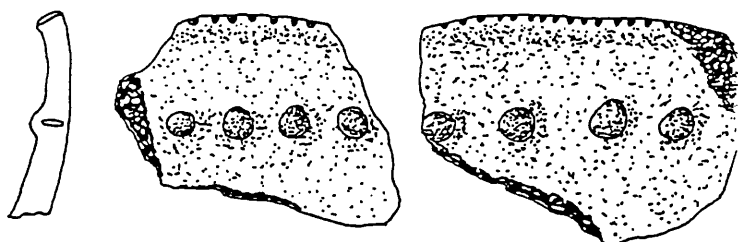
³ In this respect, the Channel Island evidence contrasts with the British evidence discussed by Thomas (1988): the Early Neolithic sequence in Britain cannot be seen as a direct transposition of continental culture, lending support to Thomas' arguments.



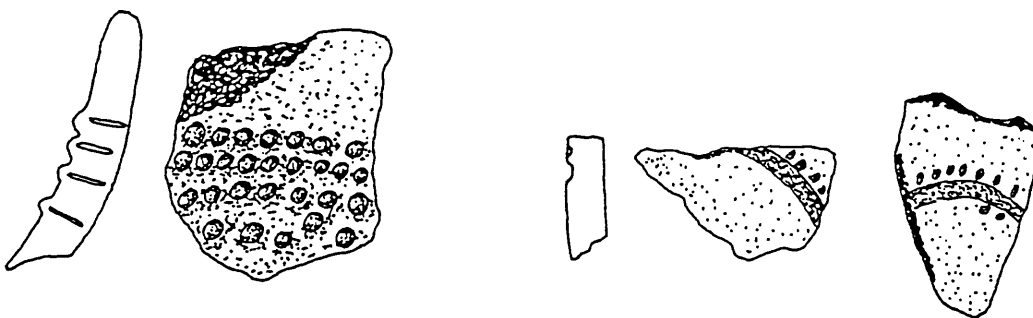
a



b

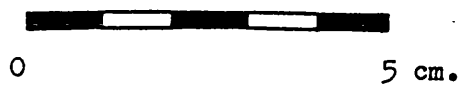


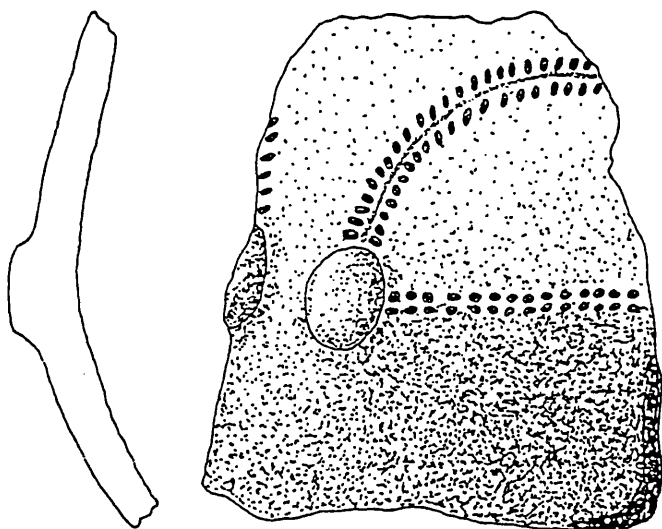
c



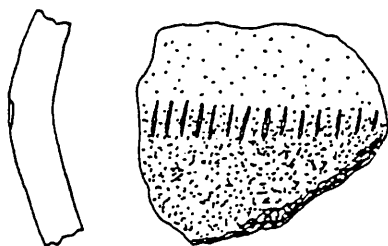
d

e

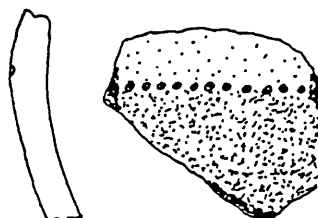




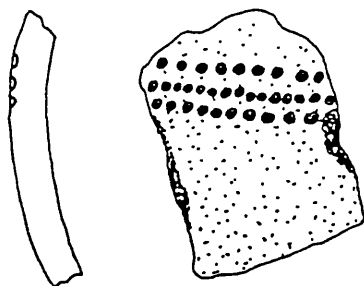
a



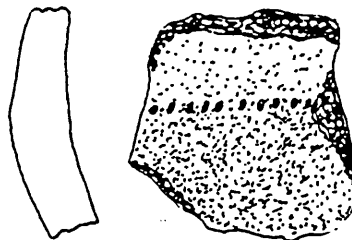
b



c



d



e



of Morbihan (see Appendix iii). The post-Rubané complex as a whole (the sequence from late Bandkeramik to Cerny), provides evidence for a moving frontier (cf ALEXANDER 1980) between Mesolithic and Neolithic societies, and the Cerny complex represents the final phase of the post-Rubané expansion. In contrast, the earliest Neolithic of Northern and western Brittany (the départements of Côtes-du-Nord and Finistère) is characterised by undecorated pottery styles (Carn), and by early passage graves (GIOT et al. 1979), and is completely unlike that of Normandy or the Paris Basin. It would be difficult to derive the earliest Neolithic of Northern and Western Brittany directly from the post-Rubané complex, and it can perhaps be seen as representing an indigenous adaptation to or adoption of the "Neolithic package": a development which finds parallels in the Ertebolle culture of Southern Scandinavia (TROELS-SMITH 1967). The Channel Islands thus lie at the junction of two cultural traditions, the post-Rubané complex to the East and the Carn complex to the West, and the significance of this will be further considered in section III.vi.

Ethnographic examples (cf ALEXANDER 1980) suggest that we should expect to see evidence for a degree of social interaction across a moving frontier. Dennell (1984) suggests that colonisation is likely to have been undertaken primarily by young men, and that they are likely to have intermarried with indigenous women. He suggests that:

"This would...have allowed sub-adult and young males of farming communities a more rapid route to economic autonomy than had they obtained mates solely through endogamous means..."

This scenario might have important social implications. Meillassoux (1960, 1972) argues that power in tribal societies is frequently based on control of "the means of reproduction" (i.e. elders' control of young men's access to potential wives), and marriage with indigenous women might have provided young men with a means of subverting

the power structures within their own community. In any case, the movement of younger men with their wives and families away from the parent settlement would be likely to weaken inter-generational bonds and obligations. Interaction between Mesolithic and Neolithic communities is likely to have involved exchange of artefacts and information, and it may be possible to identify evidence for this in the archaeological record. Shoe-last adzes found in the Channel Islands may be of particular interest in this context. Shoe-last adzes form an important element of Central European Linearbandkeramik assemblages, and they occur also in the Rubané recent of the Paris Basin (BAILLOUD 1964). They have not been identified in stratified assemblages of the Northern French post-Rubané sequence (CONSTANTIN 1985), although Bender (1968) identifies several examples from contexts that lie to the West of the Rubané province. Radiocarbon dates from material associated with Rubané recent assemblages are consistently earlier than those associated with Cerny material⁴, and the distribution of these assemblages does not extend West of the Seine valley (CONSTANTIN op cit.). Five shoe-last adzes (Fig.III.5/III.6) are known from the Channel Islands (Appendix ii)⁵, and these can perhaps be seen as evidence for interaction between Neolithic communities in the Paris Basin and Mesolithic communities on their Western periphery. With the exception of one example from Jersey (PATTON 1987d), the shoe-last adzes from the islands are all of local rock (Appendix ii), so that it would be necessary to think in terms of Mesolithic communities copying Neolithic technology, rather than simple exchange of objects between communities. An alternative possibility is that shoe-last adzes from the Channel

⁴ Dates associated with Rubané recent assemblages in the Paris Basin (CONSTANTIN 1985) range from 4630 bc to 3410 bc (5480-4240 BC), with the majority clustering between 4250 bc and 3850 bc (5220-4720 BC).

⁵ There are also several unpublished examples from Brittany (PATTON forthcoming).

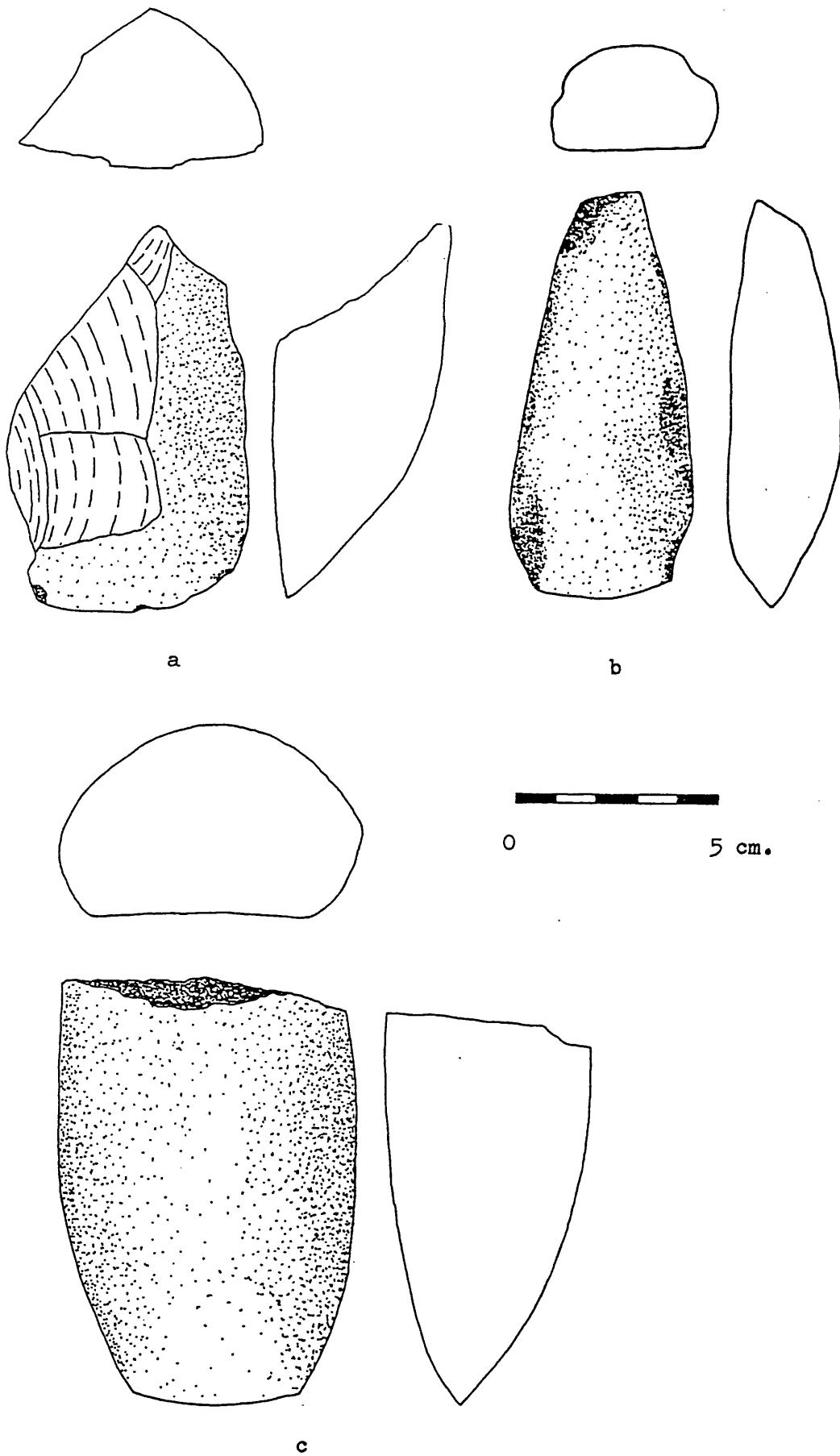
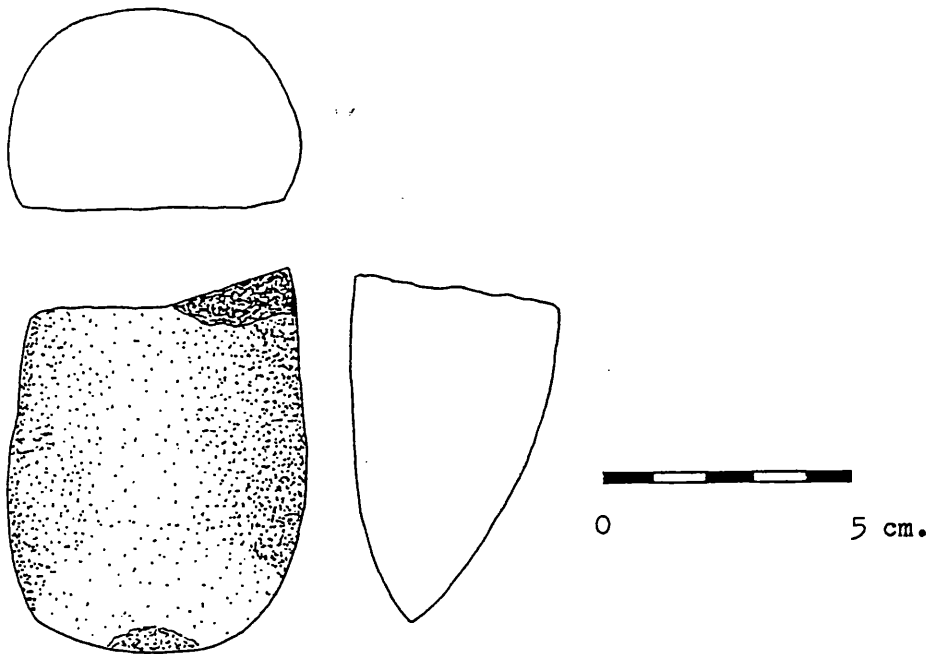
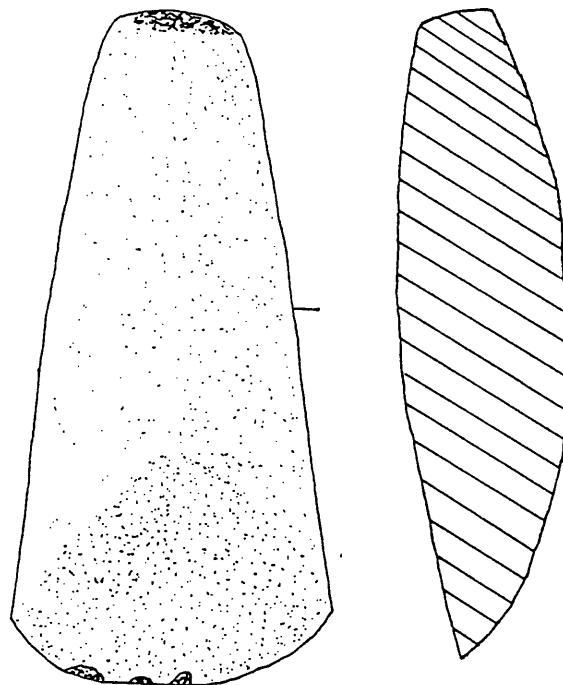
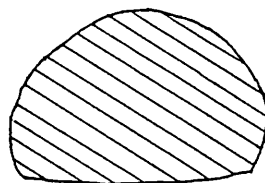


Fig.III.6. Shoe-last adzes from Les Ouzouets (Gue) and Jersey.

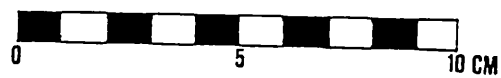


a



b

(after PATTON 1987d).



Islands and Armorica are associated with the post-Rubané sequence. This would conflict with the Paris Basin evidence, but it must be said that the only Armorican shoe-last adze with any stratigraphic context (from Le Pinnacle) was associated with Cerny pottery.

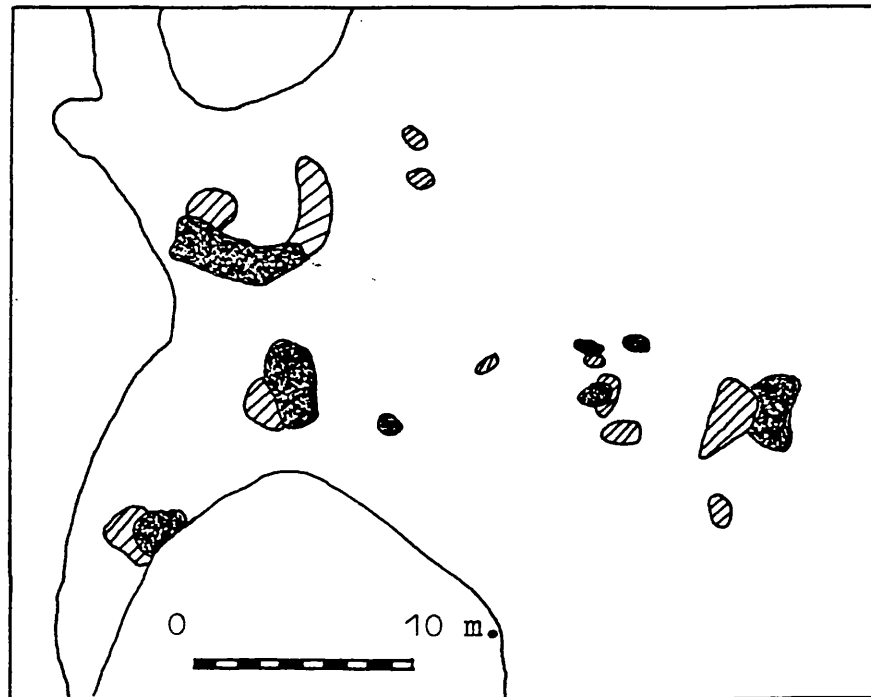
III.iii. Economy and settlement in the Early Neolithic of the Channel Islands.

The clearest evidence for the domestic economy of Early neolithic communities in the islands comes from the site of Le Pinnacle (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949, FINLAISON & PATTON eds forthcoming), where "middens" of animal bone were associated with hearths (Fig.III.7). The faunal assemblage from the Early Neolithic level was studied by Dr J.W. Jackson (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949: pp45-46), who identified remains of cattle, sheep and pig. There were also a few bone fragments from a small bird (possibly sandpiper) but no evidence for deer or other wild game. No statistical analysis was attempted: Godfray & Burdo claimed that most of the pieces were too fragmentary for precise measurements and scientific identification. The assemblage is currently being re-examined (BROWNE in FINLAISON & PATTON eds forthcoming) and a definitive statement must await the completion of this study.

Shells of marine molluscs were also found (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949: p47), the dominant species being limpet (Patella vulgata): other species represented were winkle (Trochus lineatus and T. cinerarius), whelk (Purpura lapillus) and ormer (Haliotis tuberculata). A clay fragment was found with the impression of a scallop shell.

The worked stone assemblage from the site includes three saddle querns and four flat stones which Godfray & Burdo considered to be "baking stones" or pastry boards. One of these "baking stones" showed evidence for fire damage, and had "a good fragment of prehistoric bread or cake adhering to it" (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949: pp79-80). This "bread" was a deposit of "dark brown substance", around 2 cm thick, and microscopic analysis revealed

Fig.III.7. The Early Neolithic site of Le Pinacle.

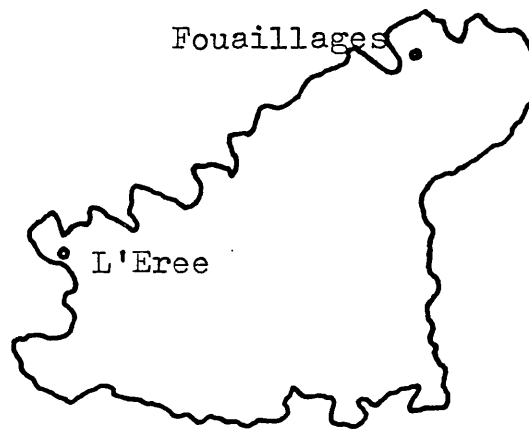


● Hearth.

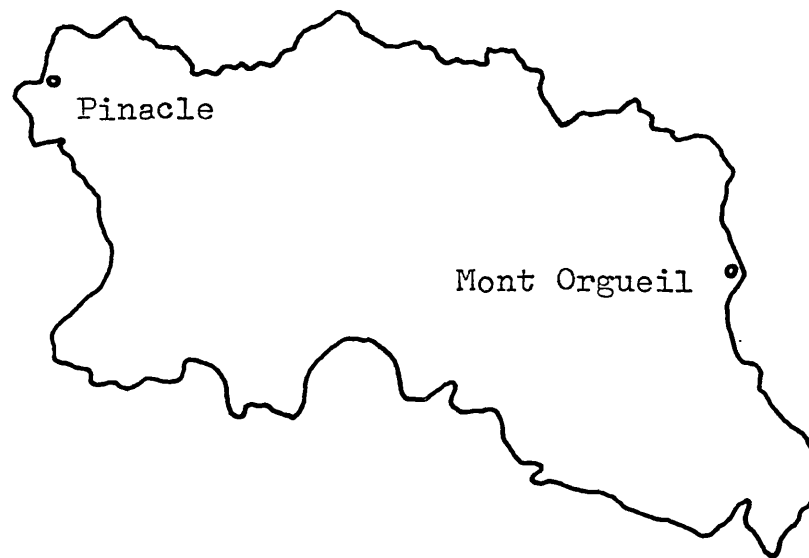
▨ Midden.

Fig.III.8. Early Neolithic sites in the Channel Islands.

Guernsey.



Jersey.



starch grains of wheat or barley. Shells of hazelnut were also found in the Early Neolithic level at Le Pinacle. The evidence suggests a mixed economy, with cereal cultivation, domestic animals and the exploitation of natural resources (shellfish and hazelnuts). The relative importance of these different aspects of the economy cannot be assessed on the basis of the present evidence, which in any case is probably incomplete: the absence of fish remains, for example, may well be a factor of retrieval methods. Apart from Le Pinacle, evidence for subsistence is negligible, though cereal pollen was found in a core sample from L'Ouzière, Jersey (JONES et al. 1989), in a pre-elm decline context (i.e. early 5th Millennium BC).

Settlement evidence is hardly better. Since only four Early Neolithic sites are known in the Channel Islands (Le Pinacle and Le Mont Orgueil, Jersey and Les Fouaillages and L'Erée, Guernsey), it is difficult to say anything meaningful about settlement patterns. All of the known sites are situated on the coast (Fig.III.8), which is perhaps unsurprising. Of the four sites, one (Les Fouaillages) is ceremonial in character, and another (Le Pinacle) is a specialised site, probably a production centre for stone axes (section III.iv): the other two sites may have been settlements. Both Le Mont Orgueil and L'Erée are situated on promontories overlooking the sea, and are conveniently located for the exploitation of both terrestrial and marine resources: both overlook sheltered bays where boats could have been beached. Assuming that the Neolithisation of the islands did involve colonists from the French mainland, it seems likely that the coastal zone would have been occupied first (cf RENOUF & URRY 1976): what evidence there is suggests that this was indeed the case, and it follows that much important evidence may now be below the sea.

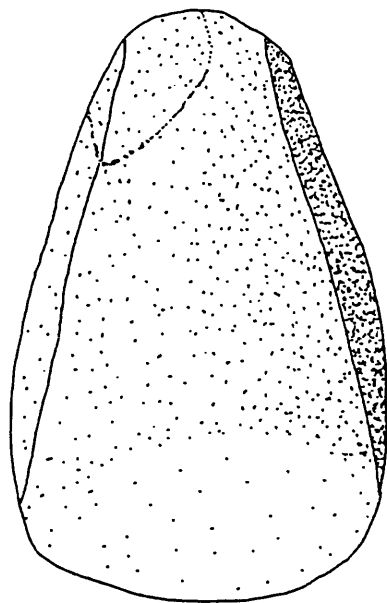
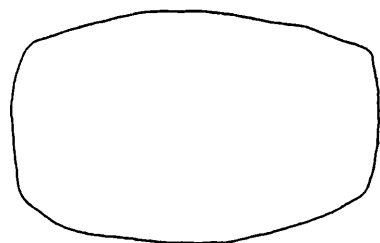
III.iv. The production and exchange of stone axes.

Of the four sites shown on Fig.III.8 one, Le Pinacle, offers interesting evidence relating to the production and exchange of stone axes. Axe exchange is an important feature of the European Neolithic, and there are well known "factories" in Brittany and in the British Isles (CLOUGH & CUMMINS eds 1979). Renouf & Urry (1976, 1986) have argued that the site of Le Pinacle functioned as an axe production centre at the beginning of the Neolithic, and this suggestion merits detailed consideration.

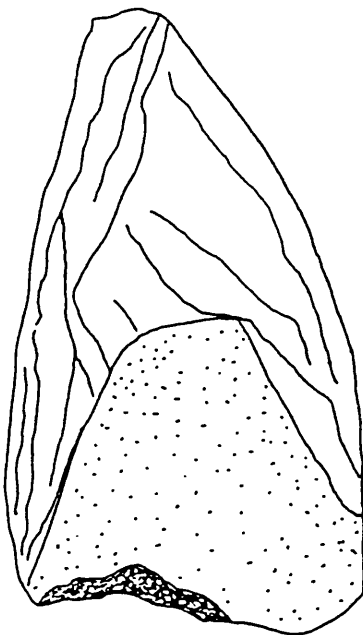
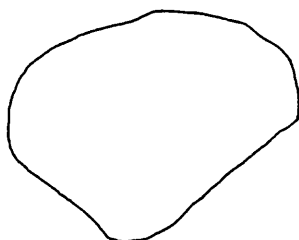
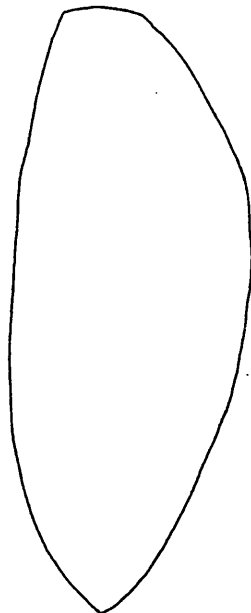
The site is on a narrow saddle of land at the base of a massive natural stack of granite. An important sill of dolerite runs immediately below the stack, and another runs parallel to it at a slightly higher level, outcropping on the slopes to the South of the site: Mourant (pers.comm) considers that this higher sill was possibly quarried in prehistoric times. Excavations at Le Pinacle revealed a complex sequence of deposits ranging in date from Early Neolithic to Gallo-Roman (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949, 1950; FINLAISON & PATTON eds forthcoming). In the Early Neolithic level, a number of hearths were discovered: these were associated with animal bone (section III.iii), large quantities of Cerny style pottery (Appendix iii) and an important assemblage of worked stone. The worked stone assemblage includes a shoe-last adze, which has already been mentioned (Fig.III.5a) and three polished axes. There are also three unfinished axes (Fig.III.9), all of dolerite similar to that which outcrops in the immediate vicinity of the site. Two of the three complete axes from the Early Neolithic level have been lost: the surviving one is of dolerite, and Godfray & Burdo (1949) identified the other two as being of dolerite and fibrolite respectively.

The worked stone assemblage from the Early Neolithic horizon at Le Pinacle also includes a unique collection of picks and hammers, all of which are of dolerite. These are curved implements with one end blunted as a hammer and the other sharpened as a pick

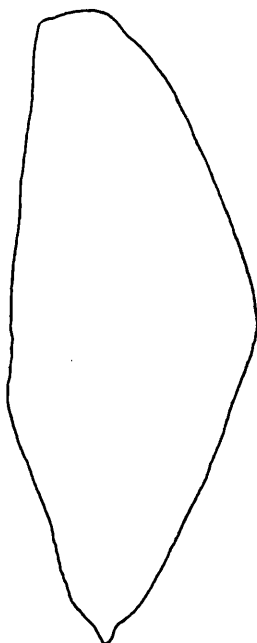
Fig.III.9. Unfinished axes from Le Pinacle.

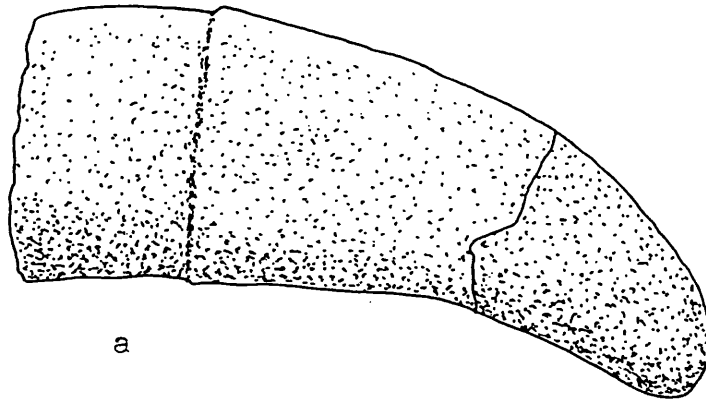
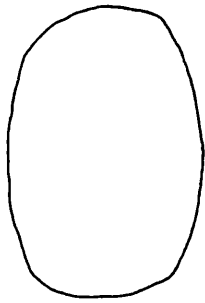


a

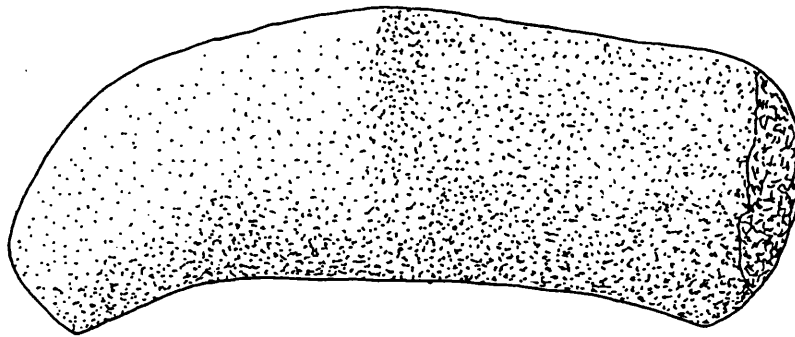
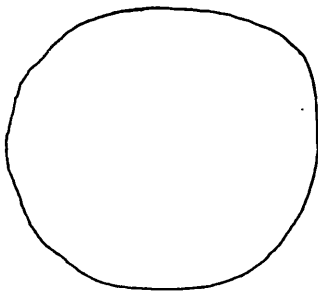


b

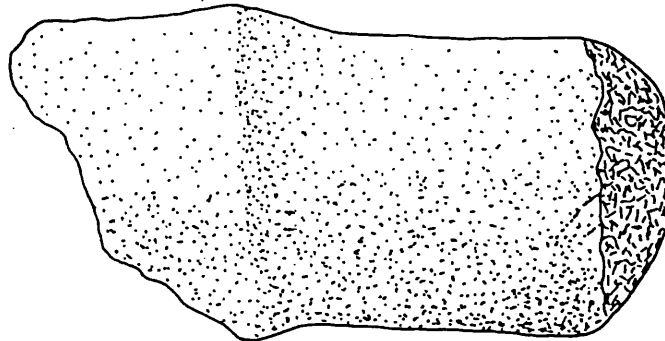
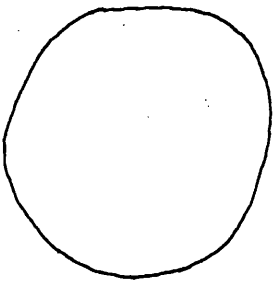




a

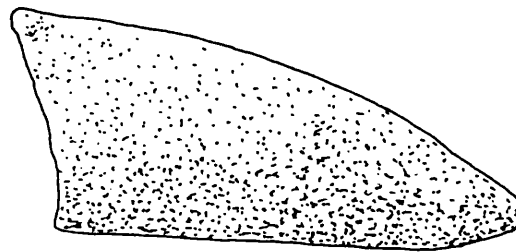
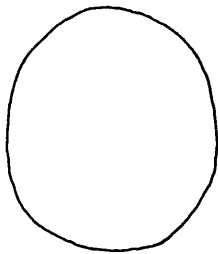


b

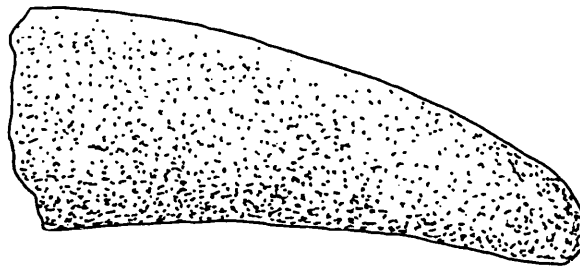
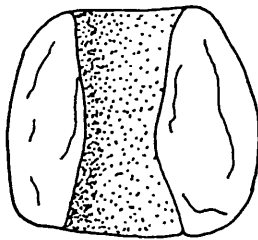


c

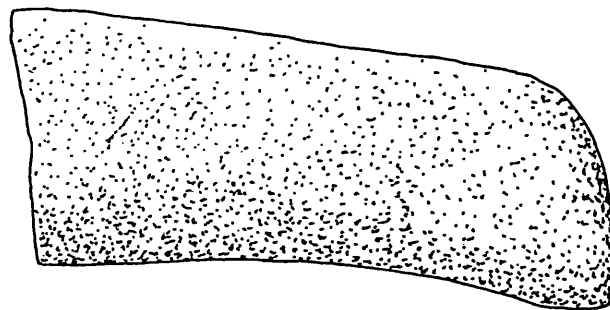
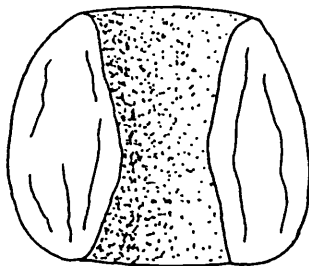




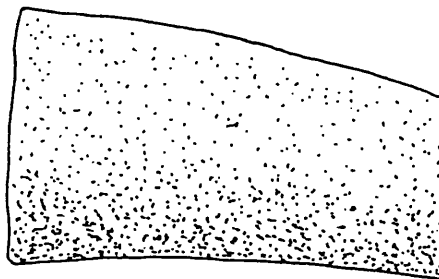
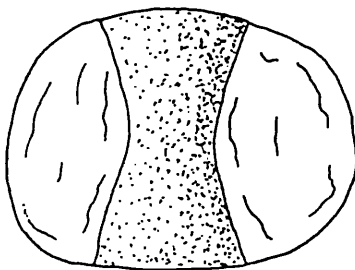
a



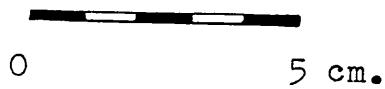
b

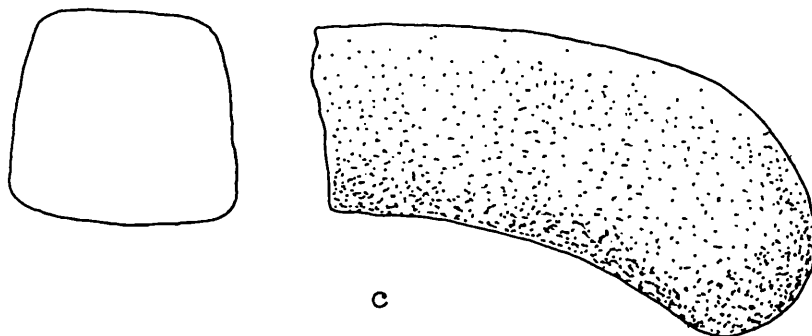
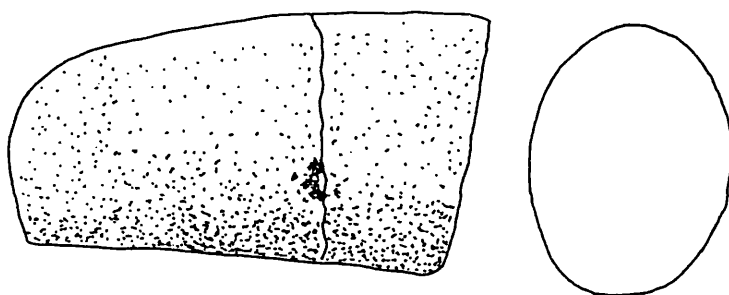
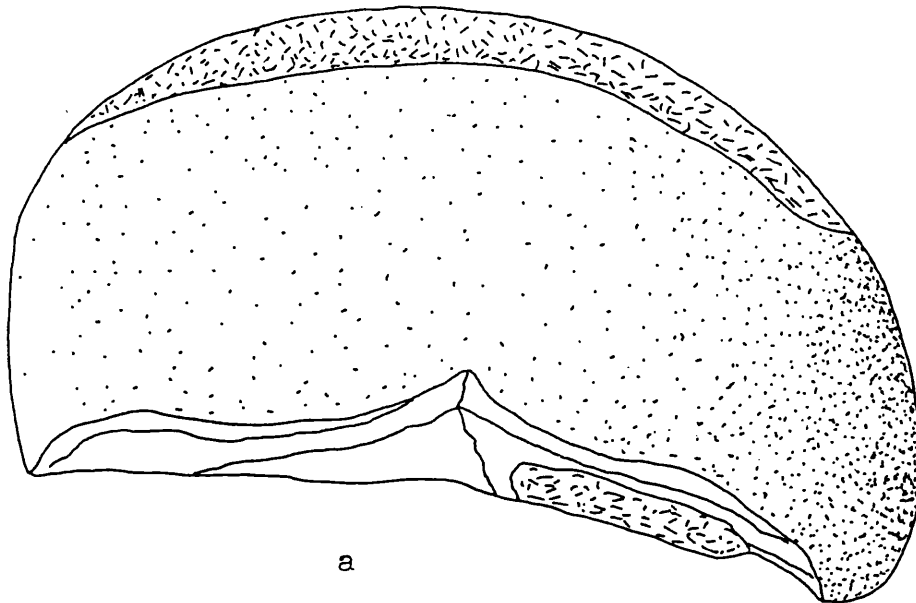


c



d





0 5 cm.

(Fig.III.10/III.11/III.12). The assemblage includes fragments of at least 23 such implements, seven of which have shaft-holes (Fig.III.11). Only one of the implements is unbroken (Fig.III.10b), and several show clear signs of use. The assemblage includes four unfinished hammers (Fig.III.12a): these are flat dolerite pebbles, pecked on the two longest edges in order to shape the implement. Original sea-polish is visible on the butt-ends of several of the finished implements, showing that these were also made on pebbles.

The dolerite of the Pinacle implements, like that of the sills in the immediate vicinity of the site, is characterised by the abundance of plagioclase microphenocrysts. A preliminary programme of petrological analysis carried out in the Department of Mineralogy at the British Museum (Natural History) suggests that the raw material for most of the hammers found at Le Pinacle was obtained from the sill which runs immediately below the site (WOOLLEY in FINLAISON & PATTON eds forthcoming). Since some of the hammers were clearly made from beach pebbles, this is unsurprising: the sill which runs beneath Le Pinacle is subject to continual marine erosion, and pebbles of material derived from the sill can be picked up on the beach below the site.

The hammers from Le Pinacle constitute a unique assemblage, and implements of this type are extremely rare on other sites. There is a fragment of a hammer from Perry Farm, St. Mary, with an incomplete shaft-hole, and another from Mont-au-Prêtre: there are also hammers from Le Mont Ubé, Le Catel and Grange Farm (St.Mary), but these latter implements are of a different form, being straight rather than curved. The fine "pick-axes" of Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928) have a similar shape to the Pinacle hammers, but all of these have a sharp axe blade rather than a blunt hammering end. The Pinacle hammers have no good parallels in Northern French assemblages: shaft-hole tools do occur in Early Neolithic contexts (e.g. from La Fosse des Mouettes à Grossoeuvre, Eure: VERRON 1976), but these are not comparable in form to the

Pinacle implements. All the evidence suggests, therefore, that the picks and hammers from Le Pinacle represent a highly specialised assemblage, and they appear to have been both made and used almost exclusively on this site.

Godfray & Burdo (1949) interpreted the Early Neolithic site of Le Pinacle as a settlement, on the basis that hearths and middens were found there (Fig.III.7). There is, however, no evidence for domestic structures, and the location of the site on a narrow strip of land at the foot of a steep slope seems an unlikely setting for an agricultural settlement. Renouf & Urry's (1976, 1986) suggestion that Le Pinacle was a specialised site for the manufacture of stone axes is supported by the presence of finished and unfinished dolerite axes, and by the large number of hammerstones and "strikers" found on the site (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949). The exact function of the picks and hammers is unclear, but it seems likely that they were used as quarrying tools.

Further evidence in support of the axe-factory hypothesis comes from a study of Channel Island stone axes (Appendix ii). All of the axes considered in Appendix ii were classified into petrological groups on the basis of examination with the naked eye. One of the petrological groups thus defined was characterised as "dolerite P": this is marked by the abundance of plagioclase microphenocrysts, and is indistinguishable to the naked eye from the material of the Pinacle implements. Axes of "dolerite P" constitute 15.7% of the sample from Jersey, 31% of the sample from Guernsey and 17.9% of the sample from Sark, and are also known from Herm and Alderney (Table ii.1). Petrological analysis is being undertaken to test the hypothesis that axes of "dolerite P" found in Guernsey, Sark and Alderney originate from the Pinacle "factory" (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming). A preliminary study of 10 axes of "dolerite P" from Jersey proved inconclusive.

The evidence for axe exchange during the Middle Neolithic of the Channel Islands relates to the circulation within the islands of axes from the European

mainland: Le Pinnacle is the only Channel Island site which has been identified as a probable "factory"⁴. Assuming that the identification of Le Pinnacle as an axe production centre is correct, the early date of the site is particularly interesting. The clear association with Cerny pottery gives a Terminus ante quem of around 4300 BC for activity on the site associated with axe production. The site seems to have been abandoned before the end of the 5th Millennium BC, and there is no evidence for any Middle Neolithic occupation. The next phase of activity at Le Pinnacle is of Chalcolithic date (see Ch.V), and is purely ritual in character, with no evidence for stone tool manufacture. The earliest radiocarbon date associated with a stone tool production site in Northern France (DESLOGES 1986) is from the flint mine of Bretteville-le-Rabet, Calvados (3710 ± 190 bc = 4340-4770 BC: Ly-3680) and this is broadly contemporary with the Early Neolithic horizon at le Pinnacle. The Plussulien production centre in Brittany (LE ROUX 1970) is somewhat later: the earliest radiocarbon dates calibrate in the late 5th Millennium BC (3390 ± 60 bc = 4040-4330 BC [GrN-1966]; 3320 ± 140 bc = 3970-4330 BC [Gif-1877]). Le Pinnacle must therefore be seen as one of the earliest axe-production centres in the region.

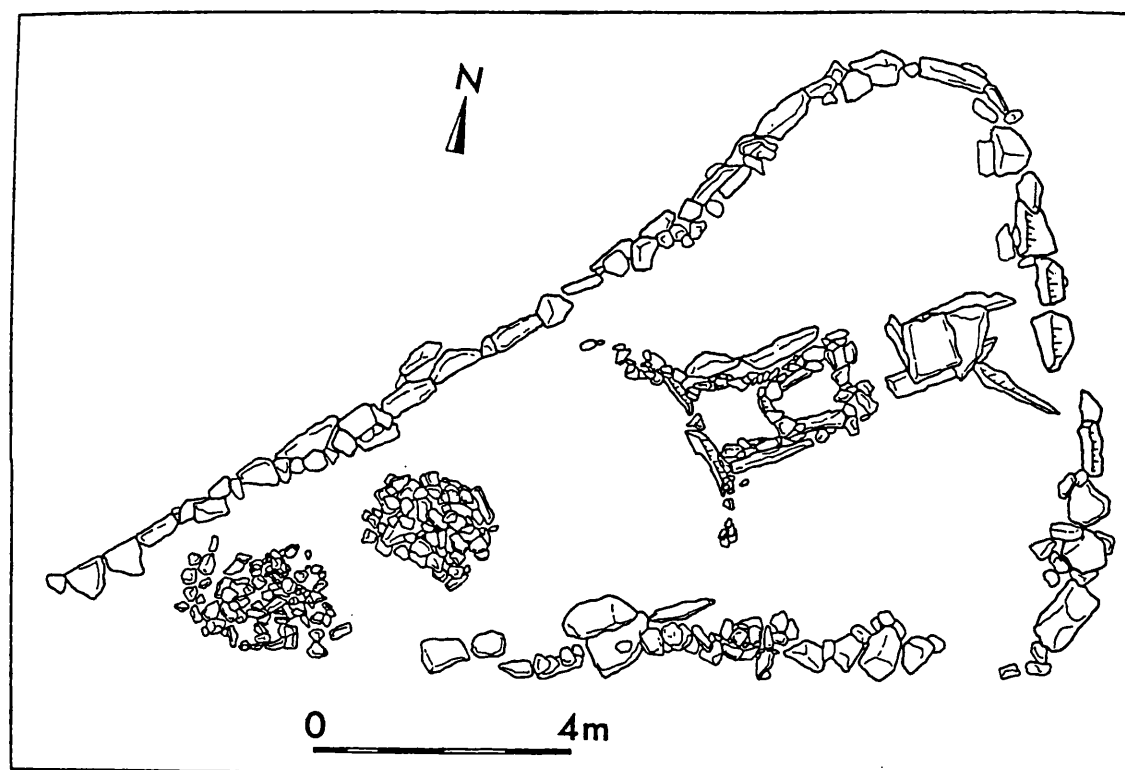
Whilst it seems reasonable to postulate inter-island exchanges of stone axes during the early Neolithic, it is less clear to what extent the islanders were obtaining axes from the Armorican mainland. The evidence from Brittany and Normandy (Appendix ii) suggests that fibrolite and flint axes were in circulation from Early Neolithic times, and it is possible that some of the fibrolite and flint axes found in the islands relate to mainland/island interaction during this period. Godfray & Burdo's (1949) identification of a fibrolite axe from the Early Neolithic horizon at Le Pinnacle lends support to this suggestion, though the axe in question has

⁴ There are axes of local rock (Appendix ii) but these appear to represent casual procurement rather than organised production at particular centres.

unfortunately been lost.

III.v. The emergence of megalithic ritual.

The site of Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (KINNES 1982 & forthcoming, KINNES & GRANT 1983), provides evidence for the emergence of megalithic ritual in the Channel Islands early in the 5th Millennium BC. The monument consists of an axe-shaped setting of stones (Fig.III.13), 20 m long by 10 m wide, enclosing four stone structures: a circular platform of small slabs and boulders; a cairn enclosing a cist with a single capstone; an unroofed double chamber; and at the Eastern end of the monument, a chamber covered by three capstones. A small shouldered menhir stood at the Eastern edge of the cairn, and Kinnes (1982) suggests that this may have been chosen for its "generalised anthropomorphic resemblance". The double chamber was framed by two marker slabs at the Western end and two post-holes at the Eastern end. The entire structure was incorporated in a turf mound, which would have covered the platform and cairn, whilst leaving the two chambers open and accessible. The stones of the axe-shaped setting were found to be leaning against the mound material, and these must be seen as representing an integral part of the mound construction, rather than a pre-existing open enclosure (KINNES 1982). The chamber at the Eastern end of the monument was completely empty, though there is no evidence to suggest that it was disturbed. No human remains were found at Les Fouaillages, though it should be said that the soil conditions on the site would not have favoured the preservation of bone. There is, however, some evidence for the ritual deposition of broken pottery vessels and polished stone rings. Fragments representing most of a Cerny style vessel were found in the double chamber, and sherds from a second vessel were found on the platform. Five vessels of Cerny type were represented by discrete depositions within the mound: these vessels are virtually complete but, like those found on the platform and in the double chamber, they appear to have been deliberately broken. Eight stone



(after KINNES 1982).

ring fragments were found at the base of the mound at its Western end: these appear to have been deliberately deposited around the periphery of the mound (KINNES pers.comm). The rings have parallels in the Groupe de Villeneuve-St-Germain of the Paris Basin (cf CONSTANTIN 1985), and their significance is further discussed in section III.vi.

Charcoal associated with the Early Neolithic phase at Les Fouaillages produced three radiocarbon dates: 3900 ± 100 bc = 4600-4880 BC (BM-1892R); 3950 ± 110 bc = 4700-4930 BC (BM-1893R); 3720 ± 170 bc = 3930-4760 BC (BM-1894R). These dates fall within the earlier part of the North French Cerny range (see above). The radiocarbon dates from Les Fouaillages, and the association with Cerny pottery, leave little doubt that this monument represents a phase of megalithic construction pre-dating the Channel Island passage graves (see section IV.i).

The existence of a megalithic monument, clearly associated with Cerny material, is of particular interest, since monuments are apparently absent from the post-Rubané sequence of the Paris Basin and Normandy⁷. Kinnes (1982) considers Les Fouaillages to fall within the European long-mound tradition (cf DANIEL 1967), and he draws specific comparisons with the Kujavian series of Poland (CHMIELEWSKI 1952), and with the Manio series of Southern Brittany (LUCO 1883, LE ROUZIC et al. 1923, PIGGOTT 1937). The comparison with the Manio series is particularly interesting: these are large trapezoidal mounds, enclosing numerous small cairns similar to the one found at the Western end of the Les Fouaillages monument. The chronology of the Manio series mounds is unclear, (none have been excavated under modern conditions), but the ceramic assemblages from the mounds of Mané-Ty-Ec, Mané-Pochat (CONSTANTIN 1985), and Le

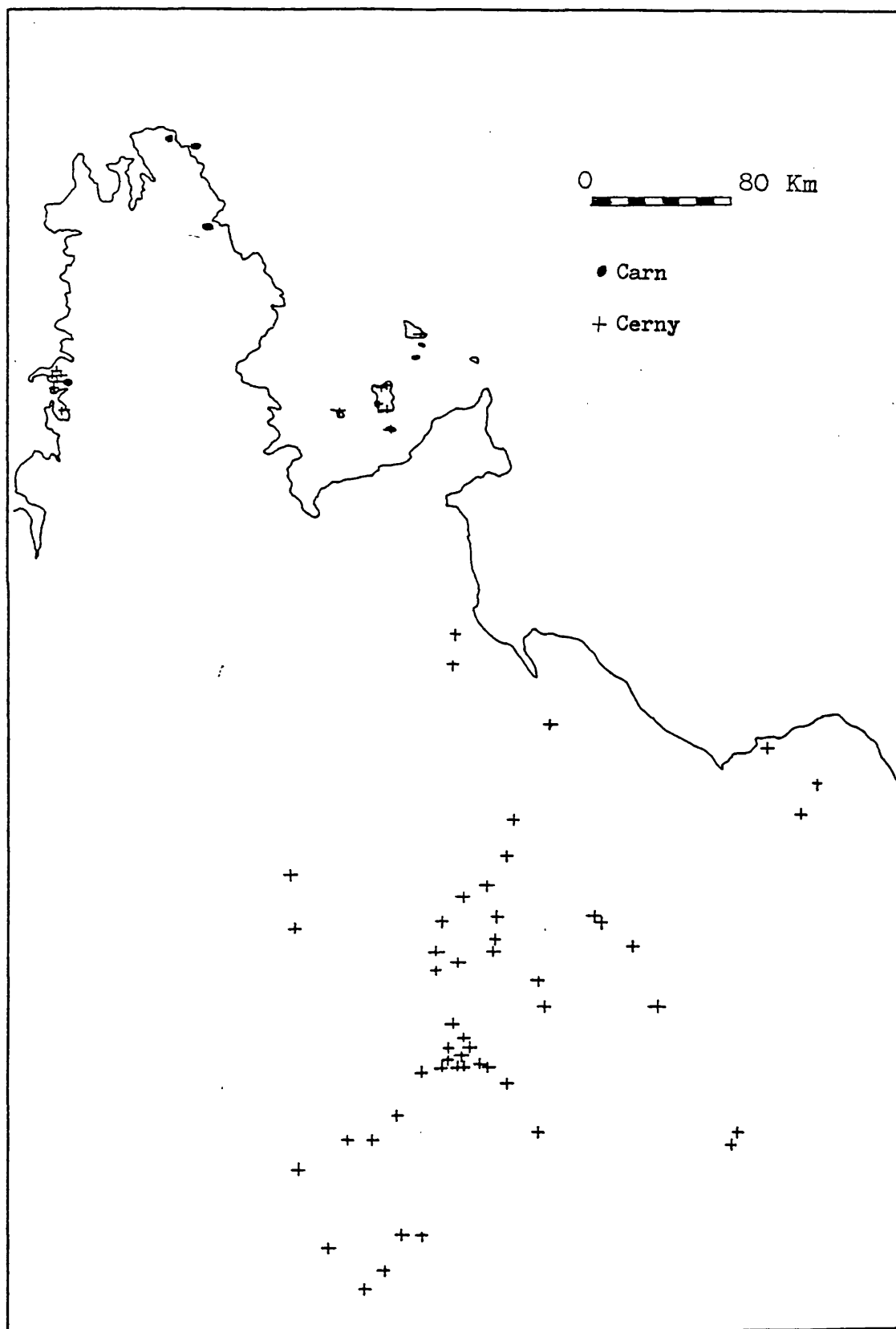
⁷ Constantin (1985) tentatively suggests that certain monuments in the Paris Basin (Cys-la-Commune, Jablines and Vert-la-Gravelle) might be associated with the Groupe de Villeneuve-St-Germain: this is on the basis of the presence of stone rings.

Castellic (Appendix iii) include Cerny elements.

III.vi. The Channel Islands in regional context: 5000-4250 BC.

The earliest Neolithic of the Channel Islands clearly forms part of the post-Rubané complex of Northern France (CONSTANTIN 1985). Cerny pottery found on Channel Island sites, together with the radiocarbon dates from Les Fouaillages, suggest that the Neolithic way of life became established in the islands between 4800 BC and 4500 BC. Shoe-last adzes found on the islands and on the Armorican mainland (PATTON forthcoming) may relate to earlier interaction between Neolithic communities in the Paris Basin and Mesolithic communities on their Western periphery. Pottery from beneath the cairn of La Hoguette à Fontenay-le-Marmion, Calvados, (which Jeunesse 1986 has compared to material from the Rubané sequence of Alsace), may attest to similarly early contact. The Channel Islands lie at the junction of two cultural zones: the post-Rubané complex to the East (characterised in its final phase by Cerny style pottery) and the Carn complex to the West (characterised by undecorated pottery). Fig.III.14 shows the distribution of sites of these respective complexes. The earliest Armorican passage graves are associated with the Carn complex, and radiocarbon dates from these monuments suggest that they are broadly contemporary with Cerny material in the Channel Islands^a. The Armorican Early Neolithic complex, with early passage graves and Carn style pottery can perhaps be best understood as an essentially indigenous development: the adoption of agriculture and animal husbandry by indigenous people influenced by Neolithic communities already established on the Eastern and Southern margins of the area. Such a development is likely to have been associated with profound social change, and the earliest Armorican megaliths can probably

^a Barnenez G: 3800±150 bc = 4460-4790 BC (Gif 1310).
 Ile Guennoc IIIc: 3850±300 bc = 4360-5010 BC (Gif 165).
 Kercado: 3890±300 bc = 4350-5100 BC (Sa95).



be understood in the context of this. The Cerny complex has more the appearance of an intrusive phenomenon (albeit that indigenous Mesolithic communities may have played an active and significant role in its diffusion). Constantin (1985) identifies a more-or-less unbroken sequence from Bandkeramik to Cerny in terms of ceramic typology, and in all respects the various facies of the post-Rubané complex have more in common with one another than with the highly original Carn complex. The marked differences between the Early Neolithic sequences of the Paris Basin and Normandy on the one hand and North-western Brittany on the other, raise some interesting questions. One factor which is likely to have affected the Neolithisation process is the prior social formation of indigenous Mesolithic communities in a given area, and this may help to explain the observed differences between regions, a possibility that will be further considered at the end of this chapter.

Several authors (JOHNSTON 1981, HIBBS 1983, KINNES 1986, KINNES & HIBBS 1988) have attempted to link the passage grave of La Sergenté, Jersey to the Carn complex, thus implying an overlap in the Channel Islands between Cerny and Carn. In Appendix iv to this thesis I argue that the attribution of the Sergenté pottery to the Carn style is erroneous, and in Chapter IV I question the assertion that the monument itself is necessarily earlier than other Channel Island passage graves. The only area where the two complexes may genuinely overlap is in Southern Brittany. Cerny elements have been identified in assemblages from several sites in the département of Morbihan⁹ (Fig.III.14/III.15). What little evidence there is suggests that such assemblages pre-date the passage graves: in no case has Cerny-related pottery been found in the chamber of such a monument, and at La Table des Marchands à Locmariaquer, pottery which L'Helgouach (pers.comm) has compared to the Fouaillages assemblage

⁹ Mané-Ty-Ec & Mané-Pochat (CONSTANTIN 1985); Le Lizo, Er Lannic, Le Castellic, Le Manio, Kerlescan, Mané-Grageux & Kercado (PATTON forthcoming).

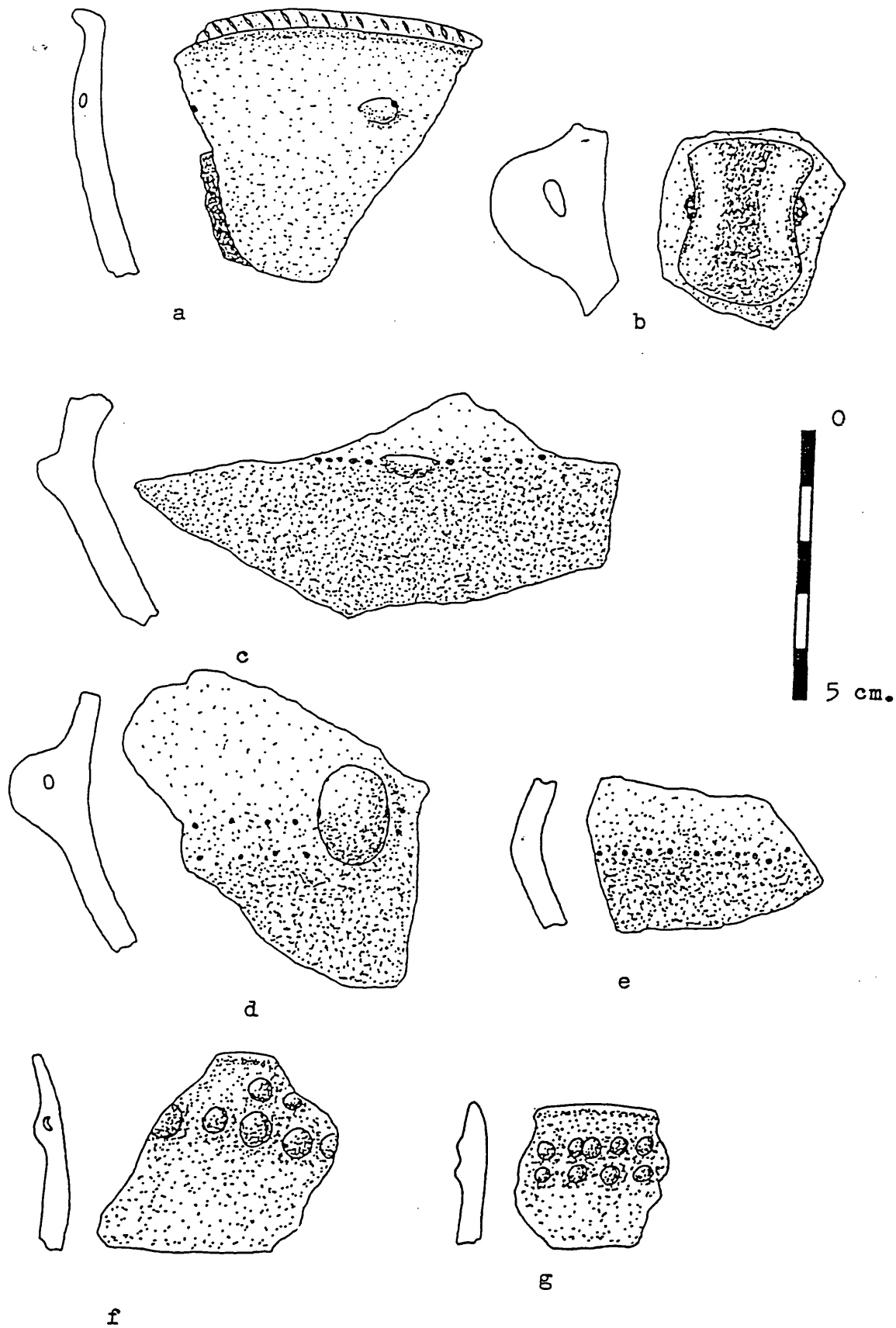
was found in a layer which is clearly stratified beneath the passage grave.

Constantin (1985) considers the ceramic assemblage from Le Pinnacle to represent a distinct regional facies of the Cerny style, which he designates "Cerny J(ersey)". The typology of the Channel Island and Breton assemblages is considered in Appendix iii to this thesis. These assemblages form a unity which I designate "Cerny A(rmorican)", distinguishable from Paris Basin assemblages by the presence of carinated vessels (Fig.III.15), the absence of bone-tempered pottery and the absence of particular forms of vessel and types of decoration¹⁰. Channel Island assemblages have further features which distinguish them from mainland assemblages: narrow cordons with vertical incisions (Fig.III.3a-b) are present in the assemblages from Le Pinnacle and Les Fouaillages, but are unknown in mainland assemblages.

All of the evidence suggests that the Channel Island assemblages should be seen as part of a Western facies of the Cerny complex. The site of Les Fouaillages may be relevant here, in view of Kinnes' (1982) suggestion of a relationship between this monument and the long-mounds of the South Breton Manio series (LUCO 1883, LE ROUZIC et al. 1923, PIGGOTT 1937). Whilst the chronology of the Manio series is uncertain, three of these monuments (Mané-Ty-Ec, Mané-Pochat and Le Castellic) have produced pottery of Cerny affinities, and this, together with the similarity between these monuments and the site of Les Fouaillages, suggests an early date. Megaliths are absent from the Paris Basin Cerny complex, and the presence of monuments can perhaps be seen as another point of similarity between the Channel Island and Southern Breton Early Neolithic sequences.

The suggested western facies of Cerny has some important features which distinguish it from the Paris

¹⁰ Notably the forme en coupe (CONSTANTIN 1985: Tab.84) and plats à pain (ibid.: Tab.85), and decorative forms 11, 21, 22 and 32 (ibid.: Tab.83).



a -Le Lizo. b-g -Er Lannic.

Basin Cerny complex, suggesting a degree of cultural divergence which is wholly unsurprising. The similarities between the sequences, however, are more striking, and it is clear that the Channel Islands were by no means isolated from developments further East. Polished stone rings found in the islands can perhaps be seen as evidence for contact with the Paris Basin region. Two complete stone rings are known from Guernsey, one from Vazon Bay and one from Le Trépied¹¹, and a series of three rings (two complete, one broken), was recently discovered in Jersey (Fig.III.16). There are, in addition, a number of fragments from Jersey and Guernsey, including eight fragments from Les Fouaillages. The Fouaillages fragments were clearly associated with the primary mound (KINNES pers.comm), and these are the only Channel Island rings with a secure archaeological context. Polished stone rings are known in Normandy (BENDER 1968, CONSTANTIN 1985) and in Brittany (MARSILLE 1927, GIOT 1959, LE ROUX & LECERF 1971). Stone rings do not occur in North French Cerny assemblages¹², but in the Paris Basin they are associated with the Groupe de Villeneuve-St-Germain¹³. Radiocarbon dates from material associated with V-S-G assemblages range from 4550 bc to 3560 bc (5470-4350 BC): these dates overlap with the earlier part of the Cerny range, so that the presence of rings in a Cerny context in Guernsey could be seen as evidence for contact (presumably indirect) with the V-S-G group. Further West in Normandy, in the départements of Calvados and Manche, a number of stone rings have been recorded (BENDER 1968), but since none of these have been found in a secure archaeological context, their chronological position is unclear. In Southern Brittany, stone rings have been found in the chambers of monuments

¹¹ Not from the monument of this name.

¹² There is a single perforated fragment from the site of Cerny itself.

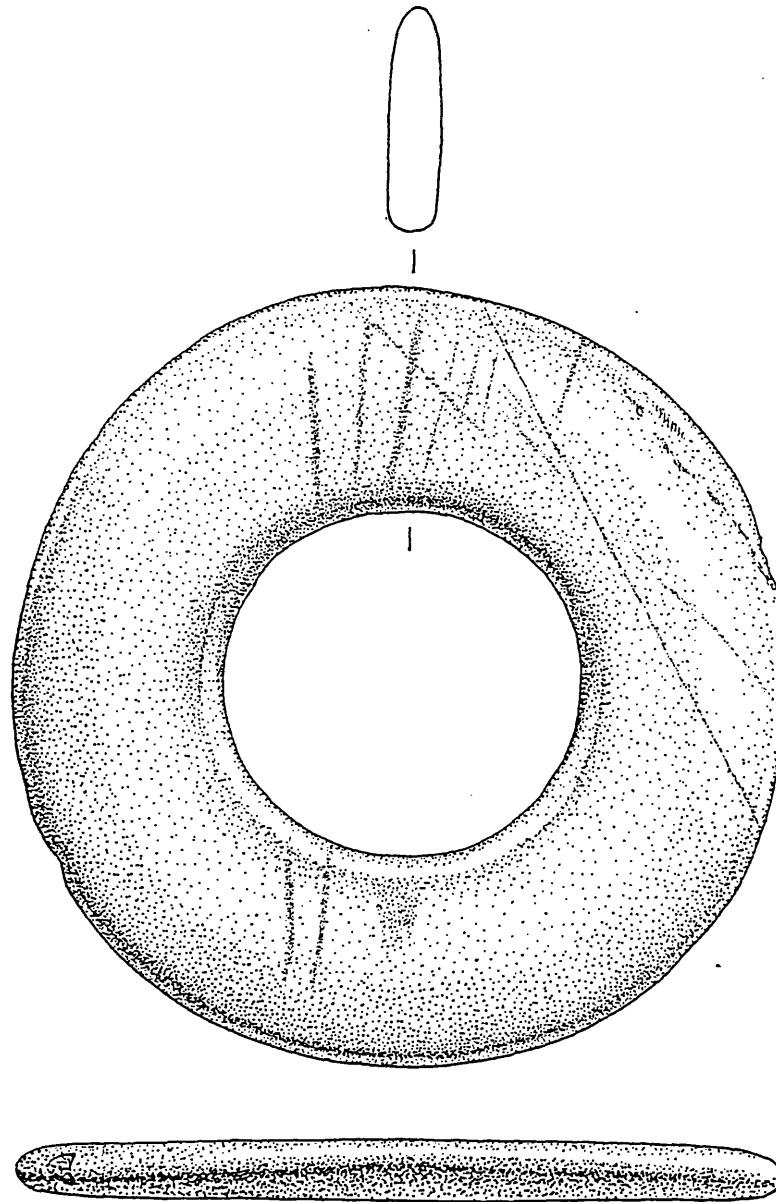
¹³ Some also occur in the Groupe de Bliques of Belgium.

of the Grand Tumulus Carnacéen series (GIOT et al. 1979), but none of these monuments are securely dated. The stone rings of the Paris Basin can be distinguished from those of Brittany and Western Normandy on petrological and typological grounds, and the relationship between the two series remains uncertain. Most of the Paris Basin rings are of schist (CONSTANTIN 1985), whilst the Armorican rings are of jadeite and serpentine (GIOT 1959). As regards typology, the key difference between the two series is in terms of the width of the ring¹⁴ (i.e. the difference between internal and external radii). The width of Paris Basin rings varies from 0.9 to 2.7 cm, with 80% of examples between 0.9 and 1.9 cm, whilst the Armorican rings are considerably wider. Constantin (1985) states that only 20% of the Paris Basin rings (those with widths between 1.9 and 2.8 cm) fall within the range of variation of the Breton anneaux-disques. Table III.1 shows the width and petrology of Channel Island rings and ring fragments.

¹⁴ Thickness, internal diameter and shape of cross-section are similar in the two series (GIOT 1959, CONSTANTIN 1985).

Fig.III.16. Polished stone ring from Jersey.

Drawn by Meredydd Moores & reproduced by permission
of the Trustees of the British Museum.



0 5 cm.

Table III.1. Width and petrology of Channel Island stone rings and fragments.

	<u>Width (cm)</u>	<u>Petrology</u>
Jersey(a) ¹⁵	4.3	Unknown
Jersey(b)	3.2	Unknown
Jersey(c)	2.8	Unknown
Jersey(d)	1.6	Unknown
Longueville (Jer)	2.7	Unknown
Quennevais (Jer)	1.9	Unknown
Déhus (Gue)	2.6	Schist
Guernsey	1.1	Schist
L'Erée (Gue)	1	Schist
Chateau des Marais (Gue)	1.9	Schist
Vazon (Gue)	3.3	Unknown
Le Trépied (Gue)	1.2	Unknown
Les Fouaillages(a)	1.4	Schist
Les Fouaillages(b)	1.6	Schist
Les Fouaillages(c)	1.7	Schist
Les Fouaillages(d)	1.3	Schist
Les Fouaillages(e)	1.5	Schist
Les Fouaillages(f)	1.6	Schist
Les Fouaillages(g)	1.5	Schist
Les Fouaillages(h)	1.8	Schist

In terms of width, three of the rings (Jersey a & b and Vazon) fall outside the range of variation of the Paris Basin stone rings, and a further four (Jersey c, Longueville, Quennevais, Déhus) fall within the range where the Paris Basin and Breton examples overlap. The remainder fall clearly within the Paris Basin range. In terms of petrology, most of the Channel Island rings are of schist, although Woolley has examined four Jersey examples (a-d) by eye, and considers these to be of jadeite. Kinnes (pers.comm) considers the material of the Fouaillages rings to be of local origin (from near Pleinmont, Guernsey), but petrological analysis would be necessary to confirm this.

Whilst certain of the Channel Island rings could perhaps be linked to the (undated) Breton series, the evidence suggests that most (including the examples from Les Fouaillages) should be related to the Paris Basin series of stone rings indicating, as suggested above,

¹⁵ These four rings (a-d) are of unknown provenance. The first was found by Mr F. Carpenter (who has refused to disclose its provenance), the other three were found by Mr C. Cook, in topsoil which he acquired from Mr Carpenter.

indirect contact with the Groupe de Villeneuve-St-Germain. The rings are, no doubt, just one among a number of durable and non-durable items that changed hands. We have already seen (section III.iv) that stone axes were exchanged between islands and also probably between mainland and island communities. Assuming that the "dolerite P" axes were manufactured at Le Pinnacle (see section III.iv), it is interesting to note that a higher proportion of these axes found their way to the other islands than remained in Jersey. This could well suggest that the axes produced at Le Pinnacle were made primarily for exchange rather than for local use. The evidence points to the development of an extensive network of interaction at the beginning of the Neolithic, and this interaction seems to have intensified during the Middle Neolithic period (Ch.IV).

III.vii. Early Neolithic society in the Channel Islands.

Recent approaches to the question of Neolithic origins (DENNELL 1984, ZVELEBIL & ROWLEY-CONWY 1984, ZVELEBIL 1986, THOMAS 1988) have stressed the active role that indigenous Mesolithic communities may have played in the process, in contrast to earlier works (cf CASE 1969) which stressed the role of colonists. The scarcity of evidence for Mesolithic occupation makes it difficult to evaluate the processes associated with the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition in the Channel Island context, though it seems clear that colonists were involved. The Channel Islands lie at the junction of two Early Neolithic cultural complexes, which are radically different from one another. The Cerny complex (which includes the Channel Islands) can be seen as the final phase in a more-or-less unbroken culture sequence originating in the Linearbandkeramik complex of the Danube and Rhine Basins, whereas the Carn complex of Northern and Western Brittany shows more original features. The marked distinctions between the two complexes suggest that the processes by which the Neolithic way of life became established in the two areas

may have been quite different. This can perhaps be related to the prior social formation of indigenous Mesolithic communities. Evidence from Western Brittany (KAYSER 1984) suggests that Mesolithic communities had established large and permanent coastal settlements by the end of the 6th Millennium BC. Complex burial practices are attested at the sites of Tévéc (PEQUART *et al.* 1937) and Hoëdic (PEQUART & PEQUART 1954), with evidence for social differentiation. The evidence from the Channel Islands and Western Normandy suggests a different kind of Mesolithic society: certainly there is no evidence for large, permanent settlements or for complex burial practices, and the degree of social differentiation is likely to have been less marked. The impact of contact with Neolithic communities is likely to have varied in relation to these pre-existing regional differences. Mesolithic communities in Western Brittany, which had already adopted a settled lifestyle, are more likely to have been active in adopting aspects of the Neolithic "package" than the smaller scale societies further East. The degree of social differentiation in the West Breton societies may have favoured such developments, since power relations may have been articulated through intermarriage with Neolithic communities, and through possession of domestic animals, pottery and polished stone tools. This may go some way towards explaining why the Early Neolithic of the Channel Islands and Western Normandy is so different in character from that of Western Brittany.

Whatever the pre-existing social formation, the adoption of the Neolithic way of life may in itself have resulted in increasing social differentiation and asymmetry. Meillassoux (1967) contrasts hunting and gathering societies in which land is a "subject" of labour, with agricultural societies in which land is an "instrument" of labour, implying a time lapse between labour investment and return. The labour involved in clearance and cultivation creates inter-generational bonds of dependence, and favours the establishment of a

hierarchy between "those who come before" (the ancestors and elders) and "those who come after" (cf KAHN 1981). The social formation, however, is not simply determined by the mode of subsistence. Bender (1984) argues that hunter-gatherers, like farmers, may have built in delays, and goes on to demonstrate the existence of marked social differentiation in hunter-gatherer communities of the American mid-continent. Changes in the mode of subsistence may be as much an outcome as a cause of changes in the social formation (cf BENDER 1978). Unfortunately the evidence does not permit the reconstruction of the social formation of Channel Island Mesolithic communities, so that the precise relationship between subsistence changes and social transformations at the beginning of the Neolithic cannot be ascertained. What is clear, however, is that the 5th Millennium BC was marked, right across the Armorican area, by profound changes both in terms of subsistence and in terms of social organisation, and the appearance of megaliths along the Armorican littoral can best be understood in the context of these developments.

The development of regional interaction networks can also be understood in the context of these transformations. The emergence of such networks during the Early Neolithic of the Channel Islands is suggested by the presence of polished stone rings (with affinities in the Groupe de Villeneuve-St-Germain of the Paris Basin), and by the evidence for axe exchange discussed above. In the following chapter it is argued that axe exchange may have occurred in the context of marriage transactions. Whilst this suggestion is based on evidence relating to the Middle Neolithic period, it would apply equally to the Early Neolithic: there is no evidence for a radical change in the nature and significance of axe exchange between the Early and Middle Neolithic periods. The existence of bridewealth can be understood in terms of Meillassoux's concept of "control of the means of reproduction. He writes:

"Through the system of bridewealth, marriages are...governed by the mode of production, of circulation and of accumulation of goods. Deriving from the social organisation of the economy, wealth which permits marriage is used by those who have it for the perpetuation of that very organisation".

(MEILLASSOUX 1964: p91)¹⁴

Valuables involved in a bridewealth system are acquired by elders (on the marriage of their daughters or the girls of their lineage), who are then able to control the access of young men to potential wives through their possession of these objects: this enables them to make demands on the labour of young men. The significance of regional interaction networks will become clearer in the light of evidence presented in the following chapters, and the long-term development of these networks will be discussed at the end of the thesis, when the evidence from all periods can be synthesised.

The power of elders is frequently mediated through ritual, and in the following chapter a relationship is suggested between the use of stone axes in bridewealth transactions, and the significance of the axe (symbolically associated with the phallus) as a symbol linking agricultural production and biological reproduction. The axe-shaped form of the Fouaillages monument can perhaps be related to this symbolism. Kinnes (1982) links the monument to the European long-mound tradition, drawing specific comparisons with the Kujavian series of Poland and with the Manio series of Southern Brittany. Hodder (1984) argues that the European Early Neolithic long-mounds (including the Kujavian and Manio series) embody a division of space similar to that found in contemporary houses, and he suggests that this is linked to a sexual division of space, labour and status. The Fouaillages monument can perhaps be seen as an insular transformation of the pattern discussed by Hodder: the European long-mounds, like the houses to which Hodder relates them, are trapezoidal, whereas Les

¹⁴ Trans. Kahn 1981.

Fouaillages is axe-shaped. In the following chapter it is argued that the axe had a dual significance in relation to the control of the "means of reproduction" (as an object involved in bridewealth transactions and as a symbol linking production and reproduction). This may go some way towards explaining the significance of the Fouaillages monument in relation to the European long-mounds. Hodder argues that the organisation of space in Neolithic houses and long-mounds is linked to the control of women, and in the following chapter of this thesis, a similar significance is attributed to axe symbolism.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MIDDLE NEOLITHIC.

The period 4250-3250 BC is characterised archaeologically by the construction of passage graves, and by the predominance of "Chasséen" pottery forms including vase-supports and undecorated globular, hemispherical and carinated bowls. Most of the well known Neolithic sites of the Channel Islands date to this period, yet ironically it is one of the most difficult periods to understand. The central problem of interpretation arises from the fact that virtually all the evidence for this period is derived from megalithic monuments. Most of the monuments were poorly excavated, and the context of artefacts and depositions was often not recorded. Only one site, La Motte in Jersey, has produced any settlement evidence, and this consists of midden remains associated with both Middle Neolithic and Chalcolithic pottery, without any apparent stratigraphy. There is clearly a major difficulty in trying to understand the social and economic life of a community when the only evidence of activities and attitudes focusses around death. Nonetheless, an attempt will be made, based on detailed re-examination of the megaliths, their contexts and settings, to discuss the development of the Middle Neolithic in the Channel Islands and to elucidate aspects of social organisation and cultural practice.

IV.i. The Early/Middle Neolithic transition: 4500-4250 BC.

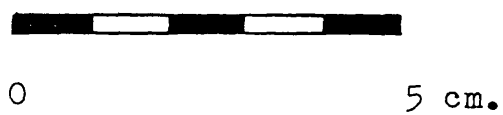
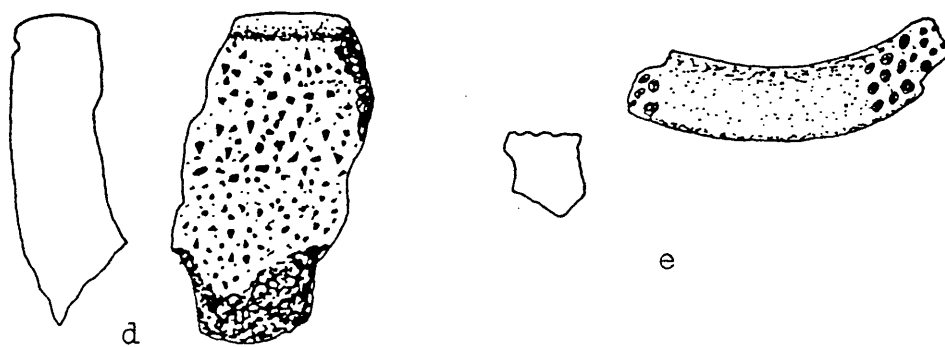
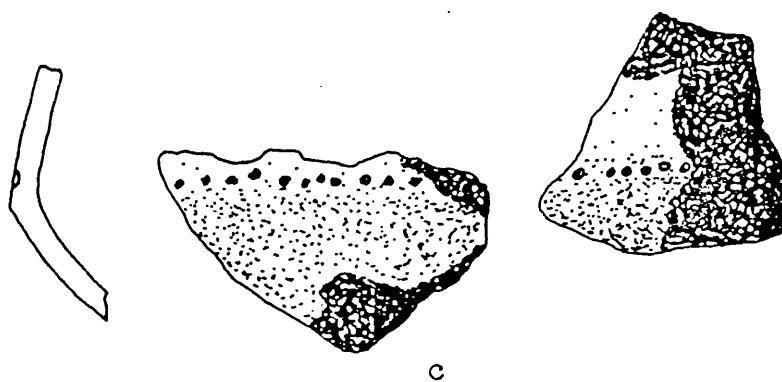
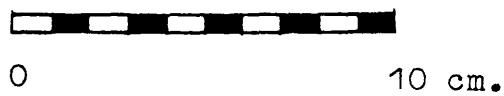
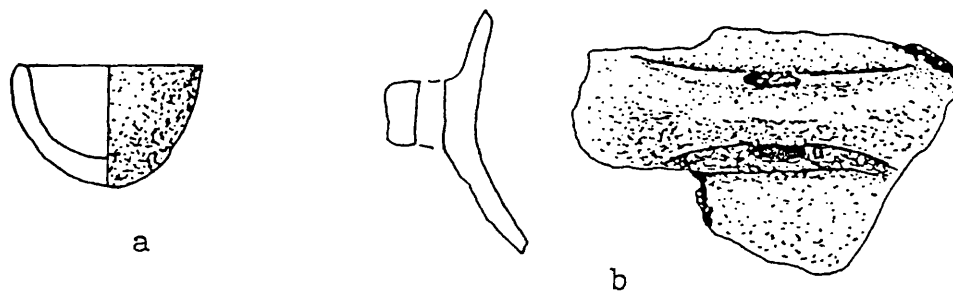
The distinction between the Early and Middle Neolithic in the Channel Islands is quite clear. In terms of ceramic typology, Middle Neolithic assemblages are entirely different from (and apparently unrelated to) the Cerny style assemblages of the Early Neolithic (see Appendices iii/iv). Cerny style pottery is, moreover, completely absent from passage grave assemblages in the Channel Islands, and the radiocarbon dates from material

associated with Cerny pottery at Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (see Ch.III) leave little doubt that the Cerny complex does in fact predate the passage graves.

If the distinction between the two complexes is clear, the actual transition is largely invisible. No site in the islands has provided a stratigraphic sequence relating Early and Middle Neolithic material. In Normandy, Cerny pottery has been found in the palaeosol sealed by the cairn of La Hoguette à Fontenay-le-Marmion, Calvados (CAILLAUD & LAGNEL 1972), and in Brittany, two phases of Early Neolithic settlement were sealed by the cairn of La Table des Marchands à Locmariaquer, Morbihan (L'HELGOUACH pers.comm.). It is possible that systematic study of Channel Island megalithic cairns would bring to light similar sequences.

The only Channel Island site where Cerny and Middle Neolithic pottery styles are known to coexist is Grosnez Hougue, Jersey (RYBOT 1924). This is a megalithic site of uncertain form, which has suffered both from quarrying prior to the excavation and from indifferent recording by the excavators themselves: no stratigraphy is apparent from the excavation report. The assemblage from Grosnez (see Appendix iv) includes fragments from 3 vase-supports (Fig.IV.1d,e), a hemispherical miniature vase (Fig.IV.1a), 4 carinated fineware vessels with impressed decoration (Fig.IV.1c) and a large bowl with a vertically perforated lug (Fig.IV.1b). The vase-supports and miniature vase are typical of Armorican and Channel Island Middle Neolithic assemblages. The carinated vessels and the elongated lug, however, have clear affinities with Channel Island Cerny material, and are quite unlike anything normally found in a Middle Neolithic context (see Appendix iv). Unfortunately the circumstances of discovery preclude any certainty as to whether the assemblage is genuinely transitional or whether it simply reflects Middle Neolithic re-occupation of an Early Neolithic site. Re-excavation could probably resolve this question.

The earliest passage graves in Brittany probably date



to the second or third quarter of the 5th Millennium BC, as suggested by the radiocarbon dates from Barnenez G (3800 ± 150 bc = 4460–4790 BC: Gif 1309), Ile Guennoc IIIC (3850 ± 300 bc = 4360–5010 BC: Gif 165) and Kercado (3890 ± 300 bc = 4350–5100 BC: Sa95). The dates from La Hoguette (Chamber V – 3210 ± 190 bc = 3780–4240 BC: Ly421, Chamber VI – 3610 ± 150 bc = 4280–4640 BC: Ly131) overlap with the Breton dates, but suggest that the Norman passage graves may be slightly later. The radiocarbon dates from Les Fouaillages suggest that Cerny pottery was in use in the Channel Islands during the first half of the 5th Millennium BC¹, though it is by no means clear at what stage this pottery style disappeared in the islands. It seems reasonable to place the Early/Middle Neolithic transition in the Channel Islands within the third quarter of the 5th Millennium BC.

Given the inadequacies of the data, it is difficult to assess the social and cultural significance of the Early/Middle Neolithic transition in the Channel Islands. It may be possible, however, to make some suggestions based on a comparison of the Early and Middle Neolithic sequences, and we will return to this question at the end of the chapter.

IV.ii. Megaliths and ritual practice in the Channel Islands: 4250–3250 BC.

Discussion of the articulation of the islands within a wider regional context, and of Middle Neolithic socio-cultural and economic developments on the Channel Islands requires a detailed examination of the morphology, setting and contents of the megalithic monuments. The morphology of the Channel Island monuments is outlined in this section, and further discussed in section IV.iv., which deals in more general terms with inter-island and mainland/island interaction during the Middle Neolithic period. The structure of depositions within the monuments

¹ 3900 ± 100 bc = 4600–4880 BC (BM 1892R). 3950 ± 110 bc = 4700–4930 BC (BM 1893R). 3720 ± 170 bc = 4380–4780 BC (BM 1894R).

is discussed later in this section, and the social and cultural significance of the monuments is considered. The absence of Middle Neolithic domestic sites poses problems for any attempt to understand the articulation of the monuments within the landscape, although something can perhaps be elucidated from their general setting: Maurant's (1933,1937,1963,1977) petrological work opens up some interesting possibilities which will be explored in the final part of section IV.ii.

Passage graves.

Passage graves are the best known and most conspicuous Neolithic monuments in the Channel Islands. There are fifteen definite examples², and five damaged monuments which are likely to have been passage graves³. The Beauport Cromlech, Jersey, has also been claimed as a passage grave (JOHNSTON 1972), but the arguments for this do not seem entirely convincing (see Ch.V). Whilst the term "passage grave" suggests a funerary usage, the evidence suggests that these monuments served a number of ritual and ceremonial functions, of which burial was only one (cf RAULT 1984, PATTON 1987a).

In discussing the morphology of Channel Island passage graves, an adapted version of L'Helgouach's (1965) classification will be used. L'Helgouach discusses the morphology of Breton passage graves under three headings: The funerary chamber, the passage and the cairn. Under the first heading he identifies a number of morphological groups, and in particular he distinguishes between passage graves with "simple chambers" and those with internal compartments or lateral chambers. This distinction, however, may be misleading: internal compartments and lateral chambers are especially common

² Jersey: La Hougue Bie, La Sergenté, Faldouet, Le Mont Ubé, Grantz, Le Mont de la Ville, La Hougue des Géonnais. Guernsey: La Varde, Le Déhus, Le Creux-ès-Faies, Le Trépied. Alderney: Les Pourciaux South. Herm: HER 6, 12 & 13.

³ Jersey: Les Cinq Pierres, Almorah, Le Dicq. Guernsey: La Roque qui Sonne, Delancey Park.

in Channel Island passage graves, the chambers of which conform in other respects to particular "simple chamber" types identified by L'Helgouach. In this study, therefore, the existence of internal compartments and lateral chambers will be discussed under a separate heading.

The Chamber.

a) Drystone chambers.

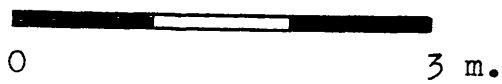
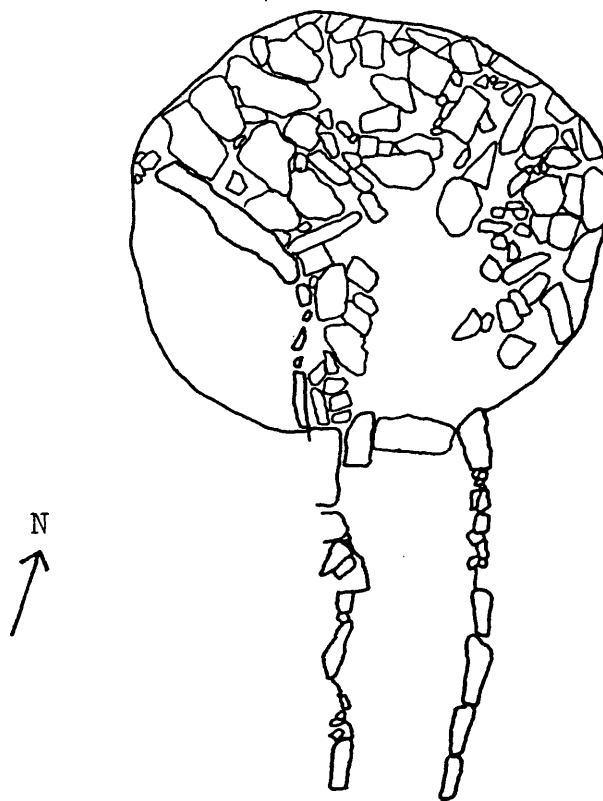
L'Helgouach (1965) identifies a group of chambres entières en pierres sèches: these are monuments with circular drystone chambers covered by corbelled vaults. The only known monument of this type in the Channel Islands is the site of La Sergenté, Jersey (Fig.IV.2).

The monument of La Sergenté (NICOLLE 1924, HIBBS & SHUTE 1984) has a circular chamber with an average diameter of 3.5 m. There can be little doubt that the chamber was originally corbelled, but the vault has collapsed. Whilst the majority of Channel Island passage graves have produced relatively large quantities of pottery, often reflecting use of the monuments over a long time period (see Ch.V), La Sergenté produced only four pottery vessels, all of Middle Neolithic date. One possible interpretation of this would be that the vault collapsed soon after the construction of the monument. The construction of a secure vault requires long flat slabs, and the stones available at La Sergenté are somewhat small for the purpose. It seems possible that the builders of the Sergenté chamber were simply too ambitious given the inadequate nature of the available raw material.

b) Megalithic passage graves with elongated chambers.

L'Helgouach (1965) defines a group of chambres mégalithiques à allongement axial, which he subdivides into three types: Type Kerdro-Vihan, Type Batten-er-Hah (unknown in the Channel Islands) and Type Quelvezin. These are megalithic passage graves, covered by capstones rather than corbelled vaults, and characterised by a marked elongation of the funerary chamber.

The chambers of Kerdro-Vihan type monuments are



asymmetrical, with one side of the chamber being a continuation of the wall of the passage and the other side bulging out. L'Helgouach defines a separate group, dolmens à couloir à double chambre on the basis of two sites: Mané-Rutual à Locmariaquer, Morbihan and dolmen H at Barnenez à Plouézoc'h, Finistère. These two sites should probably be considered as a variant of the Kerdro-Vihan type, since they have the same asymmetrical and elongated chamber form, but with the chambers divided into two parts by internal pillars (RAULT 1984).

The monuments of La Hougue Bie (Fig.IV.3), Grantez (Fig.IV.4) and Le Mont Ubé (Fig.IV.5), Jersey and La Varde (Fig.IV.6) and La Creux ès Faies (Fig.IV.7), Guernsey, can be assigned to the Kerdro-Vihan group (RAULT op cit.).

Monuments of Quelvezin type are characterised by symmetrical elongated chambers with parallel sides. L'Helgouach identifies only three Breton sites as belonging to this group, all are in the Morbihan: Quelvezin à Carnac, Mané-Lud à Locmariaquer and Pen-Nioul Sud on the Ile aux Moines. There are two passage graves of this type in the Channel Islands: Le Déhus, Guernsey (Fig.IV.8) and HER 12, Herm (Fig.IV.9).

c) Megalithic passage graves with square chambers.

L'Helgouach defines two separate groups of passage graves with square chambers: chambres mégalithiques carrés (Type Kercado) and sépultures mégalithiques à chambres compartimentées (Type Kerleven). The distinction between these two types does not depend purely on the compartmentalisation of the Kerleven type chambers. Monuments of Kerleven type are considerably larger than those of Kercado type. The floor area of Kercado type chambers varies from 4 to 9 square metres (L'HELGOUACH 1965), whereas that of Kerleven type chambers varies from 17.5 square metres (chamber A at Kerleven à la Forêt-Fouesnant, Finistère: LE ROUX & L'HELGOUACH 1967) to 26 square metres (Ty-Floc'h à Saint-Thois, Finistère: LE ROUX & LECERF 1980), with one exceptional case (chamber E at Quélarn à Plobannalec, Finistère: GIOT 1983, LE ROUX

1983) of a chamber with a floor area of 64 square metres. Chambers of Kercado type are roofed with capstones, whereas those of Kerleven type are generally considered to have been corbelled (LE ROUX & L'HELGOUACH 1967), although in no case is the corbelled vault preserved. The distribution of the two groups is also quite different: monuments of Kercado type are found exclusively in the Morbihan, whereas the Kerleven type is concentrated in the Pays Bigouden of Southern Finistère (see section IV.iv).

There are no passage graves of Kercado type in the Channel Islands, but the monument of La Hougue des Géonnais (Fig.IV.10) can probably be seen as a Kerleven type passage grave (PATTON 1987a)⁴. This monument (BAAL & GODFRAY 1930) was badly damaged by the activities of 19th Century quarrymen, but recent excavations by Sinclair Forrest & Stéphane Rault have suggested that the chamber was square, with a floor area of approximately 33 square metres. La Hougue des Géonnais is almost certainly the "Plémont Cromlech" referred to in a letter written by Rev. F.K. Porter (PATTON 1987d, KINNES & HIBBS 1988): it is the only known monument in the Plémont area, and the state of preservation described by Porter corresponds to the condition of the Géonnais monument. Porter describes:

"...a cist of three stones, five feet high, set in triangular form with a coverstone on top."⁵

This structure was found within the chamber, and contained pottery, including an undecorated vase-support (PATTON 1987d). It is likely that this "cist" represents an internal compartment covered by a capstone. Whilst internal compartments may well have been covered by individual capstones, (as at Faldouet and Le Mont de la

⁴ The results of the 1989 season of excavations suggest that this monument originally had a D-shaped chamber, which was later extended and modified to form a Kerleven type square chamber.

⁵ PORTER 1869, quoted in PATTON 1987d.

Fig.IV.3. La Hougue Bie (after MOURANT 1933).

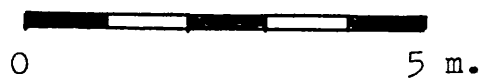
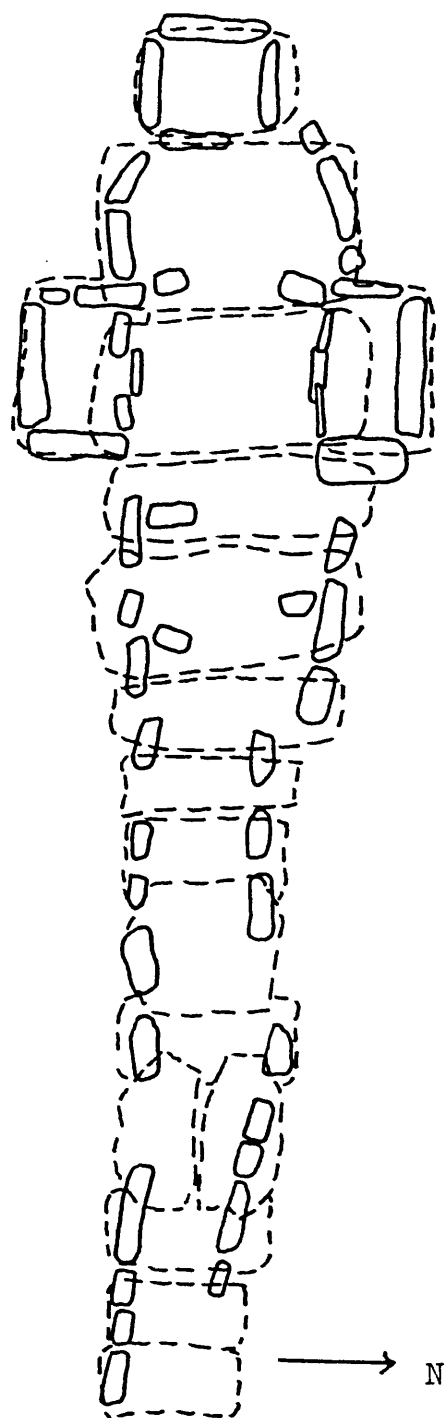
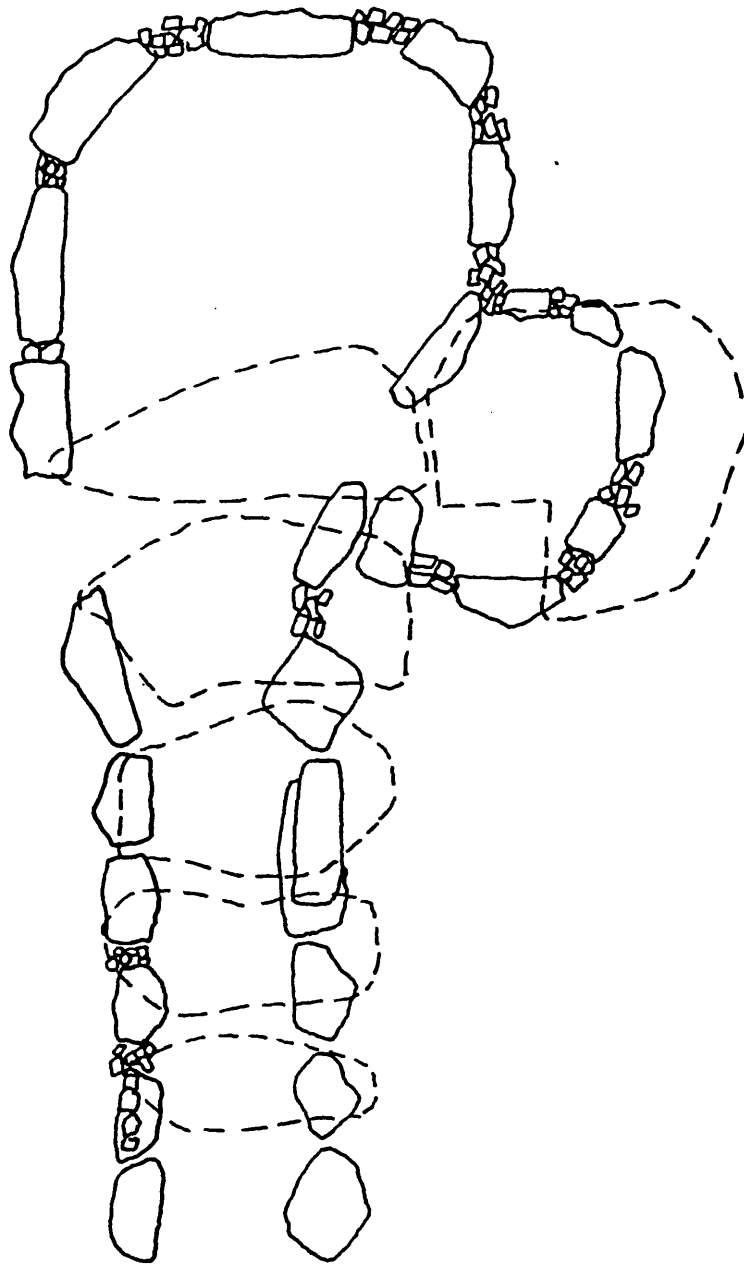
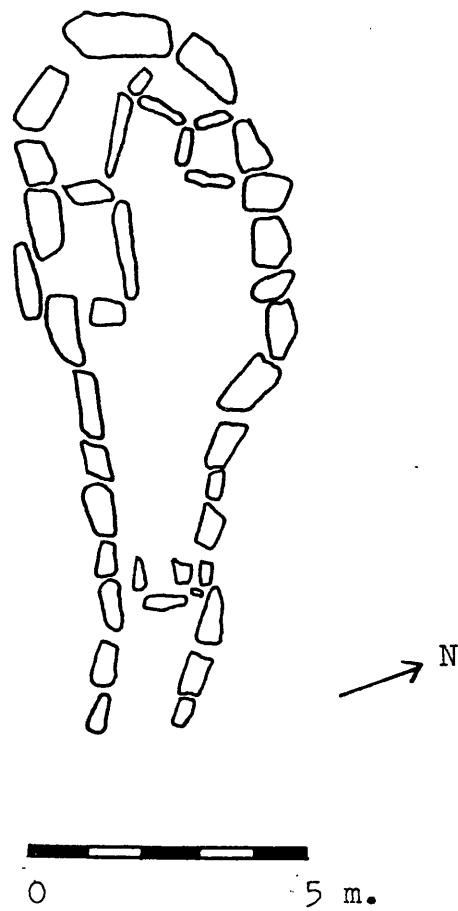


Fig.IV.4. Grantez (after NICOLLE et al. 1913).



0 3 m.

Fig.IV.5. Le Mont Ubé (after HIBBS 1985).



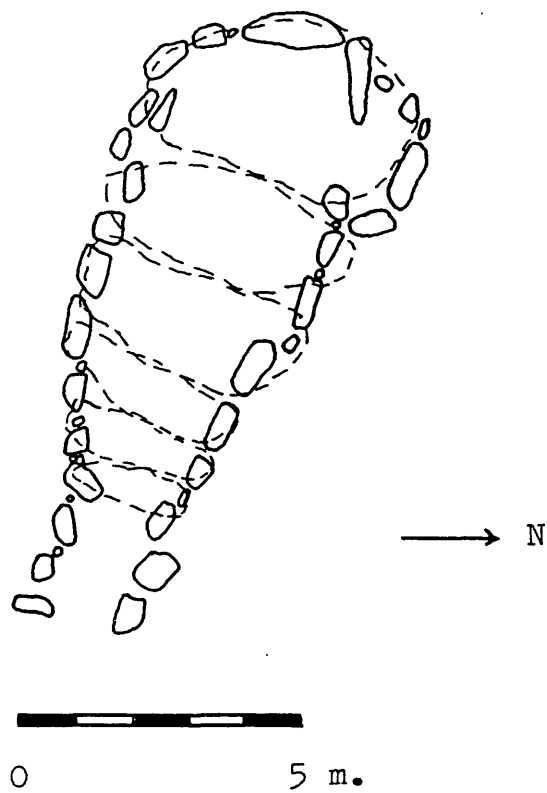
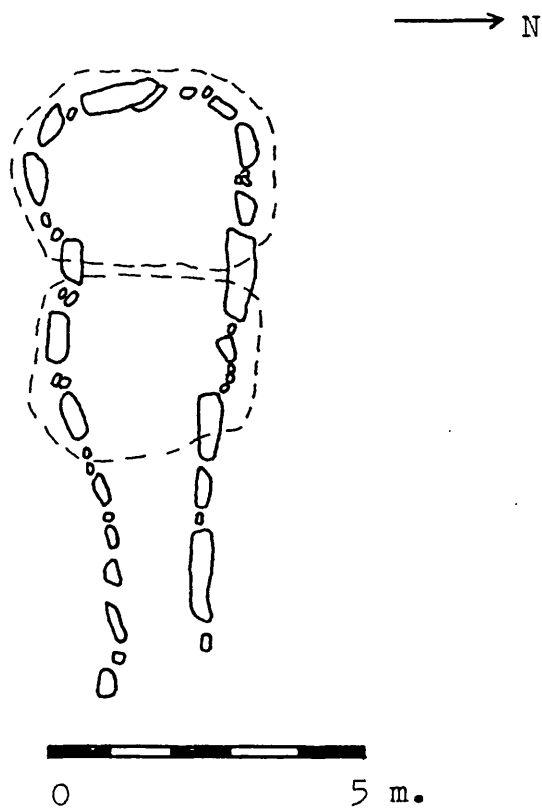


Fig.IV.7. Le Creux-ès-Faies (after KENDRICK 1928).



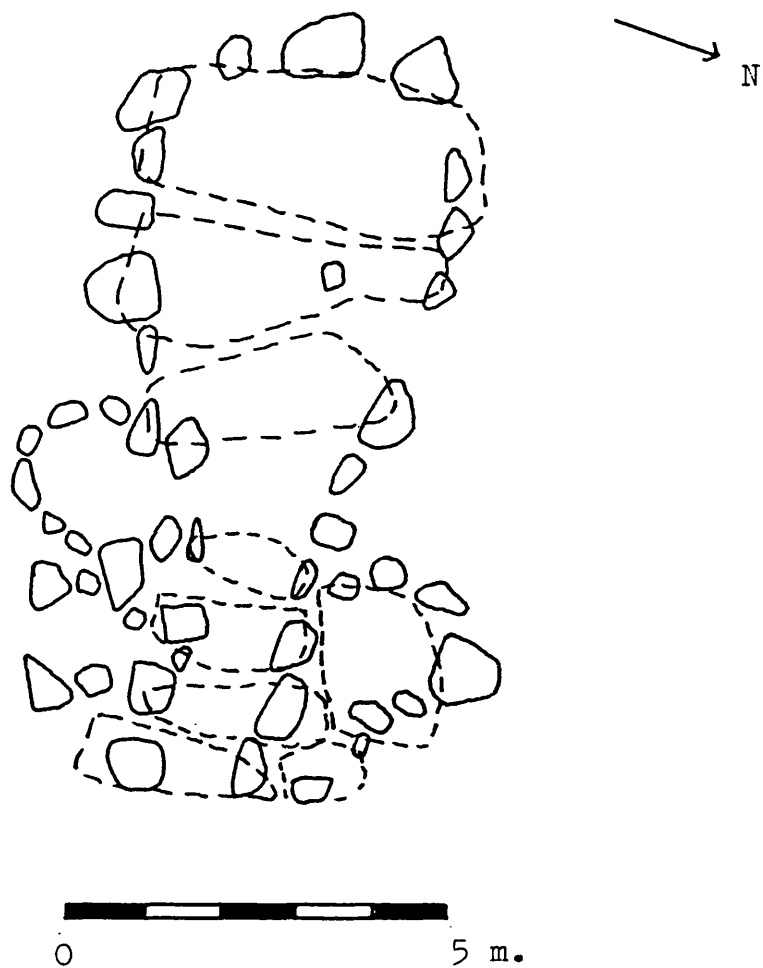
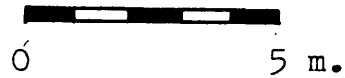


Fig.IV.9. Roberts Cross (after KENDRICK 1928).



Fig.IV.10. La Hougue des Géonnais
(after PATTON 1987a).



Ville: see below), the orthostats at Géonnais are too small to have supported capstones large enough to span the 6 metre wide chamber. It is argued (LE ROUX & L'HELGOUACH 1967) that comparable monuments in Brittany were covered by corbelled vaults, and the chamber at Kerleven contained a mass of large flat stones which could represent the remains of such a vault. The small quantity of stones found in the Géonnais chamber cannot represent the remains of a vault: the quantity is far too small, and in any case, the individual stones are too small and irregular to have constituted a vault. It is possible that the chamber at Géonnais was corbelled, and that the material was entirely removed by the quarrymen, but it seems more likely that the chamber was open.

d) Megalithic passage graves with open chambers.

Hibbs (1985) draws attention to two Jersey passage graves, (Le Mont de la Ville and Faldouet), which appear to have had open chambers. He sees these monuments as representing a local development at the end of the Middle Neolithic period.

The monument of Le Mont de la Ville (MOLESWORTH 1787, HIBBS 1985) was dismantled during the 18th Century, and re-erected at Henley-upon-Thames: the records of the discovery and excavation are somewhat ambiguous. The megalithic chamber was circular, with a diameter of 21 feet (7-7.5 m). A series of five internal compartments were arranged around the inside of the chamber (Fig.IV.11), each covered by an individual capstone. There are no comparable monuments on the mainland of Northern France, and Hibbs is surely correct in identifying this monument as a local variation on the passage grave theme. The main chamber was not covered by capstones: it could conceivably have been covered by a corbelled vault, but given the poor quality of Jersey granite for this purpose, (it does not split into the long flat slabs needed to construct a large vault), it seems more likely that the chamber was open.

The monument of Faldouet (NICOLLE & SINEL 1914b, RYBOT 1932) has a double chamber (Fig.IV.12). The passage and

Fig.IV.11. Le Mont de la Ville (after MOLESWORTH 1787).

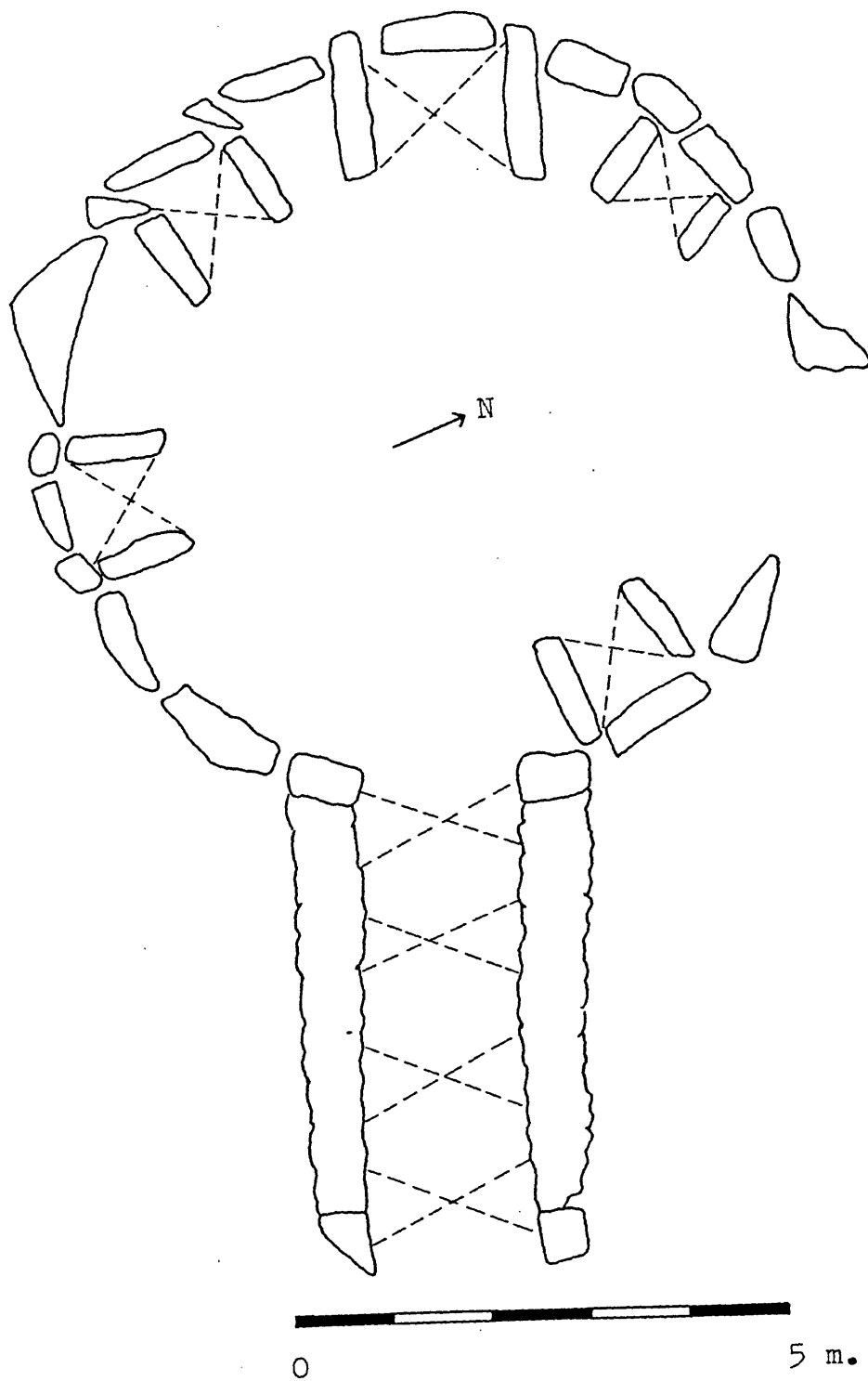


Fig.IV.12. Faldouet (after HIBBS 1985).

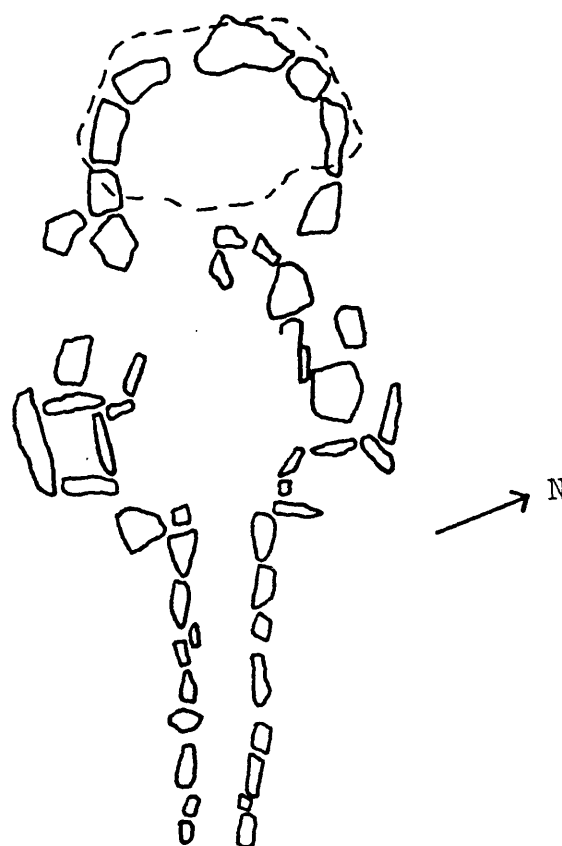
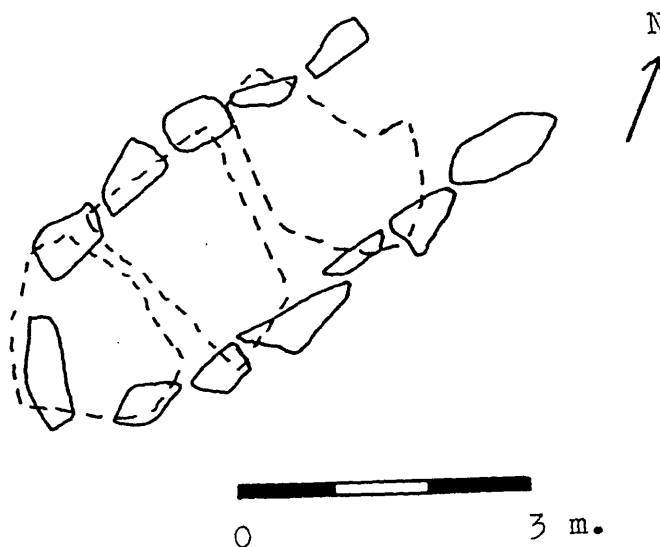


Fig.IV.13. Le Trépied (after KENDRICK 1928).



first chamber are unroofed and the large terminal chamber is covered by a single capstone. A series of lateral chambers are arranged around the first chamber, and at least one of these was covered by a small capstone. Johnston (1981) considers Faldouet as a two-phase monument, with the passage and terminal chamber representing the remains of an original passage grave, which was later converted into a Mont de la Ville type monument by the construction of a large open chamber. Unfortunately, the site has probably been too badly damaged by successive excavations for this hypothesis to be tested by reference to stratigraphy. Hibbs (1985) considers it as a single phase monument, representing an intermediate stage in a local evolutionary sequence of development from conventional passage graves to open "arena" chambers. As with the Mont de la Ville monument, there is no evidence that the first chamber at Faldouet was ever roofed: the uprights are not sufficiently substantial to have supported capstones large enough to cover the 6 m diameter of the chamber, and it is unlikely that suitable material could have been found for a large and complex corbelled vault.

The remaining Channel Island monuments cannot be assigned to a group with any certainty. The monument of Le Trépied, Guernsey (Fig.IV.13) is only partly intact and whilst the chamber is clearly elongated, its precise form is uncertain. The monuments of HER 6 and HER 13, Herm (KENDRICK 1928) and Les Pourciaux South, Alderney (JOHNSTON 1973) are almost certainly passage graves, but of unknown form. The sites of Les Cinq Pierres (BELLIS & CABLE 1875), Almorah and Le Dicq, Jersey (HAWKES 1937) and La Roque qui Sonne and Delancey Park, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928) may well represent destroyed passage graves but this cannot be established with certainty.

The Passage.

With the single exception of Le Mont de la Ville, the passages of all the Channel Island passage graves are of megalithic construction. The site of Le Mont de la Ville

has a drystone passage, roofed with capstones. This juxtaposition of a megalithic chamber and a drystone passage is without parallel in mainland Armorica, where drystone passages are found only in conjunction with corbelled drystone chambers (L'HELGOUACH 1965). This peculiarity is further demonstration of the unique insular tradition reflected by the architecture of this particular monument. The site of La Sergenté is similarly anomalous, having a fully megalithic passage in conjunction with a drystone chamber. Some of the Breton drystone chambers (e.g. chambers F,I and J at Barnenez, L'HELGOUACH 1965:Fig.10) are associated with passages of mixed drystone and megalithic construction, but La Sergenté is the only example with a fully megalithic passage.

L'Helgouach classifies Breton passage graves into three groups on the basis of passage length:

- 1) Monuments with long passages (above 7 m in length).
- 2) Monuments with medium length passages (2-7 m).
- 3) Monuments with short passages (below 2 m in length).

Table IV.1 shows the length and width of passages of Channel Island monuments.

Table IV.1: Channel Island passage graves. Passage dimensions (in metres).

<u>Site</u>	<u>Passage length</u>	<u>Passage width</u>
La Hougue Bie	10	1.5
Faldouet	5.5	1
Le Mont de la Ville	4.5	1.5
Le Mont Ubé	5	1
Géonnais	5	1
La Sergenté	3	1
La Varde	2.4	1.5
Le Creux-ès-Faies	3.5	1
Le Déhus	3.5	1
HER 12	-	0.5

With the exception of La Hougue Bie, these monuments all fall into L'Helgouach's second group. According to L'Helgouach (1965:p74), this group is by far the most common in the Armorican area as a whole. La Hougue Bie is an example of L'Helgouach's first group, a class which also includes a number of passage graves in the départements of Morbihan and Finistère. There seems to be

no direct correlation between length of passage and form or construction of chamber (L'HELGOUACH 1965:pp71-72). Most of the Channel Island passage graves are aligned North-west/South-east, with the entrance facing South-east (JOHNSTON 1981:Fig.12): the monuments of Le Déhus and Le Trépied are exceptions to this rule, with entrances facing South-west. The orientation of the Channel Island passage graves is thus comparable to that of monuments in Brittany (L'HELGOUACH 1965:Fig.31,32), where the predominant alignment is North-west/South-east.

Internal compartments and lateral chambers.

The existence of internal compartments and lateral chambers is a particular feature of Channel Island passage graves. Two of the Channel Island monuments (Le Mont de la Ville and Le Mont Ubé) had internal compartments (La Hougue des Géonnais probably had internal compartments also: see discussion above), and five have lateral chambers (La Hougue Bie, Faldouet, Grantez, La Varde and Le Déhus).

L'Helgouach (1965:pp140-157) identifies two groups of Breton passage graves with internal compartments: Type Mané-Groh/Mané-Bras and Type Kerleven. Both types have square chambers, and both occur exclusively in Southern Brittany, the first type in the Carnac area of Morbihan and the second in the Pays Bigouden of Southern Finistère. In Brittany, internal compartments occur only in passage graves of these specific groups. The possible relationship of the site of La Hougue des Géonnais to the Type Kerleven is discussed above, but the sites of Le Mont de la Ville and Le Mont Ubé clearly cannot be related to either of the Breton groups. Le Mont de la Ville has an open circular chamber without parallel in mainland Armorica, whilst Le Mont Ubé, if one ignores the internal compartments, is a classic example of L'Helgouach's Type Kerdro-Vihan (see above). The monument of Le Mont de la Ville had at least five internal compartments in radial arrangement around the chamber (Fig.IV.11). Each compartment was covered by a small

capstone. There may have been a sixth compartment on the Northern side of the chamber, where a gap on the plan suggests some form of disturbance. The passage grave of Le Mont Ubé had four internal compartments on the Southern side and at the Eastern end of the chamber (Fig.IV.5). There is no evidence to suggest that these compartments were covered by individual capstones, but the main chamber was roofed with capstones, which have unfortunately been quarried away.

Passage graves with lateral chambers are rare in Brittany: L'Helgouach (1965:p136) lists only five examples, all from the département of Morbihan. By contrast, five of the Channel Island passage graves have lateral chambers, representing a third of the corpus of known passage graves. Of the Breton sites listed by L'Helgouach, all have one or two lateral chambers, opening onto the main chamber. The passage graves of Grantez (Fig.IV.4) and La Varde (Fig.IV.6) both have one lateral chamber opening onto the main chamber. The lateral chamber at Grantez has a separate capstone, whereas that at La Varde is covered by one of the capstones of the main chamber. Both Grantez and La Varde are passage graves of L'Helgouach's Type Kerdro-Vihan: in mainland Armorica, no passage graves of this type have lateral chambers. La Hougue Bie (Fig.IV.3) is a cruciform passage grave, with a terminal chamber as well as two lateral chambers. As with Grantez and La Varde, however, the basic shape of the chamber corresponds to the Type Kerdro-Vihan (RAULT 1984). The Breton passage graves of Locqueltas à Locoal-Mendon, Morbihan (L'HELGOUACH 1965:Fig.50) and Beg-an-Dorchenn à Plomeur, Finistère both have two opposed lateral chambers, but neither is a close parallel for La Hougue Bie. The sépulture coudée of Les Pierres Plates à Locmariaquer, Morbihan (L'HELGOUACH 1965:Fig.74) has a terminal chamber, separated from the main chamber, like that at La Hougue Bie, by a single slab. The cruciform plan of La Hougue Bie, which has no clear Armorican parallels, and the nature of the carvings recently discovered in the chamber (see below), have

prompted suggestions (PATTON 1987a) of a possible relationship to the Boyne Valley/Anglesey series of passage graves. The lateral chambers at La Hougue Bie are unusual in that they have raised sills. The precise number of lateral chambers at Faldouet (Fig.IV.12) is uncertain: Oliver (1870) accused Rev. Porter of having carried out significant alterations during the course of his excavations. It seems, however, that there were at least five lateral chambers, arranged, like the internal compartments at Le Mont de la Ville, around the large open chamber. At least one of the lateral chambers at Faldouet was covered by a small capstone. The lateral chambers at Le Déhus (Fig.IV.8) open into the passage rather than into the chamber. This arrangement is without parallel on the Armorican mainland. There are four certain lateral chambers at Le Déhus: Collum (1933) identifies a further two, but the status of these is highly doubtful.

The Cairn.

The passage graves of the Channel Islands, like those of Brittany and Normandy, all appear to have been covered by mounds. In many cases the original form and dimensions of the mound has been obscured by erosion and post-depositional disturbance, and understanding is further limited by the fact that early excavators usually did not concern themselves with recording the structure of the mound, concentrating exclusively on the depositions within the chamber and passage. In cases where the form of the mound can be determined, (La Hougue Bie, Faldouet, La Varde, Le Creux-ès-Faies, Le Déhus), all are circular.

There is no clear evidence in the Channel Islands for the existence of large cairns covering multiple passage graves. Such cairns are known in Normandy, (e.g. La Hogue and La Hoguette à Fontenay-le-Marmion, Calvados) and Brittany (e.g. Barnenez à Plouézoc'h, Ile Guennoc and Ile Carn, Finistère, Rondosse à Plouharnel and Le Petit Mont à Arzon, Morbihan), but none have so far been identified in the Channel Islands. The mound of La Hougue Bie, with a diameter of 55 metres and a height of 12

metres, is by far the largest of the Channel Island passage grave cairns, and it has recently been suggested (MOURANT 1985) that this mound may cover more than one structure.

The mounds of Le Déhus (Fig.IV.14), La Varde and Le Creux-ès-Faies have megalithic peristaliths, a feature unknown the Breton context. The passage grave of Le Mont Ubé may have been surrounded by a free-standing stone circle (AHIER 1852), like the monument of Kercado à Carnac, Morbihan (L'HELGOUACH 1965:Fig.7), but the existence of this circle is by no means certain.

The mound at Faldouet (Fig.IV.15) contains fragments of three concentric rubble walls, but these do not appear to represent a stepped construction as noted, for example, at Barnenez. Fragments of a similar rubble wall are exposed at the entrance to the passage grave of La Hougue Bie.

The only passage grave mound in the Channel Islands that has been scientifically examined is that of La Hougue des Géonnais. The excavation of this site is still in progress, but the mound is composed of a mixture of earth and granite rubble, with a capping of small stones.

The mounds of Faldouet and Le Mont de la Ville are of particular interest: since the chambers of these monuments are unroofed, the mound cannot have covered the chamber whilst it was in use. The chambers of both structures were filled with mound material when excavated, but this presumably represents infill at the time of abandonment (see Ch.V). It is likely that the original mounds of Faldouet and Mont de la Ville formed platforms around the open chambers without actually covering them. This was probably the case at La Hougue des Géonnais also.

Chronology of Channel Island passage graves.

There are, as yet, no radiocarbon dates available from any Channel Island passage graves, so any understanding of the chronology of these monuments must rely essentially upon the sequences that have been developed on the Armorican mainland. This problem unfortunately

Fig.IV.14. Le Déhus, showing peristalith
(after COLLUM 1933).

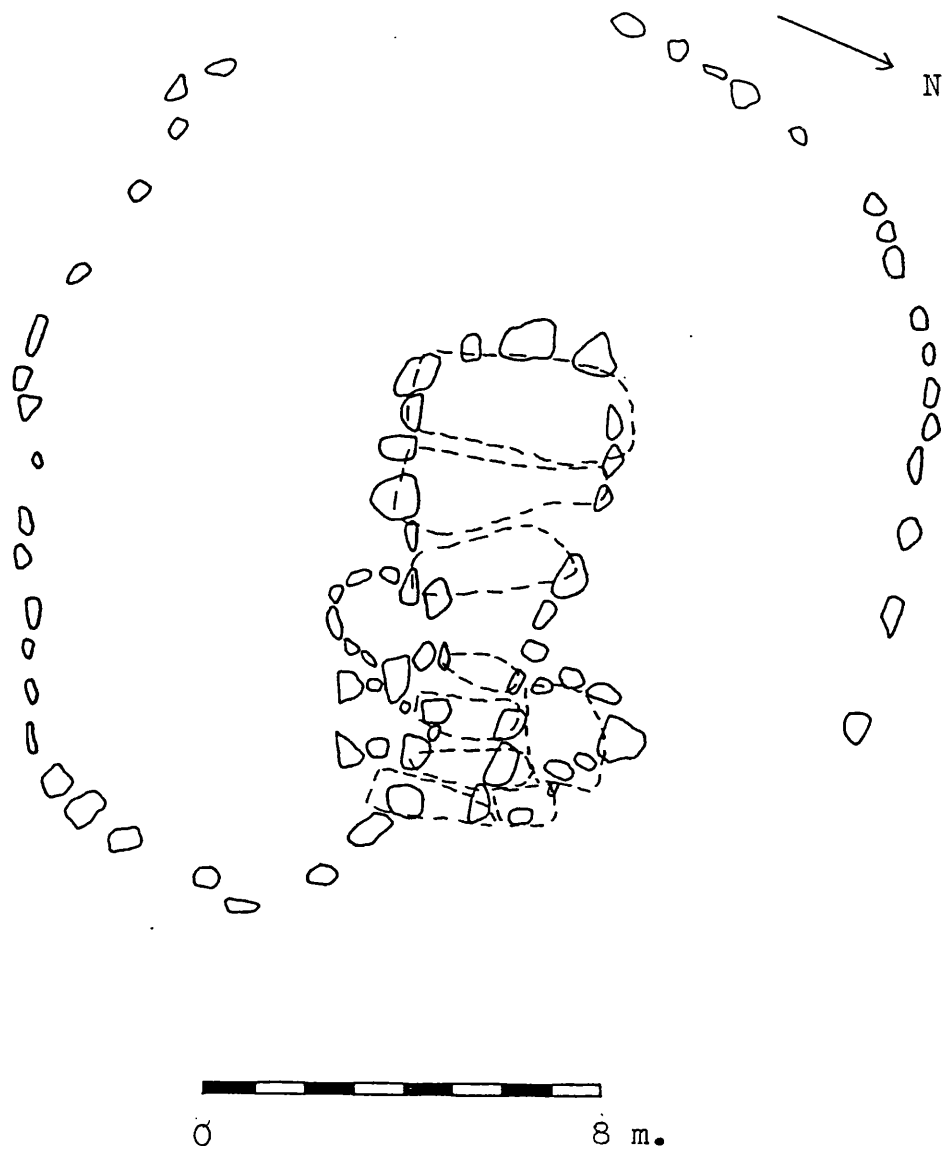
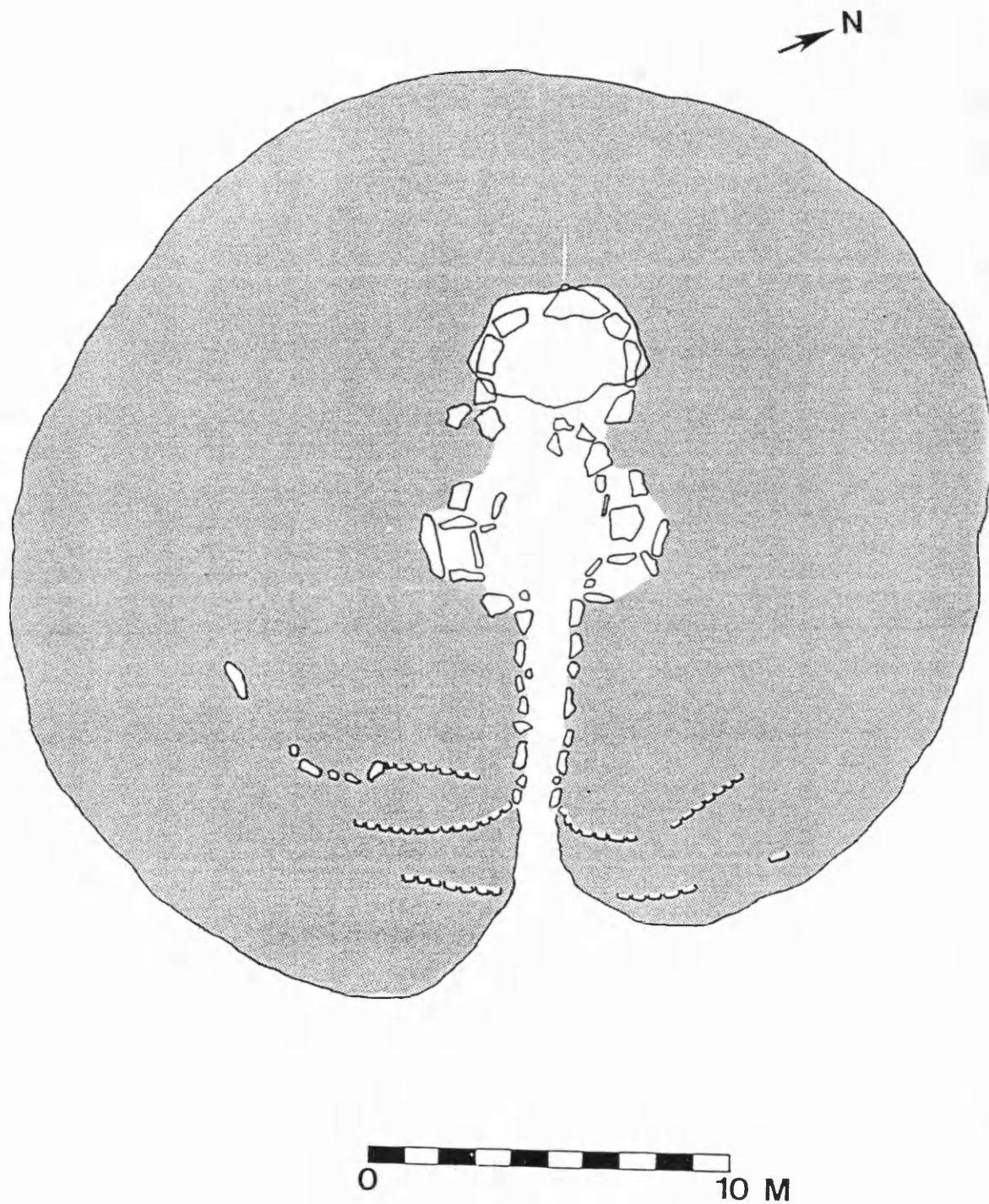


Fig.IV.15. Faldouet, showing features of cairn.
(Plan of cairn produced by students of Highlands
College, Jersey, under the direction of the author).



precludes any consideration of time differentials between Channel Island and mainland megalithic traditions. The earliest radiocarbon dates from Breton passage graves fall into the second and third quarters of the 5th Millennium BC⁶, whilst the earliest dates from Normandy fall into the third and fourth quarters⁷. Since the radiocarbon dates from Les Fouaillages⁸ suggest that Cerny pottery was in use in the islands during the first half of the 5th Millennium BC, and since all the evidence suggests that the passage graves post-date the Cerny complex, it is likely that the earliest passage graves in the islands, like those of Normandy, were built between 4250 and 4500 BC. It is by no means certain at what stage the construction of passage graves ceased, but they clearly continued in use until the end of the Neolithic period (see Ch.V).

Kinnes and Hibbs (KINNES & HIBBS 1988, HIBBS 1985) have proposed a chronological sequence for the Channel Island passage graves, starting with La Sergenté and ending with Mont de la Ville (see, for example, Kinnes & Hibbs 1988:Fig.6). The core of the argument is that the simplest monuments (i.e. those with the least subdivision of space in terms of internal compartments and lateral chambers) are the earliest. This model finds little support in the Breton sequence: most of the radiocarbon dates are from sites without internal compartments or lateral chambers, but the date (LE ROUX 1981) from Ty-Floc'h à Saint-Thois, Finistère (a sépulture compartimentée of Type Kerleven)⁹ argues against the notion that compartmentalisation is a late development in Armorican passage graves. Many of the earliest

⁶ Barnenez G: 3800±150 bc=4460-4790 BC (Gif 1309).
 Ile Guennoc IIIC: 3850±300 bc=4360-5010 BC (Gif 165).
 Kercado: 3890±300 bc=4350-5100 BC (Sa 95).

⁷ La Hoguette Chamber V: 3210±190 bc=3780-4240 BC (Ly 421). Chamber VI: 3610±150 bc=4280-4640 BC (Ly 131).

⁸ See note 1.

⁹ 3630±120 bc=4340-4570 BC (Gif 5234).

radiocarbon dates do come from corbelled passage graves with circular chambers (hence the assertion by Kinnes & Hibbs that La Sergenté is the earliest of the Channel Island monuments), but corbelled and megalithic passage graves exist side-by-side at Barnenez, and one of the monuments in the primary cairn (Chamber H) is morphologically similar to the Channel Island passage graves of Le Mont Ubé, La Varde and Le Creux-ès-Faies. Since the corbelled chambers within the secondary mound at Barnenez must be later in date than Chamber H, there seems to be little basis for the assertion that La Sergenté is necessarily earlier than, for example, Le Mont Ubé. The assemblages from the passage graves do not produce any convincing evidence in support of the Kinnes/Hibbs sequence: since most of the material has no stratigraphic context, it cannot be assumed to represent primary deposition, and can only provide a Terminus ad quem for the construction of the monuments themselves. There is a degree of circularity in the way in which ceramic typology and monument typology have been related: globular fineware bowls from the "early" passage grave of La Sergenté (see Appendix iv) are identified as Carn (5th Millennium BC) whilst similar material from the "late" monument of Faldouet is classified as Chasséen (4th Millennium BC). The absence of vase-supports in the Sergenté assemblage cannot be taken as evidence for an early date (since these are by no means a universal component of 4th Millennium BC assemblages), nor, in the absence of any stratigraphic context, can the presence of vase-supports at Faldouet be taken as evidence for a 4th Millennium date for the construction of this monument. There is not, at this stage, any clear evidence for a developmental sequence in the morphology of Channel Island passage graves: the Armorican evidence suggests that all of them were built between 4500 and 3250 BC, but it is not possible on the basis of the present evidence to assign individual monuments to particular dates within this period with any degree of certainty.

We will return to the question of inter-island and

island/mainland contacts in section IV.iv. The cultural and social significance of various morphological features is discussed below.

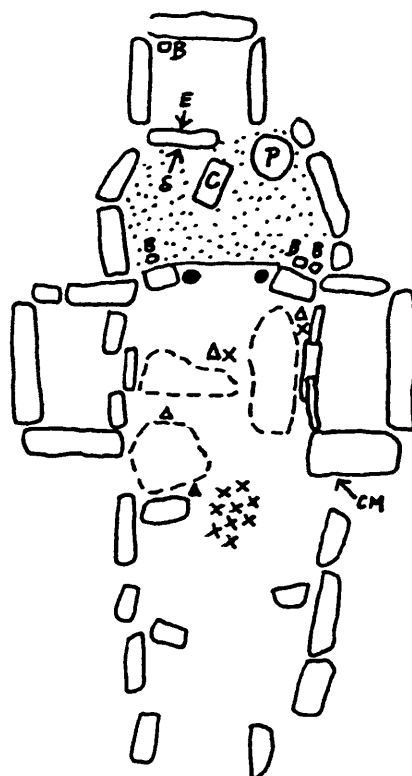
Structure and depositional practice in Channel Island passage graves.

Until recently, studies of megalithic morphology and depositional practice were used primarily to discuss questions of chronology (cf DANIEL 1960) or social "function" in terms of territoriality (cf RENFREW 1976). Recent approaches, arising largely from the Cambridge post-structuralist seminar (cf HODDER 1984, TILLEY 1984, SHANKS & TILLEY 1982) have employed structural analysis of morphology, setting and depositional practice in attempting to reconstruct cultural meaning. Some of these studies (e.g. TILLEY 1984, SHANKS & TILLEY 1982) depend on detailed examination of depositional practice and the treatment of human remains whilst other studies (e.g. FLEMING 1973, HODDER 1984, THOMAS & WHITTLE 1986), place more emphasis on morphology and setting. Studies of depositional practice are clearly hampered in the Channel Island context by the predominantly acidic soil conditions which do not favour the preservation of bone. A further problem arises from the fact that passage graves were used over a period of many centuries, and may have been cleared out several times during their use in order to make room for new depositions: the pottery found in the passage graves of Le Creux-ès-Faies and Le Trépied in Guernsey, for example, is all of Chalcolithic date, and clearly cannot represent the primary use of the monument. At Le Déhus, Guernsey, Middle Neolithic depositions were found in situ only in the side chambers, suggesting that depositions within the main chamber were cleared out during the Late Neolithic. This problem has been exacerbated by inadequate excavation and recording: where distinct phases of deposition may have been identifiable from the stratigraphy the details have often not been recorded. Despite these reservations, structured deposition can be identified in the Channel Island passage graves and provides a basis for discussion of the meaning and significance of Neolithic ritual practice. If we concentrate in the first instance on the structure of passage graves, we have a chamber, approached by a

narrow passage (Figs IV.2-IV.13). The whole construction is in most cases covered by a mound, so that the only access to the chamber is via the passage. The passage can be seen as a means of exclusion as well as a means of access, creating a clearly defined division of space and restricting the extent to which people standing outside the passage could see and comprehend the ceremonies taking place within. Such an arrangement embodies a clear possibility for the control of sacred knowledge: those people who were given access to the interior could act as mediators between the community and the sacred world (the gods, the ancestors etc.). At La Hougue Bie, this division of space has been further elaborated. The chamber is divided (Fig. IV.16) into four zones by means of internal pillars, and the westernmost zone was occupied by a platform of rubble, covered by a bed of pebbles (BAAL et al. 1925). The platform appears to have been the principal focus of ritual activity, since it incorporated the following features: a small rectangular cist, covered by three stones, containing fragments of two vase-supports and a quantity of fine pebbles; a pit, approximately 4 feet (1.2 metres) in diameter, lined with stone slabs; and three "betyles" (standing stones, averaging 30 cm in height). Behind the platform is the terminal cell, separated from the main chamber by a carved slab (see below), which rested on an inverted granite trough¹⁰. The slab not only demarcates the terminal chamber, but conceals anything within it from view by those standing in the main chamber: one of the carvings, an écusson motif is on the western side of the slab itself and is thus concealed. The division of space within the chamber at La Hougue Bie thus suggests a possible tripartite division of roles linked to control of sacred knowledge: people with access to the platform and terminal cell; people admitted to the main chamber, but not to the platform and terminal cell; and people not

¹⁰ This is generally referred to as a quern, but the trough is much deeper and narrower than a conventional saddle quern.

Fig.IV.16. La Hougue Bie: features of chamber.



0 5 m.

- Platform.
- C Cist.
- P Pit.
- S Spiral carving.
- E Ecusson carving.
- CM Cup-marks.
- B "Betyles".
- Intact vase-supports.
- x Broken pottery.
- Δ Human bone.

admitted to the chamber. There may have been a fourth level, since in many societies there are people who are systematically excluded even from the general vicinity of ceremonial sites. This organisation of space is to some extent broken down in the "arena" monuments (Faldouet, Le Mont de la Ville and probably also La Hougue des Géonnais): these monuments were open, and although direct access to the interior may have been restricted, the ceremonies could easily be seen by those people standing outside. The precise significance of this is unclear: certainly these monuments, found only in Jersey, represent distinctively local variations on the passage grave theme. Kinnes & Hibbs (1988) maintain that they are relatively late in date (they suggest a date range of 3500-2500 BC), but the chronology is not conclusive (see above), and depends very largely upon the theoretical model of increasing differentiation of space through time.

If restricted access to the ceremonies and rituals associated with passage graves is suggested by the organisation of space in some of the chambers, this is corroborated by the generally small number of individuals actually buried in them. In many cases the precise number of individuals is unknown, since 19th Century excavators often reburied human remains (in unspecified locations) without detailed study. The excavation reports are often ambiguous and in some cases contradictory, but it is possible to suggest minimum and maximum numbers on the basis of conflicting statements. These figures are shown on Table IV.2¹¹.

¹¹ Excluding burials which are demonstrably not of Middle Neolithic date.

Table IV.2. Numbers of individuals represented by human remains from Channel Island passage graves.

	<u>Minimum number.</u>	<u>Maximum number.</u>
La Hougue Bie	2	8
Grantez	8	8
Faldouet	3	?
Le Mont Ubé	2	?
Le Déhus	8	?
HER 13	1	?

Clearly the passage graves cannot be seen as communal vaults for all the dead of a community: only a few people were given access to the monuments in death, and it seems probable that these people are in some way linked to the groups given access during life. There is no reliable information on gender. Kendrick (1928) identifies all the preserved skeletal material from Le Déhus as representing male individuals, whilst Keith (in BAAL et al. 1925) identifies the remains of 2-3 women and 4-5 men in the assemblage from La Hougue Bie: the problem is that the criteria on which sexing is established is not made explicit, and in Keith's case there are some extraordinary claims made (one individual is identified as male on the basis of a metatarsal, which most anatomists and palaeoanthropologists would consider impossible). One of the skeletons from Grantez (NICOLLE et al. 1913) is of a child aged about 6 years and one of the burial depositions from side-chamber C at Le Déhus represented the remains of a child: the remainder of the preserved skeletal material represents adult individuals¹², although there are reports of infant skeletons being found at Faldouet (AHIER 1852). The skeletal remains from the islands are to be re-examined by Dr Guy Auboire, but the results of this analysis will not be available for some time. Comparative data are not available from most of the Breton sites, since the acidic soils of Brittany generally do not favour the preservation of bone (L'HELGOUACH 1965). Of 62 skeletons found in the seven passage graves at the site of La

¹² The child's jaw from the main chamber at Le Déhus (KENDRICK 1928) almost certainly represents a Late Neolithic deposition (see Ch.V).

Hoguettes à Fontenay-le-Marmion, Calvados, 17 are of children (ranging from neo-natal infants to teenagers), and of the 43 adult skeletons for which sex could be determined, 19 were male and 24 female, with no evidence for differential treatment on the basis of gender or age (CAILLAUD & LAGNEL 1972, DASTUGUE *et al.* 1973).

To return to the organisation of space within Channel Island passage graves, the subdivisions at La Sergenté (Fig.IV.2) have already been briefly alluded to. The chamber of this monument is paved, apart from one unpaved area in the South-eastern part of the chamber, demarcated by a curved line of slabs set on end (NICOLLE 1924). Hibbs & Shute (1984) claim to have identified a further division of space in terms of the quality of paving, with an area of well-laid paving in the North-eastern part of the chamber, and a zone of poorer paving in the Western part¹³. A similar division of the chamber was noted in the drystone passage grave of La Butte, Vierville, Manche (VERRON 1973, 1975). Verron identifies four zones in the Vierville chamber: an area of well-defined paving in the Southern part of the chamber; an area in the North-western part of the chamber paved with larger slabs, demarcated by a line of upright slabs; an area in the North-eastern part of the chamber with no true paving; and a series of shallow pits in the centre of the chamber. Human remains were concentrated in the second of these areas. At La Hogue à Fontenay-le-Marmion, Calvados (DESHAYES 1833, COUTIL 1918), two of the drystone chambers showed evidence for internal organisation: In chamber M there was a setting of stones forming a small internal "dolmen" with a capstone, and in chamber N there was a rectangular area in the South-western part of the chamber, demarcated by two lines of vertical stones. Chambers II and VII at La Hoguettes à Fontenay-le-Marmion (CAILLAUD & LAGNEL 1972) had two levels of paving, the

¹³ It is unclear to what extent this arrangement is an original feature: the pavement may have been altered in the course of restorations following the original excavation.

first covering the whole floor and the second forming a platform in the Northern part of the chamber: human bones were found only on the platforms. Chamber VI at La Hoguette was divided into an antechamber and a main chamber by two slabs, one on either side of the chamber entrance: no human bones were found in the antechamber. This complex organisation of the chamber is essentially a feature of the Norman drystone passage graves, and has not been noted in comparable Breton monuments (L'HELGOUACH 1965). The only suggestions of such organisation in a Breton context are from the sites of Tossen-ar-Run à Yvias, Côtes-du-Nord (MARTIN 1900), where a long slab at the centre of the chamber, parallel to the long axis of the passage, may represent part of an internal division, and cairn III at Ile Guennoc à Landéda, Finistère, where chambers A-C each had a single "stela" placed on the southern side of the chamber entrance, creating a North/South division of space. Because of the small dimensions of the drystone chambers and the non-linear arrangement of space, these subdivisions are unlikely to reflect the same kind of restriction of access as is suggested above for La Hougue Bie. The evidence from La Hoguette and from Vierville suggest that the subdivisions within the drystone chambers reflect structured deposition, with a particular part of the chamber being demarcated and reserved for the deposition of human remains.

In looking at the treatment of human remains in Channel Island passage graves, the following types of deposition can be identified:

- 1 Articulated skeletons within the main chamber.
- 2 Articulated skeletons in lateral chambers and internal compartments.
- 3 Disarticulated and scattered remains within the main chamber.
- 4 Disarticulated and scattered remains in lateral chambers and internal compartments.
- 5 Discrete piles of disarticulated bones in lateral chambers.

Table IV.3 shows the occurrence of these types of

deposition in Channel Island passage graves¹⁴. Information from Breton and Norman sites is shown for comparative purposes.

Table IV.3. Types of burial deposition in Channel Island passage graves.

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
La Hougue Bie			*		
Grantez	*	?		?	
Faldouet		?		*	
Le Mont Ubé				*	
Le Déhus		*			*
<u>Mainland sites.</u>					
Conguel ¹⁵	*				
Port-Blanc I ¹⁶			*		
Port-Blanc II ¹⁷	*				
Beg-an-Dorchenn ¹⁸			*		
Butte de Hu ¹⁹	*				
La Hogue ²⁰	*				
La Hoguette ²¹	*		*		
Vierville I ²²			*		

The Channel Island evidence suggests a clear preference for the deposition of human remains within lateral chambers and internal compartments. This may to some extent be a false picture, since burial deposits in the main chamber may have been cleared out, leaving only the depositions within the lateral chambers and cells intact. Nonetheless, there is clearly a major difference between the Channel Island and Breton megalithic

¹⁴ Excluding burials which are demonstrably not of Middle Neolithic date.

¹⁵ Gaillard 1892.

¹⁶ Gaillard 1883.

¹⁷ Gaillard 1883.

¹⁸ Milon & Giot 1947.

¹⁹ Coutil 1918.

²⁰ Coutil 1918.

²¹ Caillaud & Lagnel 1972.

²² Verron 1975.

traditions, since lateral chambers and internal cells, which in the Channel Island monuments were used for the deposition of human remains, are rare features in the Breton context (see above). The existence of individual compartments and lateral chambers can be seen as a means of establishing discrete foci of mortuary ritual, each perhaps associated with a particular social grouping such as a family, lineage or clan (where evidence is available, as at Le Déhus -see below, each lateral chamber seems to have contained the remains of more than one individual). The compartmented passage graves of Southern Finistère (Type Kerleven), and the rare Breton monuments with lateral chambers probably reflect similar concerns, whilst the multiple passage graves in cairns such as La Hoguette in Normandy and Barnenez in North-western Brittany may represent a comparable phenomenon on a grander scale. In general, however, it does seem that compartmentalisation and the existence of discrete ritual foci are more regular features of Channel Island passage graves as compared with Breton monuments.

As regards the treatment of the corpse in Middle Neolithic funerary ritual, the clearest evidence comes from the sites of Le Déhus, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928) and Grantez, Jersey (NICOLLE et al. 1913). At Le Déhus, the evidence comes from the four lateral chambers, since the depositions recovered from the main chamber are all of Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic date (see Ch.V). No stratigraphy was recorded in side-chamber A (see Fig.IV.8), but both Middle Neolithic and Late Neolithic pottery was found: a stone axe was found beneath a deposit of human bones. In side-chamber B, two skeletons were found, both interred (according to the account by F.C. Lukis) in an upright kneeling position. No pottery or artefacts were found in this chamber. In side-chamber C a single layer of burial deposits comprised three discrete piles of remains, each associated with a pottery vessel: two of the piles consisted of adult remains, the third consisted of the bones of a child. These remains had been placed on a pavement and covered by a layer of

limpet shells: this layer of limpet shells was itself covered by a layer of pebbles, on which were placed more limpet shells and animal bones (perhaps food offerings). Three distinct layers of burial deposits were identified in side-chamber D, separated by layers of earth containing limpet shells. The upper two levels consisted of discrete piles of human bones placed on paving, whilst on the lower level two skeletons were found, lying in a flexed position and both enveloped in limpet shells. Also on this level was a hemispherical bowl, placed in an inverted position on a triangular arrangement of stones, enclosing some fragmentary bones including a vertebra and rib fragments. At Grantez, the lateral chamber had been disturbed prior to the excavation: human remains were present but the context of deposition is unclear. Seven skeletons were found in the main chamber, all in a crouched position. Six of these were on what was identified as the floor level (which was un-paved), and the seventh, about 30 cm below this level, may represent either an earlier phase of deposition or a corpse buried in a pit beneath the floor. All of the skeletons were associated with large quantities of limpet shells, and discrete piles of smooth, brightly coloured pebbles. Animal bones were also found in direct association with the skeletons. The evidence from other Channel Island sites is unclear. Human remains are recorded as having been found in the lateral chambers at Faldouet and in the internal compartments at le Mont Ubé, but the precise details were not recorded. The human remains from La Hougue Bie were found scattered in the chamber with no apparent organisation, but there is some evidence to suggest disturbance of this monument prior to its abandonment (see Ch.V). The human remains found at La Varde, Guernsey, (KENDRICK 1928) are probably not of Middle Neolithic date, since they seem to have been associated with later pottery (see Ch.V).

One of the interesting points about the Channel Island evidence is the apparent coexistence of two quite different mortuary practices: some individuals are found

as complete and articulated skeletons, whilst in other cases the remains are disarticulated, suggesting exposure or temporary burial prior to final deposition. It might be tempting to see this as reflecting two stages in a single complex mortuary procedure: the corpse being exposed within the chamber and the bones being rearranged after decomposition of the flesh. The existence of articulated skeletons in the lowest level in side-chamber D at le Déhus, however, would tend to argue against this suggestion, since disarticulated remains were found in the later levels of the same side-chamber. A similar coexistence of different mortuary practices is suggested by the evidence from Normandy. At La Hoguette à Fontenay-le-Marmion (CAILLAUD & LAGNEL 1972), skeletons in crouched positions were found in chambers I,II,VI and VII, but the remains in chambers IV and V were disarticulated, and in chamber IV the skulls had been collected together and buried in two pits, protected by stone slabs. A pit in front of the Northern facade of cairn II at Vierville, Manche (VERRON 1977) contained two burials, one overlying the other: the upper burial was an articulated skeleton in crouched position, whilst the lower consisted of a skull and semi-articulated long-bones. In chamber B at Ty-Floc'h à Saint-Thois, Finistère, long-bones belonging to at least two or three people were arranged together in a bunch ("un véritable fagot"), and associated with cranial fragments (LE ROUX 1981). The deposition of disarticulated remains seems on occasions to have involved selection of particular skeletal elements (most commonly the skull and long-bones) with other bones being either discarded or removed elsewhere: this is clearly the case with the Vierville burial and the Ty-Floc'h deposition, but the records (in Lukis' notebooks and the *Collectanea Antiqua*²³) of the Déhus excavation are not explicit (though it is recorded that the "piles of bones" did include skulls). A burial from Maître Ile on the reef of Les Ecréhous may be of

²³ Vol V. pp20-38.

interest here. The remains were found in a shallow pit underlying the Medieval priory, covered by a layer of rubble. The long-bones were bunched together beside the skull, and the two halves of the pelvis were placed beneath the skull to form a sort of pillow (W. Rodwell pers.comm.): the remains are those of a young adult female. The form of the burial is such that it is almost certainly of Middle Neolithic date, but there is no evidence for the existence of a passage grave. There are several large stones in the immediate vicinity, which have been used by Medieval and post-Medieval builders, but which may originally have been menhirs, and it is possible that these formed part of a megalithic complex similar to the Allignements du Moulin à La Grée de Coujoux, Ille-et-Vilaine (LE ROUX 1979,1981,1983), and that the burial was associated with this. It is significant in the Channel Island context that at Le Déhus and at Maître Ile, disarticulated remains are arranged in discrete piles, thus maintaining the integrity of the individual corpse: this is not the case, for example, in chambers IV and V at La Hoguette, where no attempt has been made to preserve the integrity of individual corpses, or at Ty-Floc'h where the bones of several individuals have been deliberately bunched together.

The association of human remains with limpet shells is a recurrent feature in the Channel Islands: all of the Grantez skeletons were associated with quantities of limpet shells, and the skeletons from side-chamber D at Le Déhus were "enveloped" in them. The three burial horizons in side-chamber D at Le Déhus were separated by layers containing limpet shells, and the single burial horizon in side-chamber C was covered by a layer of limpet shells. At La Hougue Bie, it was suggested (BAAL et al. 1925) that limpet shells had been placed on top of the capstones during the construction of the mound. The significance of the limpet shells is unclear, but the practice of covering burial deposits with them has undoubtedly contributed greatly to the preservation of

skeletal material in otherwise unfavorable soil conditions. It is possible that enhanced preservation was an intended consequence of limpet shell deposition. Limpet shells are not a regular feature of passage grave assemblages on the Armorican mainland.

Faunal remains have been found in the passage graves of La Varde, Le Déhus, La Hougue Bie and Grantéz. The stratigraphic context of the remains from La Varde and Le Déhus is unclear. Lukis states that animal bones were found in superficial rubbish overlying the archaeological deposits at both sites, and also that animal bones were found on the layer of pebbles covering the funerary deposition in side-chamber C at Le Déhus, but it is impossible to separate in the Déhus collection the bones that relate to this deposition and those which represent more recent accumulation of rubbish. There is no evidence for recent intrusions into the chamber of La Hougue Bie, whilst at Grantéz the animal remains were directly associated with individual skeletons, so that these two assemblages can be considered to be sealed. The assemblage from La Hougue Bie comprises bones of cattle, sheep, pig and a bird identified as domestic fowl²⁴ and shells of oyster: the oyster shells were found on the platform at the Western end of the chamber, whilst the animal bones, like the human remains, were scattered on the floor of the chamber with no apparent organisation. The assemblage from Grantéz comprises bones of cattle, pig, goat, horse and deer. The context of deposition of the Grantéz animal remains suggests deliberate food offerings, and this is similarly suggested by the animal bones found above the burial deposit in side-chamber C at Le Déhus. Animal bones have been found in several Armorican passage graves (cf MINOT 1958), but in most cases the context of deposition is unclear. Verron (1975) comments on the animal bone from the Vierville passage grave, and notes the differential distribution of animal

²⁴ This identification, quoted in Baal et al. 1925, is unconfirmed.

and human bone within the chamber. None of the faunal assemblages from the Channel Islands suggest the kind of totemism that has been claimed, for example, in relation to Orkney megaliths (HEDGES 1984): the complete skeleton of a fox from the passage of chamber II at La Hoguette (CAILLAUD & LAGNEL 1972) might be taken as indicating something of this nature, but it could equally be explained as representing a fox's opportunistic use of the passage as a lair in relatively recent times. Badger remains from the same site are almost certainly later than the inhumations.

Pottery is a recurrent feature of passage grave assemblages, both in the Channel Islands and on the Armorican mainland. The principal forms of pottery found are globular and hemispherical bowls (see Appendix iv). Vase-supports are a particular feature of Jersey passage grave assemblages: with the exceptions of La Sergenté and Le Mont de la Ville (no prehistoric finds were recorded from the latter site), all of the passage graves on this island have produced vase-supports. The assemblage from La Hougue Bie consists almost exclusively of vase-supports and includes fragments from at least twenty-one such vessels. Vase-supports are totally absent from the other Channel Islands, and are by no means a common feature of Armorican passage grave assemblages. L'Helgouach 1965 lists vase-supports from only four Breton passage graves (Mané-Beg-Portivy à Saint-Pierre-Quiberon, Mané-er-Gragueux and Le Lizo à Carnac and Le Petit Mont à Arzon, all in the Morbihan²⁵): to these must be added Barnenez (GIOT 1969, 1987), where vase-support fragments were found outside the entrances to dolmens C & D, and Kerleven (LE ROUX & L'HELGOUACH 1967). It should be remembered that over 75% of the vase-supports from the entire Armorican region come from the single site of Er Lannic à Arzon, Morbihan (LE ROUZIC 1930a). The function of these vessels is unclear, but Baal et al. (1925) note

²⁵ Le Moustoir à Carnac, which he also lists, is in reality a Grand Tumulus Carnacéen, and not a passage grave.

that the saucers of most of the vase-supports found at La Hougue Bie showed evidence for burning, suggesting that the vessels may have been used either as lamps or for burning offerings or some form of incense. The quantity of vase-support fragments found within the double stone circle at Er Lannic would lend support to the hypothesis that these vessels were specifically ritual or ceremonial in character. Specialised pottery forms from Channel Island passage graves include the miniature cup from Faldouet (Fig.iv.7b), which Hawkes (1937) suggests may have been used to contain pigment, and the "phalere" from Grantez (Fig.iv.6d) with two perforations presumably intended for suspension.

The depositional context of pottery within passage graves varies from one site to another. The vessels found in side-chamber C at Le Déhus were associated with specific mortuary deposits: each discrete pile of human bones was associated with one intact vessel, suggesting that these can be seen as grave-goods placed as offerings for the deceased individual. The hemispherical vessel from side-chamber D of the same site was placed over a deposition of human bones, as if to protect them. The significance of this particular deposition is unclear: the bones are fragmentary and consist of rib and vertebra fragments. Lukis (quoted in KENDRICK 1928) suggested that it might represent the burial of a heart, removed from the body with rib fragments accidentally attached, but as Kendrick notes, it is difficult to explain the presence of vertebra fragments in this context. The skeletons at Grantez were associated with "offerings" of limpet shells, animal bone and pebbles, but the pottery found in this chamber was not directly associated with the skeletons. Two vessels, one of them a vase-support, were found on the floor level near the centre of the chamber, and a hemispherical bowl was found in an inverted position near the South wall of the chamber. The "phalere" (see Appendix iv) was found near the entrance to the lateral chamber, and the fragments of a carinated vessel were found buried beneath the floor of the

passage. Several of the vessels from this site appear to have been deposited intact (Fig.iv.5a,iv.6d,iv.11a,f). Of the four vessels found in the chamber of La Sergenté, one was buried under the foundation of the wall on the West side, and another was buried in a recess in the floor, also on the West side. The other two vessels were found on the paving of the chamber: three of these vessels were deposited intact. The pottery assemblage from La Hougue Bie is exceptional in that it consists almost exclusively of vase-supports. Two of these were found intact, placed at the edge of the platform at the West end of the chamber (see Fig.IV.16). A quantity of broken pottery was found near the centre of the chamber, associated with evidence for fire. The fragments in the collection suggest that, of the twenty-one vase-supports represented only three were deposited intact. The depositional context of pottery from Faldouet and Le Mont Ubé was not adequately recorded, but it is known that intact vessels were found on both sites. Excavations of Channel Island passage graves have in most cases focussed exclusively on the passage and chamber, so that no data are available concerning possible deposition of pottery or other artefacts outside the entrances to the structures or within the cairn. Recent excavations at La Hougue des Géonnais, Jersey have, as yet, provided no evidence for such depositions. Depositions of Middle Neolithic stone implements are rare in Channel Island passage graves, but two polished axes were found at Faldouet (depositional context unknown), and one axe was found in side-chamber A at Le Déhus, beneath a deposit of human bones.

The evidence outlined above suggests considerable diversity in terms of structure and depositional practice in Channel Island passage graves. This diversity is manifested in the organisation of space within the monuments themselves, in the way in which the remains of the dead are treated, and in the context of deposition of faunal remains and artefacts. Understanding of this diversity is hampered by several factors, notably the lack of detailed information on depositional context in

many early excavation reports, and the lack of chronological precision in terms of the relationships between depositions and between monuments. These same problems exist in relation to the Breton and Norman evidence, making comparison difficult. The absence of preserved bone in most of the Breton passage graves creates a further problem in terms of comparing island and mainland evidence. Despite these difficulties, certain regularities can be identified.

First, the number of persons represented in mortuary depositions is always small, (eight is the maximum number for a Channel Island passage grave:²⁴ see Table IV.2). This clearly indicates restricted access to the monuments in death, probably linked to the restricted access during life which is suggested by the organisation of space within certain of the passage graves in the islands. Comparative data are not available for most Breton sites, but the remains of twenty-four people were found at Port Blanc I (GAILLARD 1883). Chamber I at La Hoguette contained the remains of seventeen people, chambers III and V each contained remains of eleven individuals. What evidence there is suggests that access to the passage graves (at least in death) may have been more restricted in the Channel Islands than on the Armorican mainland. Second, mortuary depositions include both intact skeletons and disarticulated remains: both practices are known from the Armorican mainland as well as from the Channel Islands. The evidence from Le Déhus and Maître Ile is particularly interesting since disarticulated remains have been arranged in discrete piles thus maintaining the integrity of the individual²⁷. This contrasts with the evidence from Beg-an-Dorchenn (MILON & GIOT 1947), Port-Blanc I (GAILLARD 1883) and chambers IV and V at La Hoguette (CAILLAUD & LAGNEL 1972). Third,

²⁴ Excluding burials of demonstrably later date: see Ch.V.

²⁷ The exception to this is La Hougue Bie, where there is some suggestion of post-depositional disturbance (see Ch.V).

mortuary deposits in Channel Island passage graves are often concentrated in lateral chambers and internal compartments (see Table IV.3). Among passage graves in mainland Armorica, lateral chambers and internal compartments are rare.

Art in Channel Island passage graves.

Two of the Channel Island passage graves, La Hougue Bie in Jersey and Le Déhus in Guernsey, contain examples of megalithic art. Three of the stones at La Hougue Bie are carved. The slab forming the East side of the Northern lateral chamber is carved with a series of 24 circular cup-marks (Fig.IV.17a), and further cupmarks have been noted on the underside of the capstone of this same lateral chamber (HAWKES 1937). Most of the cupmarks on the first stone were originally hidden by interstitial drystone walling forming part of the North wall of the main chamber. The slab separating the terminal cell from the main chamber is carved on both sides (PATTON 1987a)²⁸. On the Eastern side (i.e. visible from the main chamber) is a spiral defined by a pecked line, associated with further cupmarks (Fig.IV.17b), and on the Western side is an écusson motif (Fig.IV.17c). This slab is of granite from Le Mont Mado in the Northern part of the island (MOURANT 1933), and apart from the trough on which the slab originally stood, it is the only piece of Mont Mado granite in the monument, all of the other stones coming from the South and East of the island. One of the capstones at Le Déhus is carved with an anthropomorphic representation (Fig.IV.18): this has generally been identified as male (KENDRICK 1928), on the basis of a supposed beard, but Kinnes (1980) and Bender (1986) have recently attempted to relate it to the later statue-menhirs of the S.O.M. complex (see Ch.V), which are unambiguously female. The carvings from La Hougue Bie and Le Déhus show considerable divergence from the traditions

²⁸ The existence of these carvings is doubted by some authorities (Hibbs, Kinnes, Mourant), and it is hoped to resolve the question in the near future by taking casts and subjecting these to detailed examination.

of megalithic art known from the Armorican mainland. The écusson motif from La Hougue Bie is a variation on a well-known Armorican theme (cf SHEE-TWOHIG 1981), and cup-marks occur over much of Western Europe, but the Hougue Bie spiral and the Déhus anthropomorph have no direct Armorican parallels.

Recent work in Brittany (L'HELGOUACH 1983, LE ROUX 1984a) has provided conclusive evidence for the re-use of previously carved stones in the construction of megalithic monuments, including passage graves. In some cases, the evidence suggests the deliberate destruction of substantial carved menhirs, and the incorporation of the fragments in the construction of monuments. L'Helgouach (1983) suggests that the carved menhirs may have been associated with particular individuals, and that on the death of these people the stones were ceremonially broken and later incorporated in megalithic monuments. It seems likely that the slab at La Hougue Bie with the carved spiral and écusson, and the capstone at Le Déhus with the anthropomorphic representation, both represent examples of this phenomenon. The stone from La Hougue Bie is a flat rectangular slab, with a clearly visible fracture on its upper surface. Mourant's (1933) petrological work demonstrates that it was brought to La Hougue Bie from a location in the North of the island, whereas the other stones of the monument were brought from around the South and East. The position of this stone, at the back of the platform (see above), separating the terminal cell from the main chamber, suggests that particular importance was attached to it. The carved spiral is extremely worn, suggesting that the carving was exposed to the elements for some time before its incorporation in the passage grave. The anthropomorphic representation at Le Déhus must represent an original feature, and cannot have been carved after the capstone was put in place: apart from the difficulty of carving on the undersurface of a capstone, the pillar would have prevented full access. The stone is fractured in several places (the main fracture dividing the carving

Fig.IV.17. La Hougue Bie: carvings.

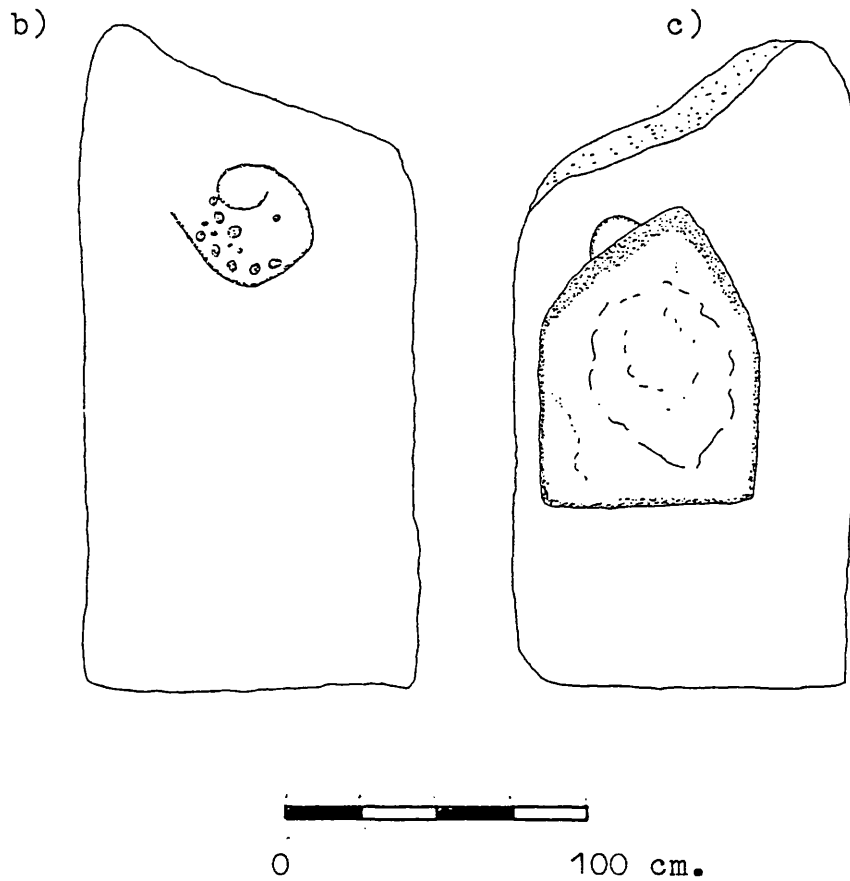
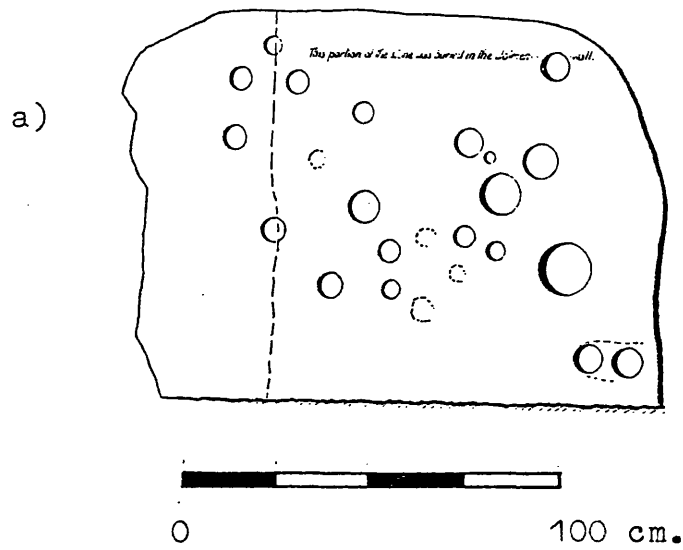
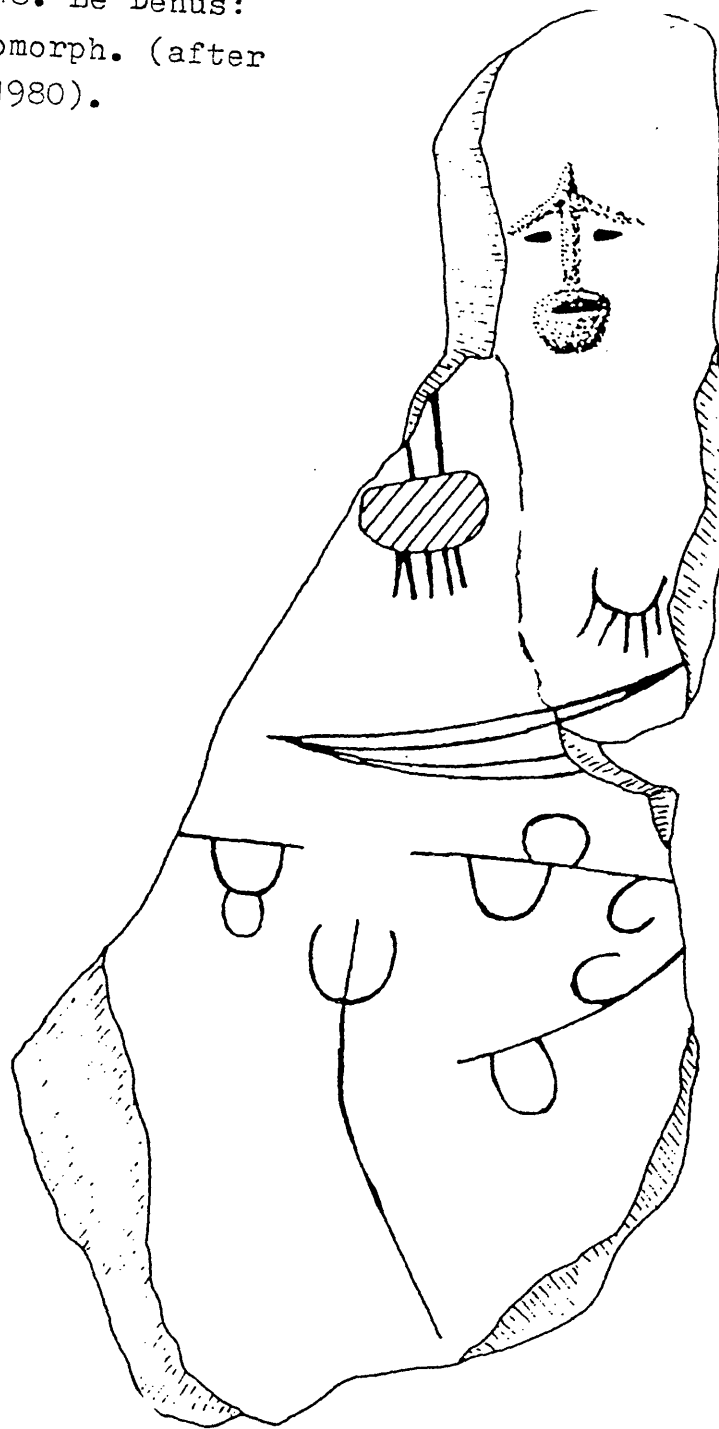
(a: after BAAL et al. 1925, b-c: after PATTON 1987a).

Fig.IV.13. Le Déhus:
anthropomorph. (after
KINNES 1980).



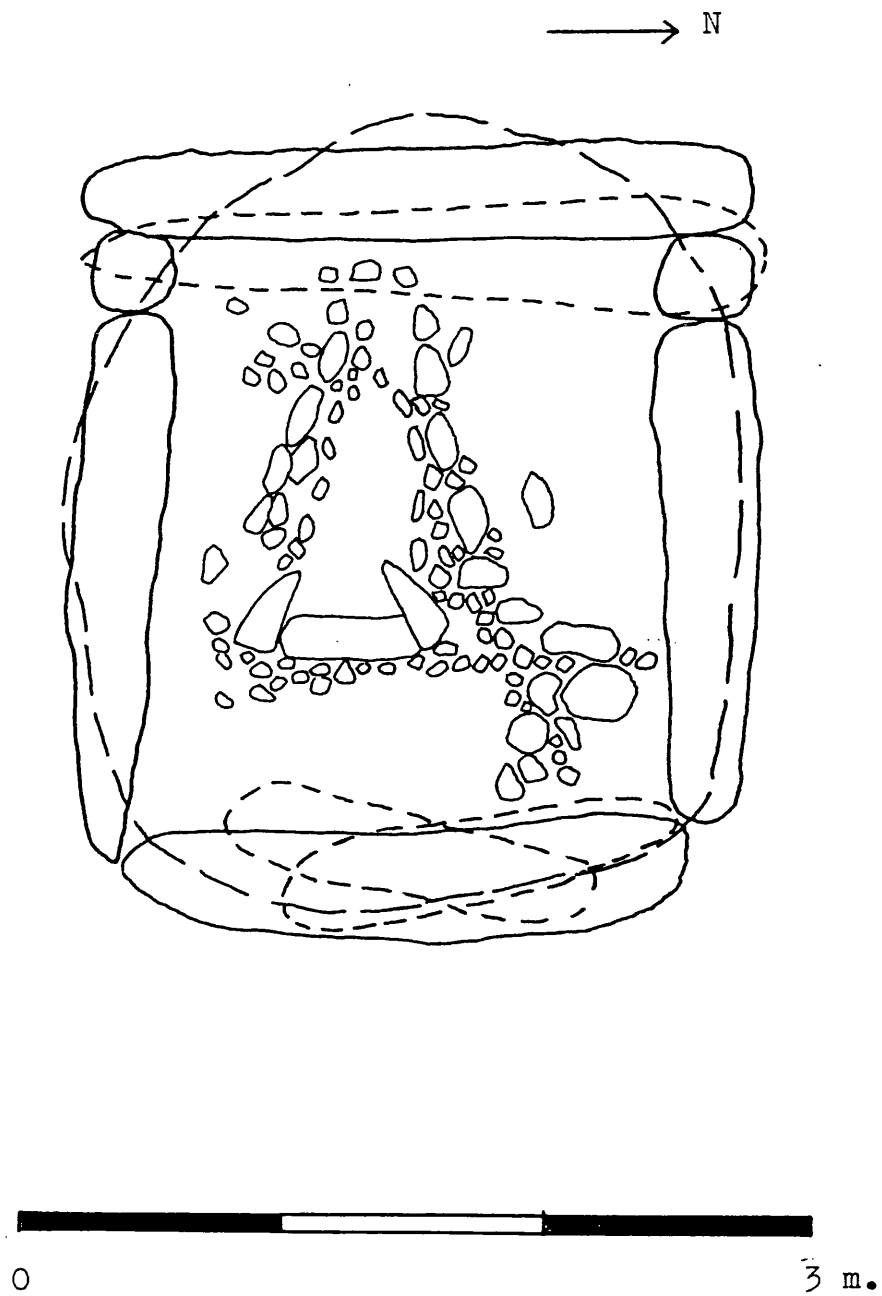
into two parts is presumably post-depositional, and resulted in the collapse of one part of the stone into the chamber), and again, the carvings are clearly worn. The cup-marked stone from the East side of the Hougue Bie lateral chamber is of interest here, since most of the cup-marks were hidden by drystone walling when the monument was discovered. It seems unlikely that the cup-marks were originally intended to be hidden, and in view of this it might be suggested that this stone represents another example of re-use.

Megalithic cists.

Although the Middle Neolithic ritual landscape of the Channel Islands is dominated by passage graves, these are not the only monuments known.

The site of La Hougue Boëte, Jersey, is a megalithic cist, 2.3 m in length and 2m in width, formed of stone slabs with a single capstone (Fig.IV.19). The cist is covered by a mound, 4.5 m in height, consisting exclusively of loessic clay. The mound has been damaged by cultivation and by the construction of a road on the Eastern side. The excavators claim (DEYROLLE & MAUGER 1912) that the cist was partially filled with clay, on the surface of which was a stone setting (see Fig.IV.19) with three lines which they describe as forming the rough shape of a horse. This setting incorporated three larger stones, below which were found some bird bones. At a lower level was found a mixture of animal and human bones: protruding from this mixture was an articulate human arm, directed towards the East. The skull of a horse was found resting on a pile of stones in the North-east corner of the chamber. A human skull was also found, reportedly resting on the neck of the horse. A pottery vessel was found just in front of the human hand: this vessel is not illustrated in the report, but is described as being "à fond arrondi" (i.e. a round-based globular or hemispherical bowl). Isolated horse teeth were also found, and a fragment of a stone axe. The axe fragment, the human bones and the horse skull have unfortunately been lost, and all that is preserved of the assemblage is

Fig.IV.19. La Hougue Boëte (after DEYROLLE & MAUGER 1912).



a collection of horse teeth. Two pottery vessels in the collection of La Société Jersiaise are catalogued as coming from the site, but these are wheel-turned Gallo-Roman vessels with flat bases (HAWKES 1937), quite incompatible with the description given in the excavation report.

It is difficult to know how much reliance one can put on this particular report: one of the signatories (Deyrolle) was not present at the time of the excavation, and the other was seriously ill at the time the report was being written. The precise details of the burial deposition may be questionable, but there seems no reason to doubt the basic facts presented, i.e. that human and equine remains were found in association with a pottery vessel and a stone axe fragment. As far as the pottery is concerned, the description of the vessel given in the report is probably accurate, as neither the form of the monument nor the nature of the burial deposition can easily be reconciled with a Gallo-Roman date. In all probability, the original vessel has been lost, and the Gallo-Roman vessels (probably from elsewhere) mistakenly attributed to the site.

The form and size of the cist, together with the size of the mound suggest a possible link to the Grand Tumulus Carnacéen series of Southern Brittany (cf GIOT et al. 1979). These large mounds (Le Tumulus-Saint-Michel and Le Moustoir à Carnac, Tumiach à Arzon, Mané-Lud and Mané-er-Hroëk à Locmariaquer etc. all in the Morbihan), cover closed megalithic cists similar to that at La Hougue Boëte, often containing deposits of fine stone axes and rings. Perhaps significantly, horse remains were found in two of these mounds. At Mané-Lud (LE ROUZIC 1911), the skulls of five horses were placed on top of a line of menhirs at the Eastern end of the mound, and a quantity of burnt horse bones were found towards the centre of the mound, whilst at Le Moustoir (MINOT 1958), a large quantity of horse teeth are recorded as having been found in the chamber.

The Grosnez Hougue, Jersey (RYBOT 1924), is a site of

uncertain form, having been much damaged by post-Medieval quarrying. The mound is 15 m in diameter and 0.9 m in height, with a depression at the centre representing the activities of the quarrymen. The excavators found three stones in this depression (Fig.IV.20), but only one of these (marked A on the plan) appears to have been in situ. Extending to the North of these stones was a "floor" of red soil. A stone axe and a large quantity of pottery were found in association with this area of red soil. The pottery assemblage is particularly interesting (see Appendix iv), since it includes pottery of Cerny affinities (see Ch.III), as well as fragments of three vase-supports, a miniature vase and three atypical vessels, decorated with shallow grooves.

A fourth stone, apparently in situ, was found on the edge of the mound on the North-west side (marked D on plan). The stones at Grosnez are all relatively small by comparison with those found in the passage graves: the largest (A) measures 1.2x0.8x0.5 m.

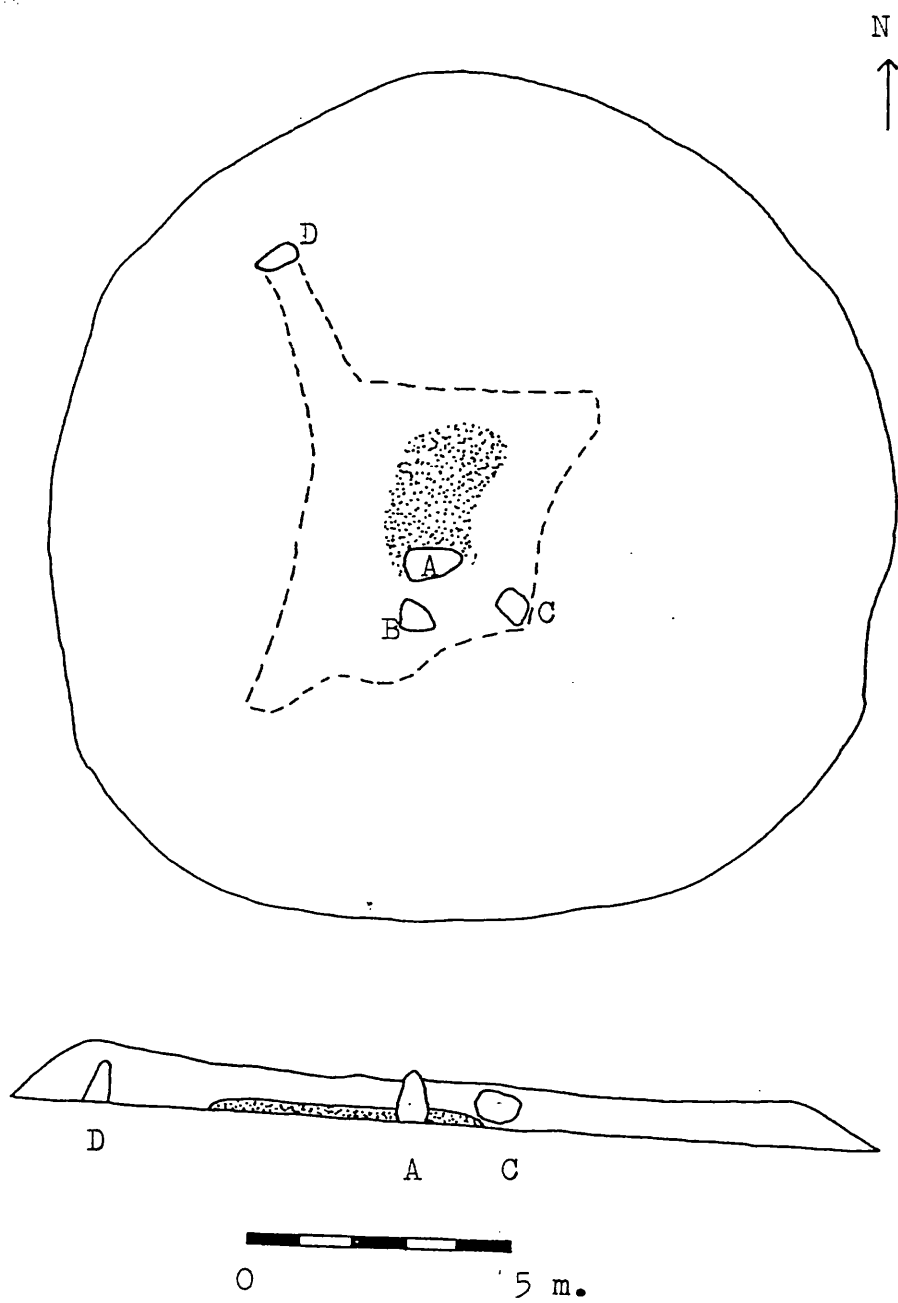
A note in the Bulletin of La Société Jersiaise for 1925²⁹ states that further work was carried out on the site the year after the main excavation, but that no further artefacts were found. This note does however state that "a mass of overlapping pieces of granite" was found, covering an area of "about six square feet" near the Western edge of the mound: these stones were lifted but nothing was found beneath them.

Whilst it is impossible to reconstruct the precise form of the site from the available evidence, the size and positions of the surviving stones clearly do not suggest a passage grave. The stone at A is presumably part of a central structure, whilst the stone at D suggests the possible existence of a circle corresponding to the edge of the mound.

The site of Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928) is in some respects similar to Grosnez. The monument had been damaged by quarrying prior to

²⁹ Vol.10. p174.

Fig.IV.20. Grosnez Hougue (after RYBOT 1924).

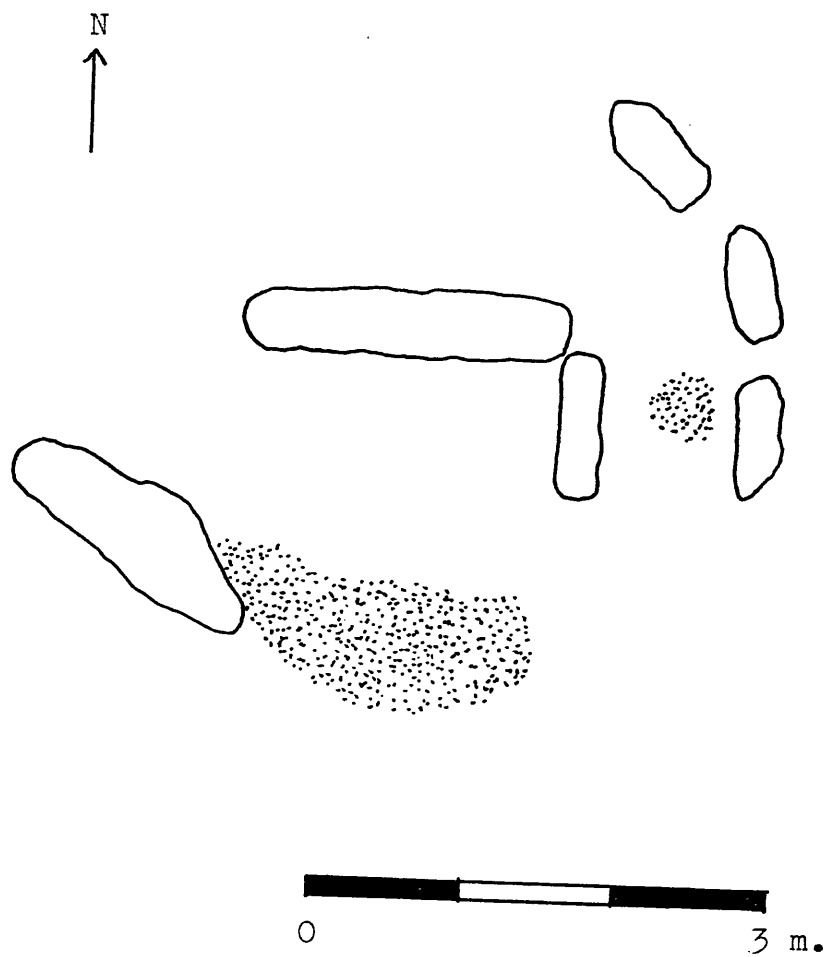


excavation by F.C. Lukis in 1837, and was completely destroyed some time in the 1870's. Lukis found two stone slabs set at right angles to one another, which he took to be the remains of a cist. The largest of these was around 2 m in length, the other approximately 1 m. Lukis records³⁰ that nothing was found within the cist, but that on extending the trench to the South, a quantity of pottery was found at a distance of approximately 1.5 m from the inner side of the largest upright. The pottery fragments are recorded as having been found in "virgin soil", and never more than ten inches below the surface. This pottery clearly represents an in situ deposition, since most of the vessels are intact (Figs iv.1, iv.2a, iv.5c-d), and one small vessel is recorded as having been found inside a larger vessel. Lukis later excavated the area to the east of the cist, finding another upright 1 m from the smaller stone of the cist. Two further uprights were found to the North of this, and these three stones appear to represent part of a circle around the cist. Pottery and a stone axe were found in the area between the cist and the outer circle. Finally, Lukis examined the area to the South-west of the cist, finding a block which he took to be a displaced capstone. Near to this he found a small pottery vessel (Fig. iv.1b) and fragments of human bone. The pottery from the site (see Appendix iv) is all of Middle Neolithic date. Fig. IV.21 shows a reconstructed plan of the site, based on the measurements given by Lukis in the Collectanea Antiqua, and on a sketch plan in the Lukis collection (KENDRICK 1928: Fig.64).

The sites of Grosnez and Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin are of particular interest since they can perhaps be related both to Early Neolithic and to Late Neolithic monument forms. The evidence suggests that these two sites represent monuments of much smaller scale than the passage graves, though they appear to be of similar date. Although the precise form of the monuments cannot be

³⁰ In the Collectanea Antiqua Vol V. pp50-58.

Fig.IV.21. Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin
(reconstructed from sketch and description by
F.C. Lukis).



(approximate scale).

established with certainty, both appear to have consisted of a mound with a central stone structure, and further stones on the edge of the mound. Clear similarities can be drawn with the cist-in-circle monuments of the Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic period, discussed in Ch.V, and the most plausible interpretation of Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin is that it was a cist-in-circle, with a zone of pottery deposition within the circle on the South side (Fig.IV.21). The basic pattern of a cist or cists within an enclosure of upright stones is also found in the Early Neolithic monument of Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (see Ch.III), though the enclosure here is axe-shaped rather than circular. It is perhaps possible to identify this recurrent pattern as reflecting a distinct monumental tradition that spans the entire Neolithic period in the Channel Islands. This tradition was, of course, modified substantially with time, and during the Middle Neolithic period seems to have been largely subordinated by the separate tradition represented by the passage graves. This tradition does appear to be a specifically insular phenomenon, though there is one example of a cist-in-circle in Brittany, the monument of Le Bois du Latz à Carnac, Morbihan (LE ROUZIC 1933:p228): two pottery vessels of Middle Neolithic date were found within this cist (FONTES 1881).

Megaliths in the landscape.

Understanding of the Middle Neolithic landscape in the Channel Islands is hampered by the lack of settlement evidence. Since not a single settlement of the period is known in the islands, it is impossible to talk directly of the relationship between tombs and settlements. Some interesting patterns have emerged, however, in terms of the spatial distribution of monuments, and Mourant's (1933,1937,1963,1977) petrological work on Jersey has made further inferences possible.

Most of the surviving passage graves are situated on the plateau zone of the islands, within sight of the sea. None of the sites are in the valley zone, and only four monuments, Le Creux-ès-Faies in Guernsey and HER 6,12 &

13 in Herm) are on the coastal plain. Fig.IV.22 shows the distribution of these monuments. This distribution will undoubtedly be skewed by post-depositional transforms (see Ch.I) but there is an interesting contrast between the distribution of Middle Neolithic monuments and that of later megalithic sites (see Ch.V). Table IV.4 shows the heights above O.D. of Middle Neolithic monuments.

Table IV.4. Middle Neolithic monuments: heights (in metres) above O.D.

Passage graves.

La Hougue Bie	86
Faldouet	66
Le Mont Ubé	42
Grantez	63
Le Mont de la Ville	50
La Hougue des Géonnais	72
La Sergenté	42
La Varde	18
Le Déhus	15
Le Creux-ès-Faies	4
Le Trépied	15
Les Pourciaux South	18
HER 6	5
HER 12	5
HER 13	5

Megalithic cists.

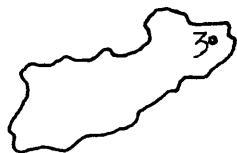
La Hougue Boëte	96
Grosnez Hougue	75
Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin	15

Interestingly, the Jersey sites (the first seven on the above table + La Hougue Boëte and Grosnez Hougue) are consistently situated on higher land than those of the other islands. This is not simply a feature of differing topography on the islands themselves: land on Guernsey, for example, does rise to over 100 m, yet none of the surviving monuments is situated higher than 18 m. It seems difficult to account for this difference entirely in terms of post-depositional transforms, particularly since none of the surviving Jersey monuments is situated lower than 30 m.

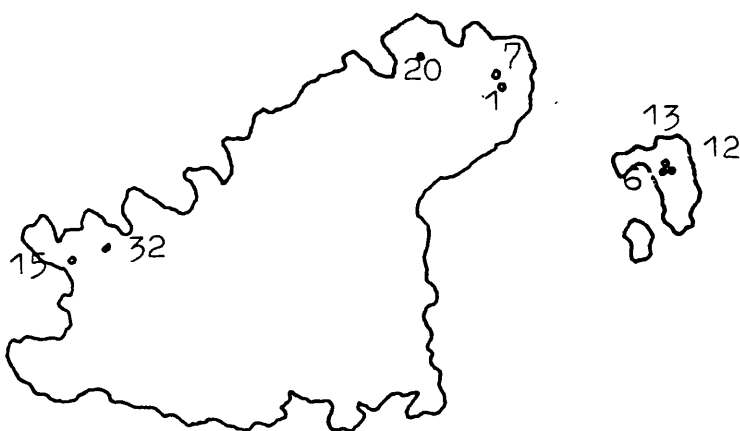
The sites vary considerably in terms of their dimensions. Tables IV.5 and IV.6 show the dimensions of the mound and internal structure respectively.

Fig. IV.22. Distribution of Middle Neolithic sites in the Channel Islands (the numbers shown on the maps refer to the list of sites in Appendix vi).

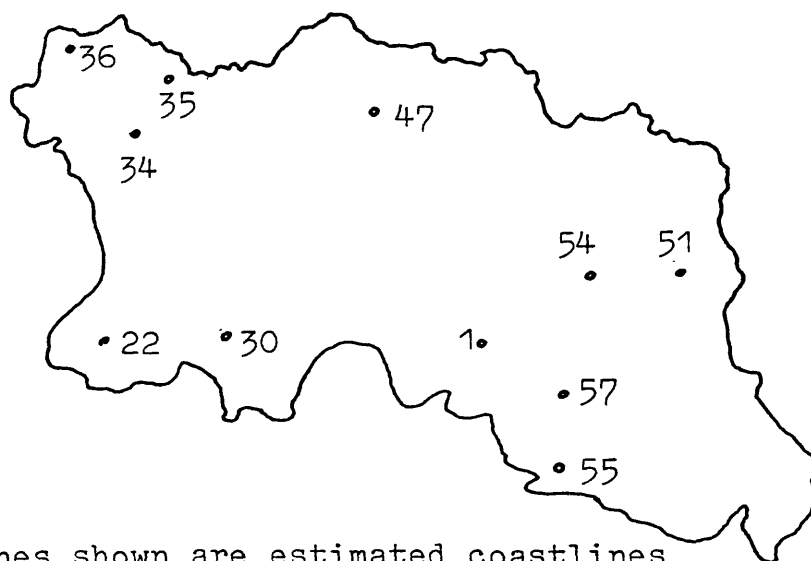
Alderney.



Guernsey/Herm.



Jersey.



Coastlines shown are estimated coastlines at 3500 BC.

Table IV.5. Middle Neolithic monuments in the Channel Islands: dimensions (metres) of mound.

	<u>Diameter</u>	<u>Height</u>
<u>Passage graves.</u>		
La Hougue Bie	55	12
Faldouet	33	?
La Hougue des Géonnais	20	1.5
La Sergenté	15	1.5
La Varde	18	4
Le Creux-ès-Faies	18	3
Le Déhus	19	4

Megalithic cists.

La Hougue Boëte ? 4.5
(Dimensions for other sites indeterminable).

Table IV.6. Middle Neolithic monuments in the Channel Islands: dimensions (metres) of internal structure.

	<u>Max.Length</u>	<u>Max.Width</u>
<u>Passage graves.</u>		
La Hougue Bie	18.6	3.6
Faldouet	14	3
La Hougue des Géonnais	11.9	5.5
La Sergenté	5.5	3.3
Le Mont Ubé	12.3	3
Grantez	9	3
Le Mont de la Ville	11.5	7
La Varde	12.3	3.6
Le Creux-ès-Faies	10	3
Le Déhus	9.3	3.3

Megalithic cists.

La Hougue Boëte 2.3 2
(Dimensions for other sites indeterminable).

In both these tables, the site of La Hougue Bie stands out as being significantly larger than any other site in the islands. To return to Table IV.4, it may be significant to note that this monument is also situated on higher ground than any other Channel Island passage grave. The inland position of La Hougue Bie is unusual (Fig.IV.23), and the site does seem to occupy a central place in relation to other monuments in the Eastern half of the island of Jersey. From the summit of the mound there is a particularly fine view of the Eastern half of the island and beyond to Les Ecréhous and the coast of the Cotentin.

Dr Arthur Maurant (1933,1937,1963,1977) has identified the original provenance of most of the stones used in the construction of megalithic monuments on the island of Jersey, and the results of this petrological work are of particular interest. Fig.IV.23 shows the distribution of

passage graves in Jersey: the straight lines shown on the map link the monuments to the locations from which stones are derived. The monuments of Faldouet, Le Mont Ubé, Le Mont de la Ville and La Sergenté are built of stone taken from within a radius of 1-2 km of the sites themselves, and no source of stone is shared by two or more of these monuments. The monument of La Hougue Bie, by contrast, incorporates stones from within a radius of 6 km, including locations also used by the builders of Le Mont de la Ville and Le Mont Ubé.

On the basis of the evidence detailed above, it seems reasonable to suggest that whilst monuments such as Le Mont de la Ville, Le Mont Ubé and Faldouet served the communities of a given area, the site of La Hougue Bie served a much wider area, (minimally the Eastern half of Jersey), reflecting a higher level of social organisation. There is no clear evidence for similar site hierarchy elsewhere in the islands: petrological data are unfortunately not available for the monuments of Guernsey, Alderney or Herm, but no monument stands out in terms of size or location in the way that La Hougue Bie clearly does³¹. The monument of Grantez is of interest in that Maurant (1937) identifies six of the stones as coming from La Corbière, some 5.5 km from the site. The size of this monument, however, does not invite comparison with La Hougue Bie.

To take this discussion a stage further, it might be suggested that the articulation of monuments within the landscape reflects three levels of social organisation:

- 1) The individual domestic group, largely invisible in the archaeological record.
- 2) Second level units comprising several domestic groups living within an area of 10-15 km². Passage graves such as Le Mont Ubé, Le Mont de la Ville and Faldouet reflect this level.

³¹ The monument of La Roque qui Sonne, Guernsey, was clearly a megalith of considerable dimensions, but is of unknown form and date.

- 3) Third level units comprising several second level units living within an area of 30-50 km². The monument of La Hougue Bie reflects this level, which seems not to have existed on Guernsey. The site of Grantez may reflect an emergent third level unit in the Western half of Jersey.

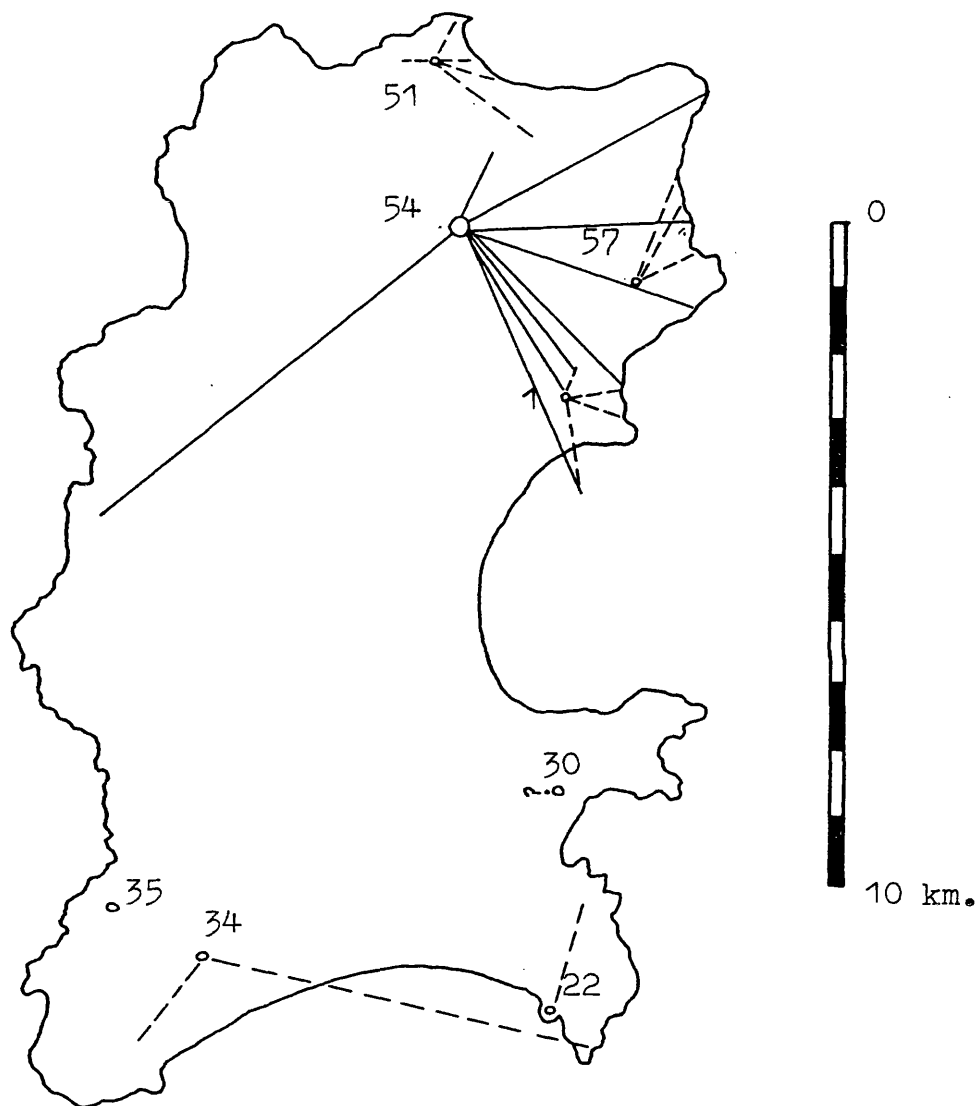
The implications of this will be further considered at the end of the chapter, after the regional context has been considered.

It is difficult to relate the megalithic cists to this scheme, since only three are known and one of these no longer exists, but given their small size, it would be tempting to relate the sites of Grosnez and Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin to level 1. The monument of La Hougue Boëte is much larger, and must be seen as representing a different type of monument altogether: comparable monuments in Southern Brittany contain elaborate depositions of jadeite axes, polished stone rings and necklaces of variscite (LE ROUZIC 1932,1935).

A further interesting point that emerges from Maurant's petrological work concerns the recurrence of granite from two particular sources in several Jersey megaliths. The sources concerned are Fort Regent, on the South coast of the island, and Le Mont Mado in the North. Fort Regent (or Le Mont de la Ville) is a massive outcrop which towers like an acropolis over the modern town of Saint Helier. Le Mont Mado may in its time have been a similar (though smaller) outcrop (MOURANT in HAWKES 1937:p206), but has been completely removed by post-Medieval quarrying. Fort Regent granite has been identified in the monuments of La Hougue Bie, Le Mont de la Ville³² (MOURANT 1977) and La Hougue Boëte (MOURANT pers.comm.), and in several other locations probably representing destroyed megaliths (though of unknown date): Maurant lists La Pouclée (WILLY 1967) in the parish of St.Helier, Hautlieu in the parish of St.Saviour and a stone beneath the foundation of St.Saviour's church. Fort Regent

³² This monument stands on the outcrop itself.

Fig.IV.23. Jersey passage graves: sources of stone.



Coastline shown is modern coastline.

granite has also been identified in the Late Neolithic monuments of Ville-ès-Nouaux and the Gasworks (see Ch.V). Mont Mado granite has been identified at La Hougue Bie (the carved slab which separates the terminal cell from the main chamber) and in the Late Neolithic site of Les Platons (see Ch.V). Given this use of Fort Regent and Le Mont Mado granite, and the fact that a passage grave was built on Le Mont de la Ville itself, it seems likely that these two outcrops were themselves significant features of the island's sacred geography (cf MOURANT in HAWKES 1937:p206).

IV.iii. Economy and settlement in the Middle Neolithic of the Channel Islands.

The only Middle Neolithic site in the Channel Islands which can be identified as a possible settlement is La Motte in Jersey (NICOLLE & SINEL 1912,1913,1914a). La Motte is now a small islet, 90 m from the South-east coast of Jersey, accessible only at low tide. The islet consists almost exclusively of loess, which is subject to rapid erosion by the sea: in prehistoric times it almost certainly formed the tip of a peninsula, and it may even have been joined to the main island as late as the 17th Century (this is suggested by a map of 1611). Excavations revealed a multi-phase site: midden remains were associated with both Middle Neolithic and Chalcolithic pottery, but these were not identified as distinct strata. A series of cist burials were also found on the islet (see Ch.VI), but these are clearly not of Neolithic date. A cairn was identified at the Eastern extremity of the islet, and the midden deposits are recorded as overlying the foot of this feature. The pottery from the midden levels includes fragments of two decorated vase-supports (Fig.iv.9c-e), but also fragments of several Jersey Bowls (see Ch.V) and one Iron Age vessel. Faunal remains from the midden include bones of cattle, pig and sheep as well as limpet shells. This evidence is to some extent supplemented by the depositions of animal bone and shell found within megalithic monuments. Unlike the

midden material from La Motte, these depositions (with the possible exception of La Hougue Boëte) are from sealed Middle Neolithic contexts. Table IV.7 shows the faunal remains found at La Motte and in the megalithic monuments of the Channel Islands.

Table IV.7: Faunal remains from Middle Neolithic contexts.

	<u>La Hougue</u> <u>Bie</u>	<u>Grantez</u>	<u>La Hougue</u> <u>Boëte</u>	<u>La Motte</u>
Cattle	*	*		*
Pig	*	*		*
Sheep/goat	*	*		*
Horse		*	*	
Deer		*		
Limpet ³³	*	*		*
Oyster	*			

In terms of subsistence economy, the evidence cited above is wholly unsurprising: all of the domestic species listed above have also been found in an Early Neolithic context at Le Pinacle (see Ch.III). Deer remains found at Grantez suggest that some hunting was practiced, whilst the significance of horse remains from Grantez and La Hougue Boëte is unclear (see discussion in Ch.II).

Palynological evidence from St.Ouen's Bay, Jersey (JONES et al. 1989) suggests cereal cultivation from Early Neolithic times onward. Legumes may also have been cultivated, though there is no clear evidence for this as far as the Middle Neolithic is concerned, (macro-fossils of broad bean [*Vicia faba*] have been found in a Chalcolithic context at Le Pinacle: see Ch.V). The samples from St.Ouen's Bay include pollen of hemp or hop, and whilst this may represent wild hop growing in damp woodlands, Jones et al. suggest that it could reflect cultivation (hemp for rope-making and as a narcotic, hops for brewing).

The relative importance of the various aspects of the economy (cultivation, stock-raising, hunting, fishing, gathering of wild plants and molluscs) cannot be assessed

³³ Limpet shells have also been found on other sites (see discussion in section IV.ii).

on the basis of the present evidence. This problem applies to the Armorican mainland as well as to the Channel Islands, but the predominantly coastal distribution of Middle Neolithic sites in Brittany (cf GIOT et al. 1979) suggests that the resources of the sea were of considerable importance.

The nature and size of settlements is an unknown quantity since no domestic structures are known, and once again, this is true not just of the Channel Islands but of the entire Armorican region. Some coastal settlements are known in Brittany and Normandy: Crumini à Plovan (LE ROUX 1981) and Le Curnic en Guissény, Finistère (GIOT et al. 1965), Herqueville, Manche (DASTUGUE 1969), but like La Motte, these have provided only limited information.

Settlement patterns are equally elusive. A number of flint scatters have been identified (see Appendix i), but since these are known only through surface collection there is little chronological control: in any case, the distribution of these sites is very largely a factor of post-depositional transforms.

IV.iv. The Channel Islands in regional context: 4250-3250 BC.

Looking at the distribution of passage graves in the Armorican region (Fig.IV.24), two things stand out: the density of passage graves on the ^{channel} islands and the paucity of similar monuments in the coastal Départements closest to the islands. The distribution of vase-supports (see Fig.IV.25) and vases à pied creux³⁴ (Fig.IV.26) reiterates this pattern.

Let us focus on the mainland distributions: in the Département of Ille-et-Vilaine, there is the megalithic complex of Saint-Just (LE ROUX 1979b, 1983), and in Manche there is the passage grave of Vierville (VERRON 1975). Apart from these two sites (both quite distant from the islands) there is very little: a hearth associated with Middle Neolithic pottery (including a vase-support

³⁴ See Appendix iv.

Northern France.



Fig.IV.25. Distribution of Armorican vase-supports.



Fig.IV.26. Distribution of vases à pied creux.



fragment) exposed by coastal erosion at Herqueville, Manche (DASTUGUE 1969), and a similar site at Le Castel à Flammanville, Manche (BONIFAY 1967). Given the density of Middle Neolithic sites on the Channel Islands it seems inconceivable that adjacent mainland areas did not support significant populations during the Middle Neolithic. The problem is, that for whatever reason, these mainland populations did not construct megaliths, and consequently are almost invisible archaeologically: take away the megaliths, even from a rich archaeological area such as the Morbihan or Jersey, and one is left with precious little.

In discussing the morphology of passage graves (section IV.ii), four distinct Breton/Norman types were identified in the Channel Islands: Chambres entièrrement en pierres sèches, Type Kerdro-Vihan/Mané-Rutual, Type Quélvezin and Type Kerleven (cf L'HELGOUACH 1965). Figs.IV.27-IV.30 show the distribution of these monument types, demonstrating the close relationship between the Channel Island and Breton/Norman passage grave traditions. It seems unlikely, however, that this relationship reflects regular direct contact between communities in the Channel Islands and those in Southern and Western Brittany or the Plain of Caen: it is more plausible that communities right across the Armorican area were linked by an extensive network of contact and alliance involving the exchange of objects (stone axes: see below), marriage partners and information. That communities in North-eastern Brittany and the Cotentin knew about passage graves can hardly be doubted: that they did not themselves build them may reflect significant features of the social formation in this area. The megalithic tradition of the Channel Islands is more closely related to that of Southern and Western Brittany than to that of the Plain of Caen. All of the Norman passage graves are of drystone construction with circular chambers and corbelled vaults, whereas only one of the Channel Island monuments (La Sergenté) is of this form. The close link with the Breton tradition is

Fig.IV.27. Distribution of corbelled dry-stone
passage graves.

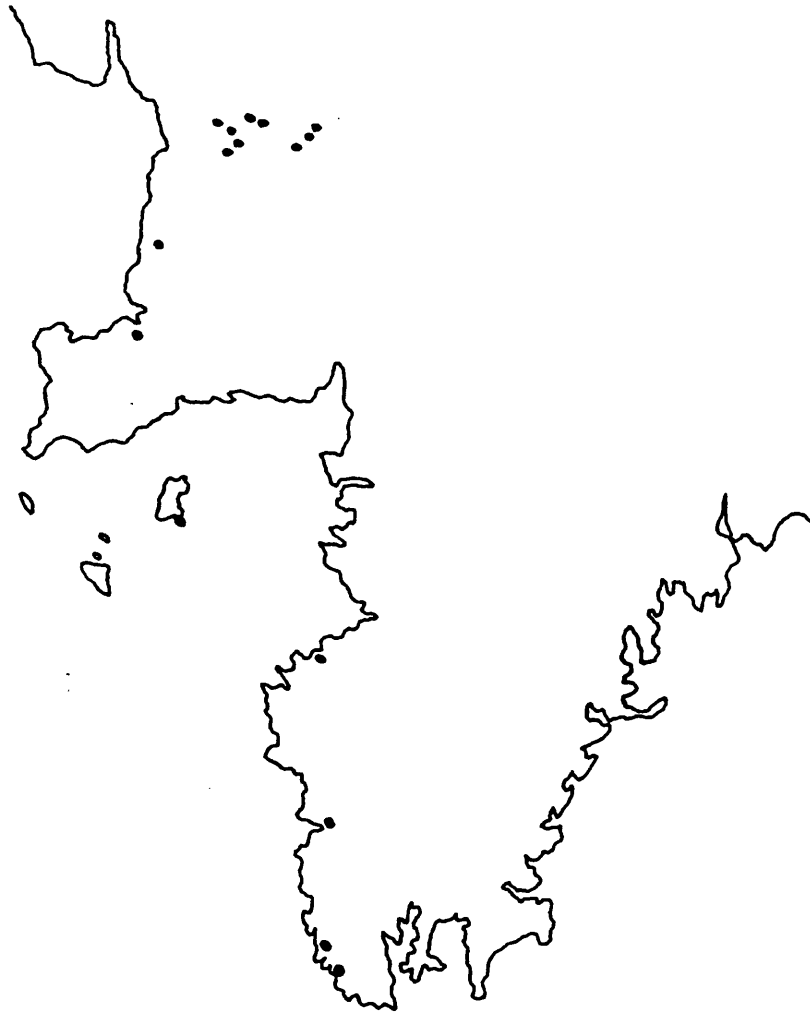


Fig.IV.28. Distribution of passage graves of
Kerdro-Vihan/Mané-Rutual type.



Fig.IV.29. Distribution of passage graves of ^{1/5}
Quelvezin type.



Fig.IV.30. Distribution of passage graves of
Kerleven type.



Fig.IV.31. Distribution of monuments of the Grand Tumulus Carnacéen series.



suggested not only by the passage graves, but also by the distribution of vase-supports (Fig.IV.25) and vases à pied creux (Fig.IV.26), and by that of the Grand Tumulus Carnacéen series of monuments (Fig.IV.31)³⁵ with which the site of La Hougue Boëte has been linked. Links with the Plain of Caen tradition, however, are suggested by the organisation of space within the chamber at La Sergenté (see discussion in section IV.ii), and links with areas further to the East (the Paris Basin and Burgundy) are suggested by the decoration on vase-supports from Jersey and on vessels from La Hougue Des Géonnais and Le Déhus (see Appendix iv/Fig.iv.15).

Despite the clear links with the Armorican mainland, the Middle Neolithic of the Channel Islands represents a distinctive insular tradition. The existence of internal compartments and lateral chambers in many of the Channel Island passage graves represents one manifestly local development of the Armorican megalithic tradition: monuments that otherwise conform to classic Breton types defined by L'Helgouach (1965) are "elaborated" by the addition of these features. The "arena chambers" of Jersey (the monuments of Le Mont de la Ville, Faldouet, and perhaps La Hougue des Géonnais) reflect a further local elaboration. Whilst there are suggestions of open passage graves in Southern Brittany (FOUQUET 1874, MARTIN 1898, 1911, MARSILLE 1923), none of these are well documented and many may originally have been corbelled: in any case, these monuments, (e.g. Nelhouet en Caudon, Kermaric à Languidic, Plaisance en Saint-Avé, La Haye à Saint-Gravé, all in Morbihan), have small and simple oval chambers and are thus not comparable to the larger and more complex monuments of Faldouet and Le Mont de la Ville.

The carvings in the passage graves of La Hougue Bie

³⁵ The single Cotentin site shown on Fig.IV.31 is Les Biards à Isigny, near Avranches, Manche (PIGEON 1885, COUTIL 1907). This mound (destroyed in 1881) covered a rectangular chamber, 2 m long by 1 m wide covered by a capstone. The chamber contained 20 polished axes.

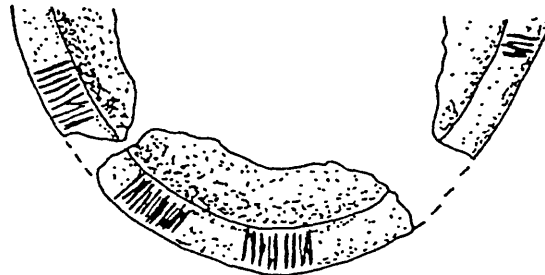
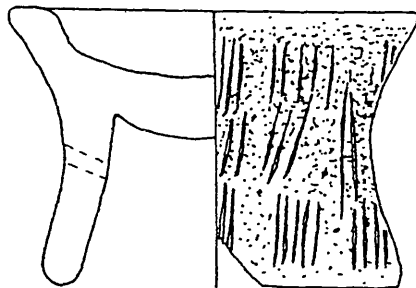
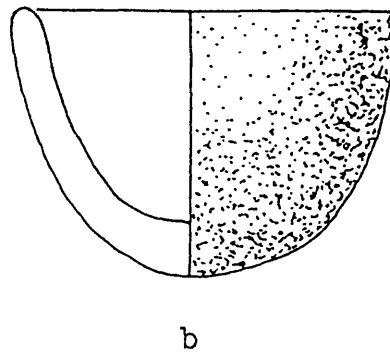
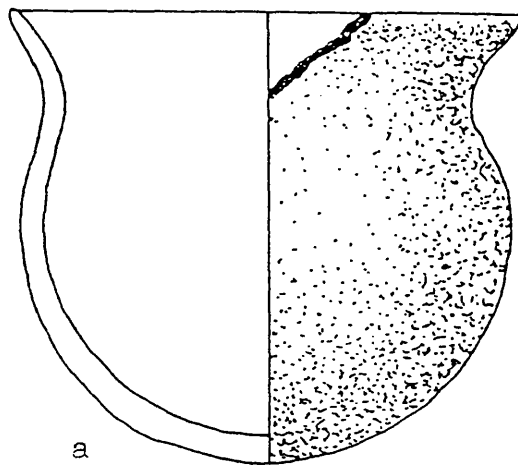
and Le Déhus provide further evidence for a distinctive local tradition. Whilst the écusson from La Hougue Bie is an example of a well known Breton motif, neither the spiral³⁶ from this site nor the anthropomorph from Le Déhus have any direct Armorican parallels.

Mortuary practice, insofar as it may be reconstructed from the inadequate data, demonstrates further differences between mainland and island traditions. The number of individuals represented in mortuary depositions from Channel Island passage graves is always small (Table IV.2), and whilst few Armorican mortuary assemblages are available for comparison, those that are (e.g. La Hoguette, Port Blanc I) do in some cases incorporate the remains of a greater number of people. The deposition of large quantities of limpet shells in association with human remains seems to reflect a specifically local custom. At Le Déhus and Maître Ile, disarticulated remains were organised in discrete piles, maintaining the integrity of the individual corpse. This practice is not well documented on the mainland: where disarticulated bones are found in Breton and Norman passage graves, they are usually deposited without apparent organisation, as at Beg-an-Dorchenn (MILON & GIOT 1947), Port-Blanc I (GAILLARD 1883) and chambers IV & V at La Hoguette (CAILLAUD & LAGNEL 1972). At Ty-Floc'h (LE ROUX 1981), disarticulated remains were organised in a discrete pile, but this incorporated the remains of several individuals. The only deposition that is strictly comparable to the Déhus and Maître Ile examples is from a pit at Vierville (VERRON 1977), where the skull and long-bones of a single person were bunched together.

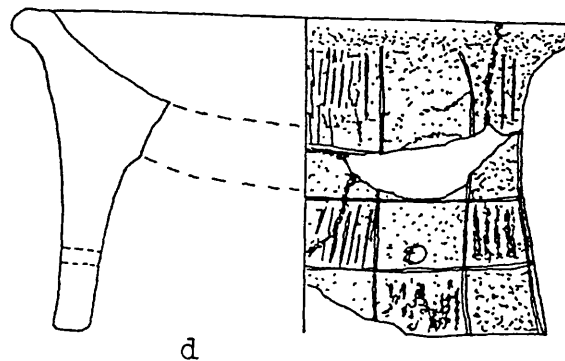
The unique insular tradition of the Channel Island Middle Neolithic is also reflected in terms of pottery typology (see Appendix iv). Undecorated globular and hemispherical bowls (Fig.IV.32a,b) are the dominant elements of Channel Island assemblages, and similar

³⁶ The Gavrinis repertoire does include spirals (SHEE-TWOHIG 1981) but these are not directly comparable and are not associated with cupmarks.

vessels occur widely in Middle Neolithic contexts in Brittany and Normandy. A distinct local style, however, can be identified in the decorated pottery from the islands, combining and synthesising elements of Breton, Norman and Paris Basin styles. The vase-supports from Jersey are all of one basic form, with a saucer and waisted cylindrical profile (cf Figs.IV.32c,d,IV.33). This shape is characteristic of Breton vase-supports. Many of the vessels from Er Lannic (LE ROUZIC 1930a) have large rectangular holes cut into the wall before firing, whereas the Jersey vase-supports, like those of the Paris Basin, have only simple circular perforations (Fig.IV.32d). The decoration on the Jersey vase-supports is distinctly different to that on the Er Lannic vessels, combining motifs and decorative techniques characteristic of Armorican and Paris Basin traditions (see Appendix iv). In one case (a vase-support from Grosnez Hougue, Jersey: Fig.iv.8c-e), a motif characteristic of the Paris Basin tradition (chequer-board) is executed using a technique characteristic of the Breton tradition (rows of impressions: see Appendix iv). On another vase-support, (from La Hougue Bie: Fig.IV.32d), a similar chequer-board motif is executed in a distinctly local style. Apart from the Jersey vase-supports, three decorated vessels from the islands are of particular interest: one from Le Déhus, Guernsey (Fig.IV.34a), one from La Hougue des Géonnais, Jersey (Fig.IV.34b) and one from Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928:pl. XIII 698). The vessel from Le Déhus, though incomplete, appears to be a vase à pied creux (cf L'HELGOUACH 1977), a characteristic Breton form. The decoration on this vessel, however (three rows of pendant triangles infilled with incised cross-hatching), is without parallel in Brittany and has clear Paris Basin affinities. Similar decoration has been found on vase-supports from Fort-Harrouard à Sorel-Moussel, Eure-et-Loire, Moru à Pontpoint, Oise (BAILLOUD 1964: Fig.25), and Campigny à Blangy, Seine-Maritime (BENDER 1968: Fig.50). The vessel from La Hougue des Géonnais is of uncertain form, but is



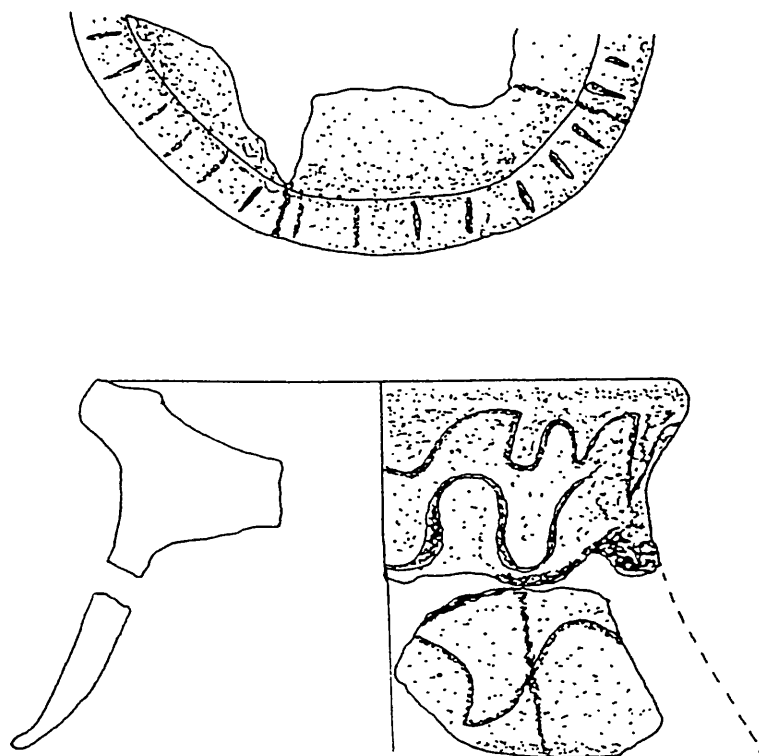
- a Faldouet.
b Grantez.
c Faldouet.
d La Hougue Bie.



0

10 cm.

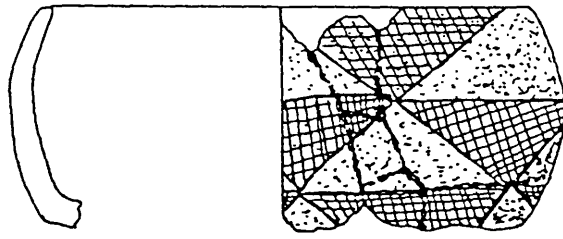
Fig.IV.33. Vase-support from La Hougue Bie.



0

10 cm.

Fig. 1V.34. Vessels from Le Déhus (a) and La Hougue
des Géonnais.

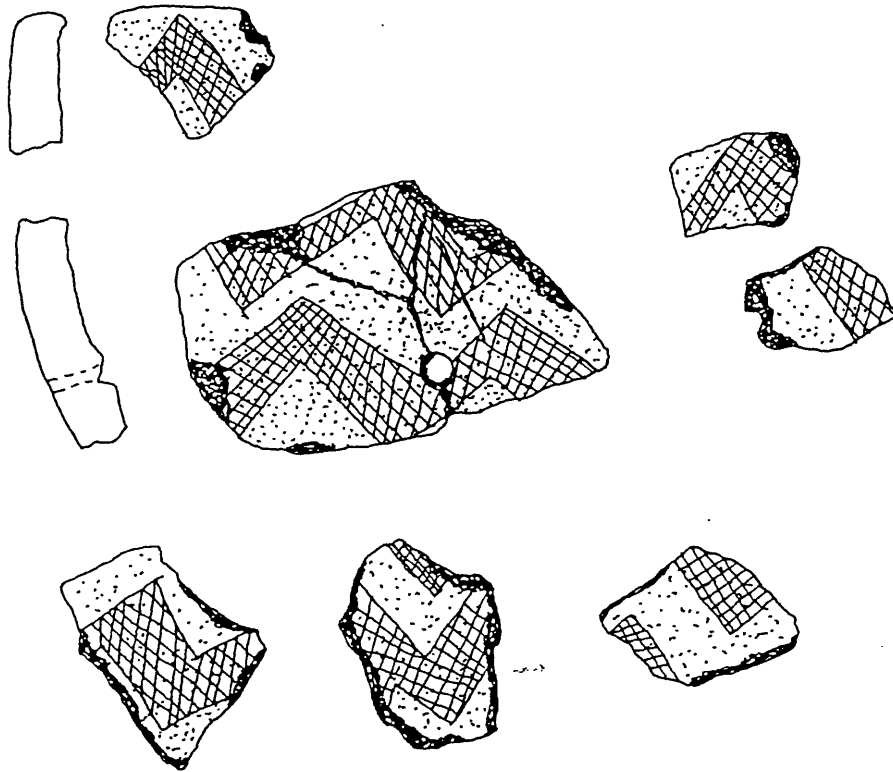


a



0

10 cm.



b



0

5 cm.

decorated with incised zig-zag bands infilled with cross-hatching. This decoration also finds parallels on vase-supports from the Paris Basin: Catenoy, Oise and Moru (BAILLOUD 1964), and from Le Camp de Chasse in Burgundy (THOMASSET 1927). The vessel from Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin is a hemispherical bowl with paired bosses below the rim, and is of a well known Breton form: comparable vessels have been found in Southern Finistère and in the Département of Loire-Atlantique (see Appendix iv).

In addition to the clear differences between mainland and insular Middle Neolithic traditions, there are differences between Jersey and Guernsey. The most striking of these is the absence of vase-supports in Guernsey, compared with the abundance of such vessels in Jersey. In terms of megalithic tradition, Guernsey has nothing to compare with the unique "arena chambers" of Jersey, and no monuments comparable in scale or location to La Hougue Bie. The Middle Neolithic monuments of Jersey consistently occupy higher and more prominent positions in the landscape than those of Guernsey, Herm or Alderney (see Table IV.4).

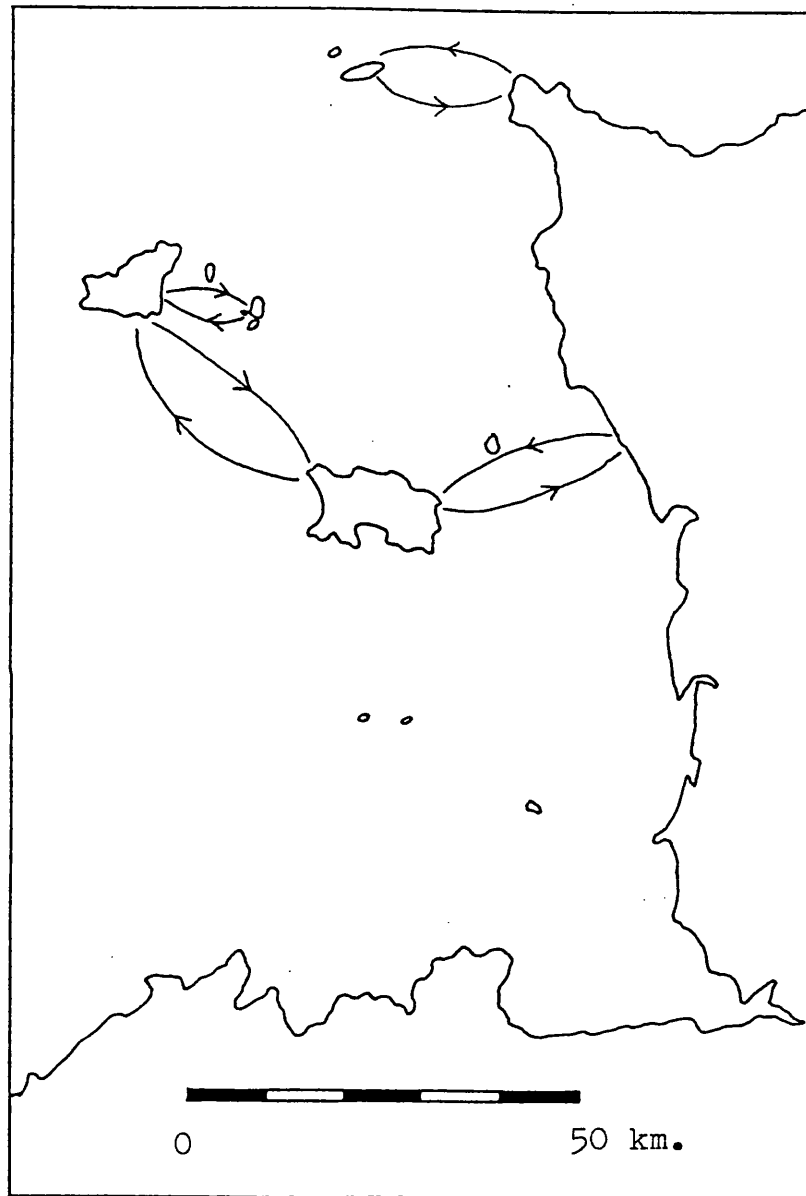
In understanding relationships between one island and another, and between the islands and the mainland, stone axes are of central importance (see Appendix ii). Throughout the Neolithic period, stone axes were exchanged between island and mainland communities, and around 32% of the axes found in the Channel Islands are of mainland origin (Table ii.1). Unfortunately, since most of the axes found in the islands have no stratigraphic context, it is not possible to separate Early, Middle and Late Neolithic axes from one another. The imported axes are of four petrological types: dolerite Type A (from Seledin en Plussulien, Côtes-du-Nord), jadeite and eclogite (source of jadeite unknown, source of eclogite in South-eastern Brittany), fibrolite (from Morbihan or North-west Finistère) and flint (from Normandy). The radiocarbon dates from the production centre at Plussulien (LE ROUX 1970) calibrate between 4120 and 2670 BC (BENDER 1986), demonstrating that

production continued right through the Middle and Late Neolithic periods. Flint axes seem to have been produced in Normandy throughout the Neolithic period. An antler pick from the flint mine of Bretteville-le-Rabet (DESLOGES 1986) has given a radiocarbon date (LY-3680) of 3710 ± 190 bc (=4340-4770 BC), but flint axes are also found in Late Neolithic tombs in the Paris Basin (BAILLOUD 1964). Contexts of fibrolite axes in Brittany suggest that these were produced right through the Neolithic period (LE ROUX 1979a). The chronology of jadeite and eclogite axes is less clear, but they are found in Middle Neolithic contexts in Brittany (particularly in the Grand Tumulus Carnacéen series of monuments), and a jadeite axe from the Somerset levels in England was associated with a wooden trackway which produced a series of radiocarbon dates (COLES *et al.* 1974), calibrating between 3630 BC and 4220 BC. Whilst it is difficult to be precise, it seems likely that a proportion of the imported axes found in the islands date to the Middle Neolithic period. Axe exchange, however, was not a new phenomenon: the site of Le Pinacle in Jersey has been identified as a production centre dating to the Early Neolithic period (RENOUF & URRY 1976) and axes almost certainly produced there have been found in Guernsey, Sark, Herm and Alderney (see Ch.III). The site of Le Pinacle was abandoned at the end of the Early Neolithic period, and no further axes were produced. Over 43% of the axes found in Jersey are of mainland origin (see Appendix ii): the figures for Guernsey and Sark are much smaller (27% and 13% respectively). It is likely that Channel Island communities obtained stone axes from communities on the adjacent coast of the Cotentin, rather than from Brittany. This is suggested not only by the distances involved, but also by the high proportion of flint axes in the Channel Islands (15.7% of Jersey axes, 7.9% in Guernsey and 5.1% in Sark): flint axes constitute less than 5% of the Breton assemblage (COGNE & GIOT 1952). The presence of Breton axes in the Channel Island assemblages in no way contradicts this, since axes of

Breton origin circulated widely in Northern France (LE ROUX 1979a).

The marked fall-off between Jersey and Guernsey in terms of the proportion of imported axes suggests that communities in Guernsey may have obtained these axes via Jersey, rather than directly from the mainland. This would not in itself be particularly surprising. The fast tidal currents (see Ch.II) which run between the islands and the mainland change direction with each tide, flowing from South to North with the outgoing tide and from North to South with the incoming tide. In order to cross this stream and navigate with any degree of certainty it would be necessary to time one's departure carefully (immediately after low water if heading South, immediately after high water if heading North), and to complete the journey before the tide turned. The distance between Guernsey and the mainland is almost twice that between Jersey and the mainland (Fig.IV.35), and it may have been difficult to make the journey in the limited time available before the tide turned, potentially sweeping a small craft down the coast towards Mont Saint-Michel or, more dangerously, through the Alderney Race and into the open sea. Axe exchange between Jersey and Guernsey seems to have taken place from Early Neolithic times (see Ch.III). In the early period, the axes exchanged were mostly of porphyritic dolerite, probably from Le Pinnacle in Jersey, although some fibrolite, flint and jadeite axes may also have been in circulation at an early stage. Production of axes at Le Pinnacle ceased before the beginning of the 4th Millennium BC, probably at a time when the circulation of mainland axes was increasing, following the appearance of Type A dolerite. The fall-off between Jersey and Guernsey is matched by a further fall-off between Guernsey and Sark (Table ii.1), suggesting the pattern of interaction shown on Fig.IV.35. It is difficult to establish precisely how Alderney was tied into this network: axes of flint, Type A dolerite and jadeite/eclogite have been found there, but the overall number of axes found on the island is too small

Fig.IV.35. Suggested model of inter-island and island/mainland interaction during the Middle Neolithic period.



for any meaningful comparison. It seems likely that communities in Alderney had direct exchange relations with communities on the Northern tip of the Cotentin.

IV.v. Middle Neolithic society in the Channel Islands.

Stone axe exchange may be an important key to understanding the development of social organisation in the Channel Island Neolithic. Firstly, it is necessary to ask why such exchange took place. There is no shortage in the Channel Islands of rock suitable for the manufacture of stone axes: 72% of the axes found in the islands are of Channel Island rock, and in functional terms these are in no way inferior to the imported axes. Flint axes, which form a significant component of the imported assemblage, are functionally inferior (more brittle) to many of the local dolerite and diorite axes. The imported axes, however, are easily distinguished from local products simply by the colour of the rock.

It seems likely, therefore, that exchange took place for essentially social reasons. There is clear evidence that the axe was an important religious symbol as well as a tool. Axes occur regularly as a motif in Armorican passage grave art (SHEE-TWOHIG 1981) and ritual depositions of stone axes are known from several locations in Brittany (LE ROUZIC 1927b). Some clue as to the meaning of axe symbolism comes from a deposition found within the chamber of the Grand Tumulus Carnacéen of Mané-er-Hroëk à Locmariaquer, Morbihan (GALLES 1863). A particularly fine polished axe was found, with the pointed butt end placed through a polished stone ring: two spherical pendants had been placed, one on either side of the blade end of the axe. The symbolism of this deposition is unambiguously sexual: the axe represents a phallus in the act of penetration. Similar symbolism is suggested by a carving from the passage grave of Gavrinis à Larmor-Baden, Morbihan (LE ROUX 1984a, RAULT 1987): this has been identified as a hafted axe, but two spherical protruberances are visible at the blade end of the axe, and the "haft" is set too close to the end of

the axe to be viable. In making an axe:phallus association, the agricultural means of production is symbolically linked to biological reproduction, the fertility of the land (harnessed to human use through clearance with stone axes) to human virility. The exchange of stone axes is likely to have been linked to this symbolic representation.

There are two important questions to be resolved in respect of axe exchange in the Channel Island context. Firstly, in what way was the possession of mainland axes socially important to the island communities? Secondly, what was the context of axe exchange, and what was given in return? One possibility, which would answer both of these questions and relate back to the symbolism discussed above, is that particular types of stone axe were important in marriage transactions.

Friedman & Rowlands (1977) develop a model of tribal economy in which an agricultural surplus can be converted into status through communal feasting, often in the context of ritual activities. The ability to produce a large surplus is taken as an indication of supernatural patronage, which in turn is taken to suggest a close genealogical proximity to a founding ancestor or spirit. This supposed proximity endows members of the lineage with special status, which may involve control of initiation rites and mediation between the community and the supernatural (control of the "imaginary conditions of production"). Women from such a group may become desirable as marriage partners, as men from other groups seek to marry into the "direct" lineage. If marriage arrangements involve bridewealth, the "direct" lineage may demand higher bridewealth than other lineages, and the valuables obtained can be used to acquire more women from other groups, often in the context of polygyny. This increases the size of the labour pool within the "direct" lineage, and may permit the production of a greater surplus, thus escalating the degree of inter-lineage differentiation.

It would be unwise to reify this model as a universal

"lineage mode of production": communal feasting, ancestor cults and bridewealth are not universal features of tribal societies, though they are extremely common. In the case of the Armorican Neolithic, the megalithic monuments do suggest the existence of some form of ancestor cult, and the small number of individuals represented in mortuary assemblages from passage graves suggests the sacralisation of particular ancestors and lineages. Marriage transactions involving bridewealth provide perhaps the most plausible explanation for the extensive exchange of stone axes, particularly in the Channel Island context. It seems then that the framework suggested by Friedman & Rowlands does provide at least a sound working model for social relations in the Middle Neolithic of the Channel Islands.

The Friedman & Rowlands model has particular implications in the Channel Island context. The existence of bridewealth itself embodies the possibility for asymmetric social relations based on control of the "means of reproduction" (cf MEILLASSOUX 1960,1972). In Meillassoux's model, control of the means of reproduction (i.e. of men's access to women), depends essentially on control of sacred knowledge, but bridewealth can be seen as another important mechanism (often linked to sacred knowledge), through which control over the means of reproduction can be mediated and maintained. The valuables enter a community as daughters are married, generally passing into the hands of the bride's father or the elders of her lineage. Through possession of these valuables, the elders then control the access of unmarried men to potential wives, and as a result of this may make demands upon them. In an insular context this may be further accentuated since access to the regional interaction network depends upon access to boats, navigational skills and mainland contacts, which could easily be restricted, as in the context of the Melanesian Kula (MALINOWSKI 1922). Because of the navigational factors discussed above, the islands of Guernsey, Sark and Herm may have been largely isolated from macro-

regional networks of interaction, able to participate in them only through the mediation of Jersey. If communities in these islands could only acquire imported axes through exchange with communities in Jersey, the latter may have been able to conduct the exchange on terms beneficial to themselves, keeping bridewealth in the other islands at a relatively low level and thus increasing their own possibilities in terms of acquiring women. Such an arrangement could be justified in terms of the supposed affiliation of Jersey communities to a founding line, (particularly since the original Neolithic colonisation of Guernsey, Sark and Herm may well have been via Jersey). The existence of asymmetric relations between islands is suggested by the marked fall off between Jersey and Guernsey and between Guernsey and Sark in terms of the proportion of imported axes (Table ii.1).

In terms of the model discussed above, one might expect to find evidence for a greater degree of social asymmetry in the islands as compared with mainland communities, since there are more possibilities for control and restriction of access to the regional interaction network, both inter and intra-communally.

The outlined model stresses the mediation of asymmetric relations through ritual: it is in ritual terms that these relations are defined and legitimised, and it is through ritual that access is restricted and inequality maintained. This may go some way toward explaining the florescence of megalithic ritual during the Middle Neolithic of the Channel Islands. The evidence discussed in section IV.ii suggests that access to the passage graves was restricted, both in life and in death: this is likely to have been linked to control of sacred knowledge, giving those who had access a privileged role as mediators between the community and the supernatural. It has been argued above that the degree of restriction of access may have been greater in Channel Island passage graves than in comparable mainland monuments (sec.IV.ii). The small number of individuals represented in mortuary assemblages, and the emphasis placed upon maintaining the

integrity of individual corpses strongly suggest the sacralisation of particular ancestors. L'Helgouach (1983) suggests that large menhirs, broken up and incorporated in the construction of passage graves, may have been closely associated with particular individuals, and broken following their death. It is argued above that this phenomenon is represented in two Channel Island passage graves, La Hougue Bie and Le Déhus, and this can perhaps be related to the veneration of particular ancestors. The concentration of mortuary depositions in lateral chambers and internal cells, forming discrete foci of mortuary ritual within a monument, suggests an emphasis on maintaining the integrity of social units (e.g. "minor lineages": see below), and thus stressing descent. The organisation of mortuary deposits in the passage grave of Le Déhus is particularly suggestive of this, with one lateral chamber containing three distinct levels of human remains.

The significance of the passage grave of La Hougue Bie has been discussed in section IV.ii. Briefly, this monument is very much larger than any of the other passage graves of the Channel Islands (see Tables IV.5, IV.6), occupies a more central position (Fig. IV.22), and is built of stones taken from various locations around the Eastern half of Jersey (in contrast to other monuments which are built of stones taken from more restricted zones around the sites themselves: Fig. IV.24). In section IV.ii it is argued that the articulation of monuments within the landscape reflects three levels of social organisation: individual domestic groups, second level units, comprising several domestic groups, and third level units, comprising several second level groups. Most of the passage graves are identified as reflecting the second level, whilst La Hougue Bie is identified as reflecting the third. This model of social organisation could be characterised as a segmentary lineage system. In terms of the classical anthropological model of such a system (EVANS-PRITCHARD 1940), the third level could be defined as a "clan", the second as a

"major lineage" and the first as a "minor lineage"³⁷.

Kinnes & Hibbs (1988) estimate that a minimum of 200 people would have been required to move the largest capstone at La Hougue Bie from its source on the South coast of the island (this is, of course, assuming that animal traction was not used). Hedges (1983) attempts to establish the demographic structure of Neolithic Orkney, based on the skeletal remains found at Isbister: he estimates that adult men (over 15) comprised 22.8% of the population. Taking this figure as a rough guide, and assuming that in constructing a monument, most of the work was done by adult men, the minimum size of the La Hougue Bie "clan" would be around 880. Assuming the monuments to be broadly contemporaneous, this "clan" comprised a minimum of three "major lineages", centered on the monuments of Le Mont de la Ville, Le Mont Ubé and Faldouet (Fig.IV.23). The capstone on the terminal chamber at Faldouet is estimated to weigh 24 tonnes (KINNES & HIBBS 1988): this is, in fact, slightly larger than the La Hougue Bie capstone, estimated at 20 tonnes. Since this stone was probably moved along level ground, however, fewer people would have been required to move it. Assuming that 120 people³⁸ were required to move this stone, and again assuming the population structure suggested by Hedges, the minimum size of the Faldouet "lineage" would be around 530. This being so, it seems likely that the actual size of the La Hougue Bie "clan" was between 1500 and 2000.

La Hougue Bie is the only third level monument known in the Channel Islands, and it is surely significant that it is situated in the Eastern part of the island of Jersey. The privileged position of Jersey in terms of controlling the access of the other Channel Islands to

³⁷ These terms are used here in a purely structural/relational sense.

³⁸ This is based on the calculations cited by Kinnes & Hibbs (1988): viz. a working day's pull of c 25 kg per man, and assuming the use of wooden sledges, giving a traction effort of c 150 kg per tonne.

regional interaction networks has been discussed above, and geographically, it is precisely the communities in the Eastern half of this island which would be in a position to control interaction with the mainland. The privileged position of the La Hougue Bie "clan" (i.e. the communities in the eastern half of Jersey) within the regional interaction network would facilitate the development of dominance, enabling this group to acquire more axes and ultimately more women than other groups, thus increasing their capacity to create an agricultural surplus. This surplus would be important, not only for communal feasting, but also for the construction of the monuments themselves, since the people involved in the construction of the monuments would need to be fed. The monuments themselves would contribute to the status of particular social groups, declaring their importance in terms of sacred affiliation. The mound of La Hougue Bie is particularly imposing, 12 m in height and situated on one of the highest points in the Eastern part of Jersey. The "Legend of La Hougue Bie"³⁹ (according to which the monument was built in Medieval times) stresses that the mound was visible from Hambye in Normandy (BAAL et al. 1925), and assuming that the view was not obscured by trees, the mound would be visible from the coast of the Cotentin. The passage graves of Jersey are consistently located on higher land and in more prominent positions than those of the other islands (Table IV.4), suggesting perhaps a greater degree of inter-communal competition.

Although vase-supports have been found in most of the Jersey passage graves, a particularly large number (at least 21) were found at La Hougue Bie, where the assemblage consists almost exclusively of vase-supports. This suggests that, in the Channel Island context, vase-supports had some specific association with the La Hougue Bie "clan", and the absence of these vessels on the other

³⁹ According to the legend, the mound is the tomb of a Lord of Hambye, treacherously murdered by his servant after having slain a dragon which was terrorising the people of Jersey.

islands is perhaps best explained as reflecting some form of "taboo", excluding communities not directly affiliated to this dominant group.

In discussing inter-island differences, the site of La Hougue Boëte, Jersey, may be of interest. The size of the mound, the form of the rectangular cist (Fig.IV.19) and the association of horse and human remains all suggest a link with the Grand Tumulus Carnacéen series of monuments in Southern Brittany. Depositions within these monuments include large quantities of particularly fine polished axes (32 at Tumiac, 37 at Tumulus-Saint-Michel, 105 at Mané-er-Hroëk: LE ROUZIC 1927b). These axes are almost all of jadeite or fibrolite, and are very much larger than those generally found elsewhere: they were clearly made specifically for ceremonial use, being too thin to be viable tools. Axes of this type are found almost exclusively around the Golfe du Morbihan in Southern Brittany: none have been found in the Channel Islands, though a single example is known from Donville, Manche (LEPAGE 1969). Other objects consistently associated with this series of monuments are polished stone rings (often of jadeite) and necklaces of variscite. The restricted distribution of these objects, and the association with the Grand Tumulus series, suggest that they circulated within an essentially closed interaction network, reflecting a high status group. The existence of a monument of Grand Tumulus type in Jersey is interesting in this context, since it suggests the emergence of a comparable high status group, albeit that they seem not to have had access to the distinctive material culture package.

The social formation outlined above embodies several levels of asymmetry. Firstly, intra-communally, between age-sets and between men and women; secondly, inter-communally, between "minor lineages" and between "major lineages" within a "clan"; and thirdly, on an inter-island basis. This asymmetry is not based exclusively on the production of a surplus and the conversion of this surplus into status through communal feasting, as in the

Friedman & Rowlands model: these factors were probably significant in the Channel Island case, but control of access to the regional interaction network was perhaps the most significant element. The extensive nature of this network is demonstrated not only by the dispersal of stone axes, but also by the range of influences evident in the Middle Neolithic of the Channel Islands: influences from Southern and Western Brittany, Normandy and the Paris Basin. The significance of this network can perhaps be best understood if it is seen as part of a complex ideology linking reproduction, the ancestors and the social formation.

Elements of this ideology can perhaps be traced back into the Early Neolithic. Evidence presented in the previous chapter suggests that the exchange of stone axes in the Channel Islands began in the mid-5th Millennium BC, and the existence of an axe-shaped megalithic enclosure at Les Fouaillages suggests that the axe may have been important as a religious symbol at a similarly early date. The earliest demonstrable axe exchange in the Channel Island context involves axes of porphyritic dolerite, probably from the production centre of Le Pinnacle, Jersey: these axes are found in significant quantities on the other islands (see Appendix ii), suggesting an early origin for asymmetrical relations between islands. The evidence for the Middle Neolithic of the islands suggests a significant extension of the previously established interaction network. Axes from the French mainland become a significant component of Channel Island assemblages, and material culture, monumental architecture and ritual practice all testify to the incorporation of the islands within an extensive regional interaction network during the Middle Neolithic. The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that these developments were associated with increasing social differentiation, and it seems likely that this differentiation was based, at least in part, on control of access to the expanding regional interaction network. In an insular context there may be more possibilities for

restriction of access to such a network, and in view of this we might expect to see evidence for a greater degree of social differentiation in island communities as compared with mainland groups. There is a striking contrast between the evidence from the Channel Islands and that from the adjacent mainland areas of Ille-et-Vilaine and Manche: megalithic monuments of Middle Neolithic date are almost totally absent from the mainland areas closest to the islands. This contrast is difficult to interpret, owing to the limited data available from North-eastern Brittany and the Cotentin, but it could be taken to suggest a fundamental difference in terms of social formation, with the island communities characterised by a greater degree of differentiation and asymmetry. The evidence from Southern and Western Brittany, and from the Plain of Caen is in this respect more closely comparable to that from the Channel Islands. This second contrast, between the Southern and Western quarters of Armorica on one hand, and the Northern and Eastern quarters on the other, is largely beyond the scope of the present work, but the relationship of the islands to changing patterns of regional differentiation on the mainland will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE LATE NEOLITHIC AND CHALCOLITHIC.

The period from c3250 BC to c2250 BC is marked, both in the Channel Islands and on the Armorican mainland, by evidence for profound social and cultural change, with the appearance of new material culture forms and transformations in ritual and mortuary practice. Two separate cultural complexes have been identified; the Late Neolithic Seine-Oise-Marne complex (c3250-2850 BC) and the Chalcolithic Beaker complex (c2850-2250 BC), and in many respects these are quite distinct from one another. Late Neolithic mortuary evidence is dominated by gallery graves and by secondary depositions in passage graves, and these monuments were systematically sealed up and abandoned during the Chalcolithic period. Late Neolithic ceramic assemblages are dominated by undecorated flat-based vessels (Fig.V.1), whereas those of the Chalcolithic period are characterised by Type Maritime Bell Beakers (Fig.V.3a) and, in the Channel Islands, "Jersey bowls" (Fig.V.3b). Copper objects are present in Beaker assemblages, but not in S.O.M. assemblages, and there are a number of other distinctions which are outlined in section V.i.

Despite the marked contrasts between the Late Neolithic on one hand and the Chalcolithic on the other, the nature of the Channel Island evidence effectively forces us to consider these periods together. To begin with, the Late Neolithic evidence is very restricted: we have no settlement evidence of any form for this period, and only limited funerary evidence. None of the Channel Island gallery graves have produced any material from a primary context, and although S.O.M. pottery has been found in passage graves, the depositional context of this material is unclear. For the Chalcolithic period, in contrast, we have good evidence for both domestic and ritual aspects of life in the Channel Islands, and in several important respects the social and cultural transformations of this period can be understood as the

continuation and intensification of Late Neolithic developments. The monumental traditions represented by the megalithic cists and cists in circles (section V.ii) span the entire period covered in this chapter. Some of these monuments have produced S.O.M. material, whilst others have produced Beakers, but many of the monuments were ruined by 19th Century quarrying, with no finds being preserved. Although it seems clear that most of the megalithic cists and cists in circles of the Channel Islands were built and used during the period 3250-2250 BC, it is in many cases not possible to assign individual monuments to a particular date within this period, and this provides further justification for considering the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods in a single chapter.

In looking at the social and cultural transformations which occurred in the Channel Islands between 3250 BC and 2250 BC, it is possible to identify several coherent trends which run through the whole of this period, and which are particularly marked in relation to changing ritual and mortuary practices. In discussing the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods together, it is necessary both to outline and consider these underlying trends, and to account for the important contrasts between the two periods.

Archaeological "periods" are in any case constructions which we impose on the data, and the criteria on which they are defined are selected by archaeologists in relation to their own aims and research interests. In relation to the specific aims and concerns set out at the beginning of the thesis, two important transitions can be identified in the period covered by this chapter. The evidence relating to these transition points is considered in section V.i, and this is followed by detailed discussions of developments in ritual and mortuary practice (V.ii) and settlement & economy (V.iii). The development of inter-island and island/mainland relations is considered in section V.iv, and the chapter ends with a general discussion of social

transformations in the islands between 3250 BC and 2250 BC (V.v).

V.i. From Middle Neolithic to Chalcolithic: transition points in the 3rd and 4th Millennia BC.

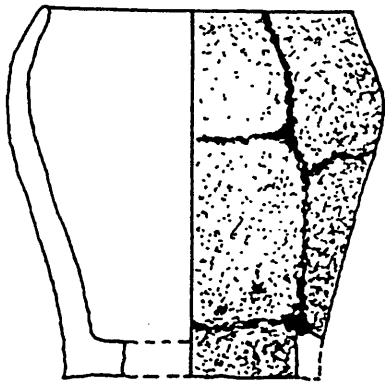
The Middle to Late Neolithic transition: 3500-3250 BC.

The second half of the 4th Millennium BC is marked, right across Northern France, by the appearance of new forms of material culture and new mortuary traditions. The Seine-Oise-Marne pottery style, which occurs (with local variations) over most of Northern France, is characterised by undecorated flat-based vessels (Fig.V.1). In Southern and Western Brittany, this period also saw the emergence of distinct regional pottery styles (Conguel, Kerugou: GIOT et al. 1979), but these are not known in the Channel Islands. Late Neolithic assemblages are also characterised by the presence of stone pendants: two main types are known in the Channel Islands (Fig.V.2), arciform and axe-shaped pendants, and both can be paralleled in Late Neolithic (S.O.M.) contexts in the Paris Basin (BAILLOUD 1964) and Brittany (L'HELGOUACH 1965). Some of the arciform pendants are re-used fragments of polished stone rings.

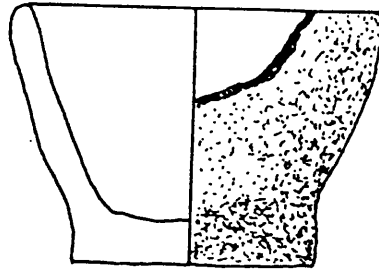
The Armorican evidence suggests an intensification of inter-communal exchange during the second half of the 4th Millennium BC. At the axe production site of Plussulien (LE ROUX 1970,1980a), there is evidence for increasingly systematic use of dolerite, with the use of fire to fracture blocks. Charcoal from Plussulien has produced a series of radiocarbon dates which calibrate in the second half of the 4th millennium BC¹. The distinctive "button axes" (Fig.V.3), of which eight have been found in the Channel Islands (see Appendix ii), were produced at Plussulien during this period. Blades of Grand Pressigny flint were also widely exchanged during the Late

¹ 2660±140 bc =3100-3610 BC (Gif 1538); 2550±130 bc = 2930-3360 BC (Gif 1541); 2470±110 bc = 2920-3340 BC (Gif 3098); 2410±130 bc = 2900-3310 BC (Gif 1543); 2400±115 bc = 2990-3110 BC (Gif 2683).

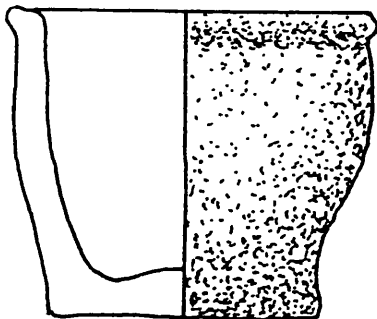
Fig.V.1. Late Neolithic pottery from the Channel Islands.



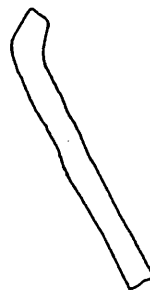
a



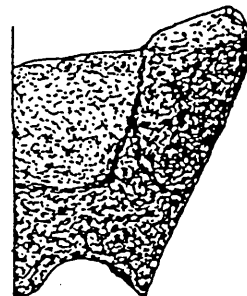
b



c



d



0

10 cm.

a-c Dehus.

d Le Pinnacle.

Fig.V.2. Stone pendants from Le Pinacle (a) and St. Martin (b).

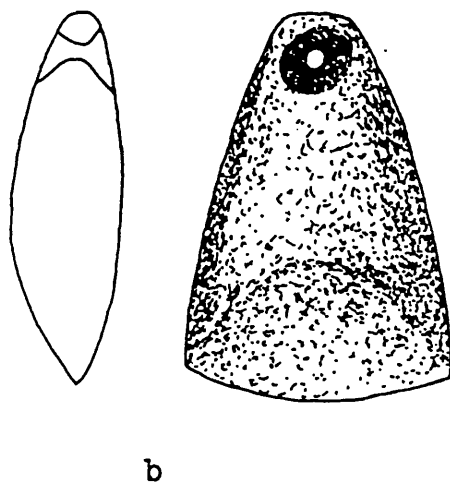
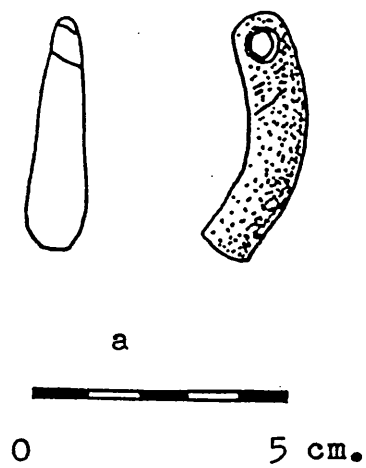
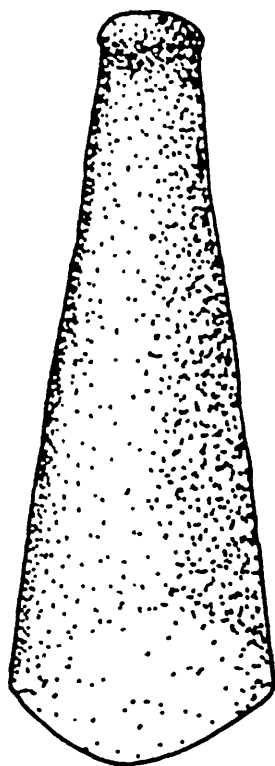


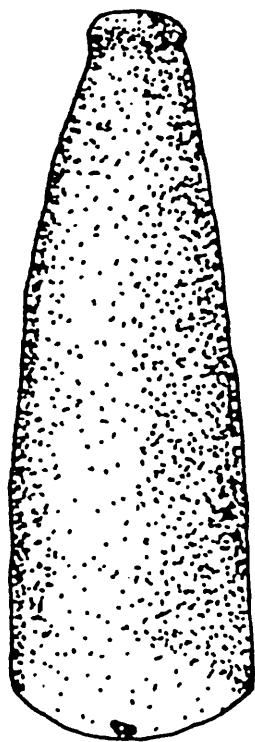
Fig.V.3. "Button axes" from the Channel Islands.



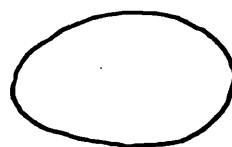
a



10 cm.



b



Neolithic, and these have been found in Normandy (BENDER 1968), Brittany (BRIARD & L'HELGOUACH 1957, Giot et al. 1979), and the Channel Islands (section V.iv).

The Late Neolithic period is marked by a general diversification in terms of ritual and funerary practice, evident both from the range of monuments in use (gallery graves, megalithic cists, cists in circles) and from the nature of the depositions found within them (section V.ii). Although the construction of passage graves appears to have ceased before the end of the Middle Neolithic period, many of these monuments continued in use through the Late Neolithic, as shown by the depositions of S.O.M. pottery from the sites of La Varde and Le Déhus, Guernsey, and this does suggest a degree of continuity in ritual practice. Most prominent among new tomb types are the gallery graves, and there are three such monuments in the Channel Islands. Some of the gallery graves of the Paris Basin and Brittany include decorated stones, and the carved motifs are quite different from those found in Breton passage graves (SHEE-TWOHIG 1981). The most important of these motifs are representations of breasts, carved in haute-relief and often associated with a "necklace". The same motif is found on the statue-menhirs of La Gran'mere du Chimiquière and Le Castel, Guernsey, and also on two Breton menhirs (KINNES 1980).

The Armorican Late Neolithic is marked by an important expansion of human occupation into inland areas of Brittany (LE ROUX 1984b), which had previously been very sparsely inhabited. Environmental research on Jersey (JONES et al. 1987,1989) has provided clear evidence for a rise in sea-level in the second half of the 4th Millennium BC, to around 3 m above its present height (see Ch.II). This high sea-level, which persisted for 2000 years, has not been identified on the Armorican mainland (ELHAI 1963, MORZADÉC-KERFOURN 1969,1974) and is probably a result of local tectonic factors. Rising sea-levels during the 4th Millennium BC would have drowned a significant area of cultivable land, and this is likely

to have put considerable pressure on local communities (see section V.iii).

The Late Neolithic to Chalcolithic transition: 3000-2850 BC.

The first quarter of the 3rd Millennium BC is marked in Armorica by the appearance of a distinctive material culture package, including Type Maritime Bell Beakers (Fig.V.4a), schist "wrist-guards" (Fig.V.5a,b), barbed & tanged flint arrowheads (Fig.V.5c-e), flat copper axes (Fig.V.6) and knives and gold jewellery. Chalcolithic goldwork is unknown in the Channel Islands, but the other elements of the "package" are all present in island assemblages.

The copper axe from Le Pinacle (Fig.V.6a) is of a typologically early form, with a rectangular cross-section and near-parallel sides and a curved blade produced by hammering (cf BRIARD 1965). The density of the metal is 8.7 (GODFRAY & BURDO 1950), suggesting a tin content of around 2%, which falls within the range of natural admixtures in copper ore. Six other flat axes are known from the Channel Islands; two from Jersey, two from Alderney, one from Guernsey and one from Sark, but these are all of a typologically later form with curved sides (Fig.V.6b). The only other Chalcolithic metal objects known from the islands are a copper bead from Le Pinacle (GODFRAY & BURDO 1950) and a tanged copper knife from Le Déhus, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928).

The assemblage from Le Pinacle probably dates to a very early stage in the Chalcolithic period. Beaker and Jersey Bowl sherds are present as well as a flat copper axe, but one of the pottery vessels (Fig.V.1d) has affinities with the Quessoy style (a Breton variant within the S.O.M. complex). The assemblage also includes blades and arrowheads of Grand Pressigny flint, which on the Armorican mainland is generally a feature of S.O.M. rather than Beaker complex assemblages (BRIARD & L'HELGOUACH 1957).

Pottery of Groupe du Gord affinities (see Appendix v) from La Hougue Mauger and other Channel Island sites

probably dates to a very early stage in the Chalcolithic sequence. Charcoal found in association with similar assemblages in the Paris Basin has produced radiocarbon dates calibrating between 2120 BC and 2870 BC (BLANCHET 1984)². The tumulus of La Hougue Mauger itself is comparable to the site of Kermené en Guidel, Morbihan (section V.ii), and charcoal from this site has produced a radiocarbon date (GIOT 1973) calibrating between 2900 BC and 3340 BC³.

The beginning of the 3rd Millennium BC is marked by important changes in the nature of regional interaction. The exchange of stone axes seems to have declined dramatically during this period, and the production centre at Plussulien was abandoned (LE ROUX 1970). There is a single radiocarbon date from Plussulien which calibrates between 2460 BC and 2860 BC⁴, but no evidence for any later activity. Axes of jadeite and fibrolite are rarely found in Chalcolithic contexts in Armorica (LE ROUX 1979a). Although stone axe exchange was apparently in decline, other evidence suggests an expansion of regional interaction networks. Some elements of the Beaker material culture "package" occur over large areas of Western Europe, and metal objects were clearly exchanged over long distances.

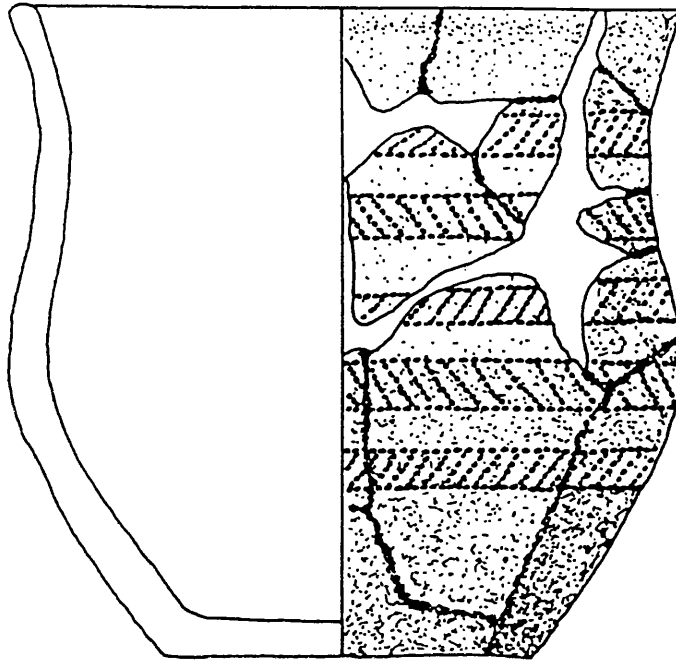
The Chalcolithic period is marked by further diversification in terms of ritual and mortuary practice. An open air ritual site was established at Le Pinacle, Jersey, with an earth platform built at the base of a massive granite outcrop. Monuments built during the 3rd Millennium BC are significantly smaller than those of earlier periods, and in several cases these small monuments are associated with individual settlements (section V.ii). The cist in circle tradition of the

² Gord à Compiègne: 2150±70 bc = 2580-2870 BC (Gif 4699). Le Coq Galleux à Compiègne: 1920±140 bc = 2120-2560 BC (Ly 2962).

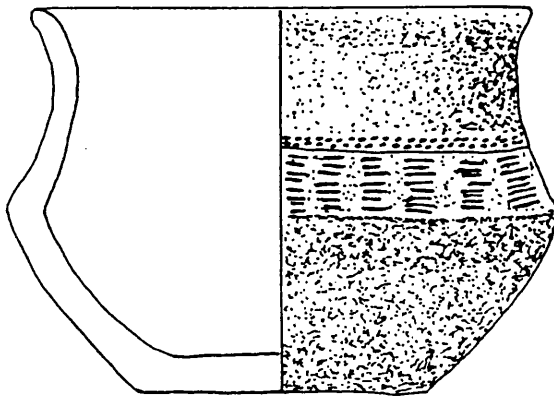
³ 2440±140 bc = 2900-3340 BC (Gif 1966).

⁴ 2100±130 bc = 2460-2860 BC (Gif 1539).

Fig.V.4. Chalcolithic pottery from Le Dehus (a) and
Ville-es-Nouaux (b).



a



b



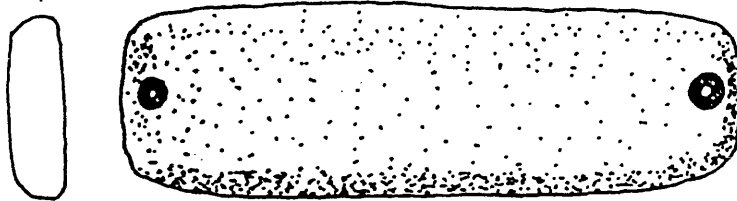
0

10 cm.

Fig.V.5. Wristguards and arrowheads from Jersey.



a



b



c



d



e

a La Motte

b Ville-es-Nouaux

c precise provenance unknown



Fig.V.6. Flat copper axes from Le Pinacle (a) and
La Moye (b).

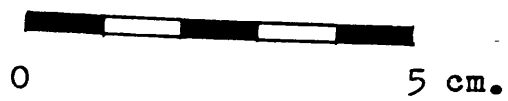
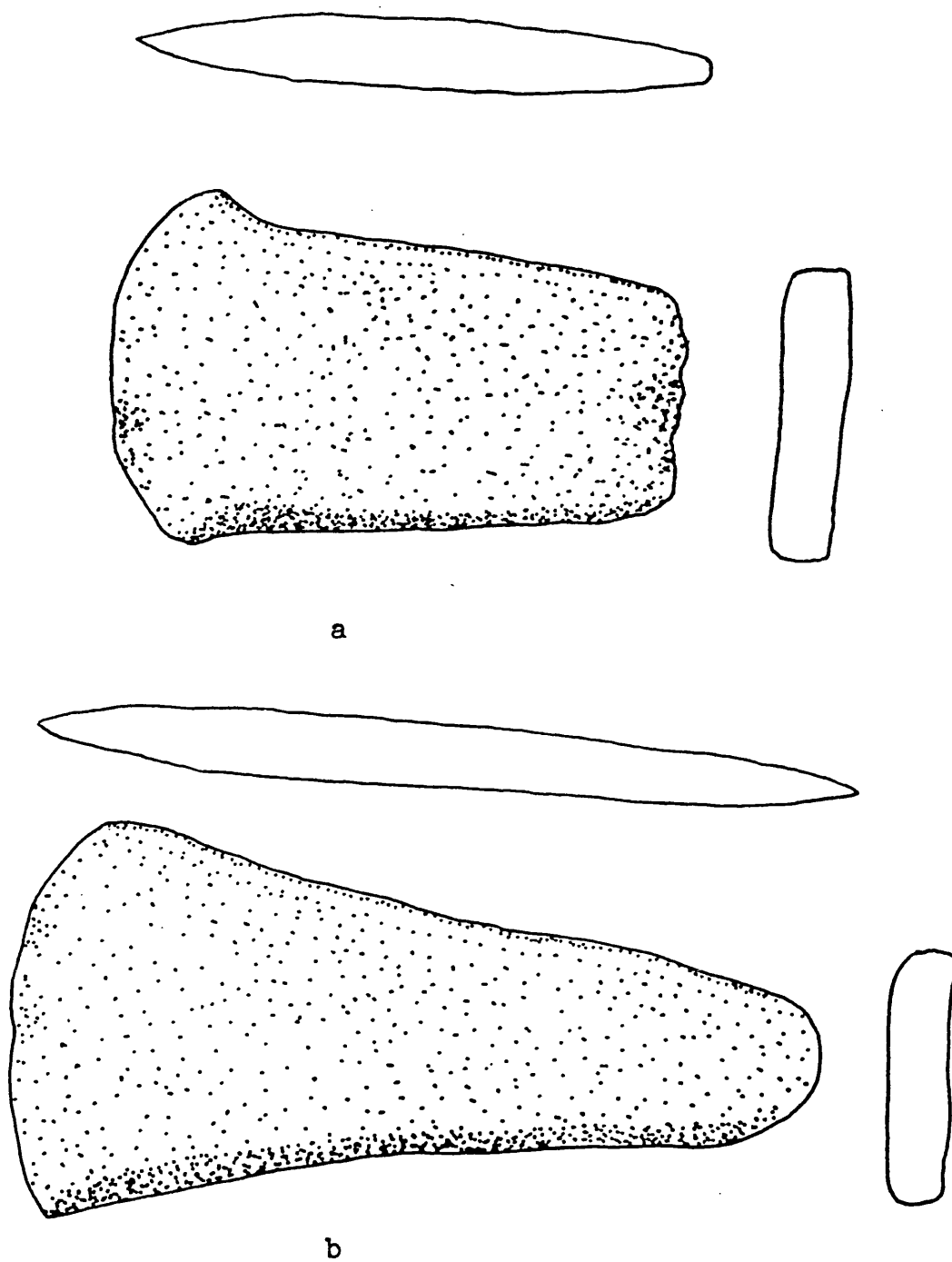
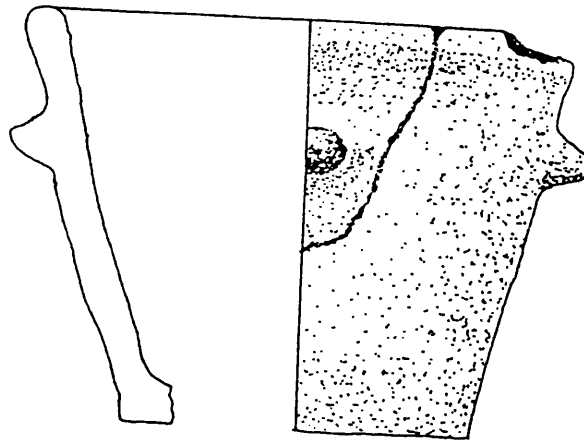
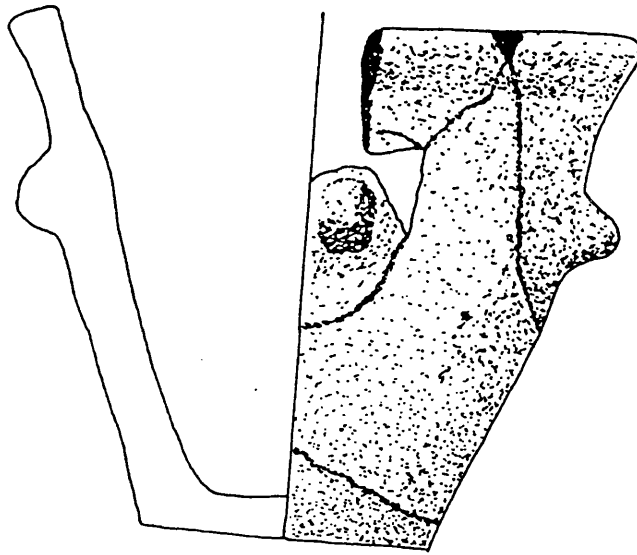


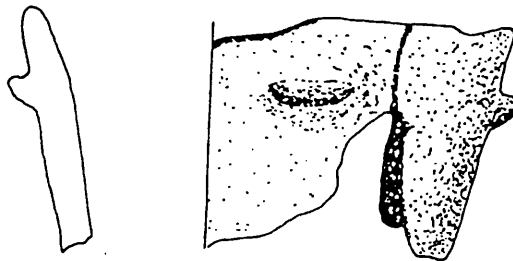
Fig.V.7. Pottery from La Hougue Mauger.



a



b



c



0

10 cm.

Channel Islands continued into the 3rd Millennium BC, but these monuments all seem to have been abandoned before the beginning of the Bronze Age. The Armorican evidence suggests that passage graves and gallery graves were abandoned during the Chalcolithic period. Terminal depositions can be identified in several of the Channel Island monuments, representing final offerings made at the time of closure, and the assemblages relating to such depositions (section V.ii) include Beakers, Jersey Bowls, wristguards, arrowheads and, in one case, a copper knife.

V.ii. Megaliths and ritual practice in the Channel Islands: 3250-2250 BC.

Changing ritual and mortuary practices provide particularly important evidence for social transformations during the late 4th and early 3rd Millennia BC, and must therefore be considered in some detail. The evidence for ritual and mortuary practice in the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic of the islands is considerably more varied than the Middle Neolithic evidence discussed in the previous chapter. In the first part of this section the various categories of evidence and types of monument are considered, and this is followed by a discussion of the changing articulation of monuments within the landscape.

Late Neolithic depositions in passage graves.

Although it seems clear that the construction of passage graves ceased in the third quarter of the 4th Millennium BC, Late Neolithic material has been found in several of these monuments, testifying to the continued use of passage graves during this period. Intact vessels of S.O.M./Quessoy affinities have been found in the passage graves of Le Déhus (8 vessels) and La Varde (3 vessels). The assemblage from the passage grave of Le Mont Ubé includes two blades of Grand Pressigny flint, and a fragment of a blade from La Varde is clearly worked in the style of Grand Pressigny blades, though the material is not Grand Pressigny flint (section V.iv). Similar evidence for Late Neolithic activity in passage

graves has been recorded on the Armorican mainland. L'Helgouach (1965) lists Late Neolithic pottery from eleven Breton passage graves and Grand Pressigny flint from fourteen such monuments. A bouteille à collarete was found in the Northernmost chamber at Ile Carn à Ploudalmézeau, Finistère (GIOT 1967, 1987).

The depositional context of the material from La Varde and Le Mont Ubé is unclear (KENDRICK 1928, HAWKES 1937). The Late Neolithic pottery from Le Déhus was all found in the main chamber, and two of the vessels were found together on the South side, near the junction of the passage and chamber. F.C. Lukis (quoted in KENDRICK 1928) records that two distinct layers of human remains were noted in this part of the chamber, and that these two vessels were associated with the lower level (the upper level relates to the Chalcolithic terminal deposition discussed later in this section). Both of these vessels contained limpet shells and one also had a fragment of a human humerus protruding from it (KENDRICK 1928).

The precise nature of Late Neolithic activity in passage graves is in most cases uncertain, but it seems clear from Lukis' account of the Déhus excavation that the Late Neolithic pottery from this site was associated with human remains.

Gallery graves.

Gallery graves form one of the most characteristic elements of the North French S.O.M. complex (BAILLOUD 1964, L'HELGOUACH 1965). They are more widely distributed than the earlier passage graves, being found in the Paris Basin, Western Normandy and Brittany (section V.iv). Gallery graves differ markedly from passage graves in terms of structure, spatial organisation, depositional practice and carved motifs. These contrasts attest to important changes in the nature and significance of ritual practice, which may relate to more fundamental social transformations. The structure of a gallery grave is simpler than that of a passage grave, consisting of a rectangular chamber, often subdivided into a main chamber and an antechamber (BAILLOUD 1964, L'HELGOUACH 1965):

lateral chambers and multiple internal divisions are unknown. There is a marked contrast between the mortuary practices associated with gallery graves and those associated with passage graves. Where skeletal remains are preserved, the number of individuals represented in assemblages from Armorican and Channel Island passage graves is generally small (see Ch.IV; Table IV.2). Assemblages from gallery graves (DANIEL 1960, HOWELL 1983) in contrast, often include remains of many individuals (350 at Le Chaussée-Tirancourt, 100 at Chamant, 64 at Epône, 60 at Les Mureaux)⁵, and the relatively large number of corpses suggests that access to these monuments, at least in death, may have been less restricted than was the case with the passage graves (see Ch.IV). The relatively simple structure of the gallery graves may also relate to this widening of access. The only spatial differentiation normally found in gallery graves is between the main chamber, where the corpses were placed, and the antechamber, which generally does not contain human remains. The reduction in spatial complexity evident from Late Neolithic tomb forms may relate to a decline in the emphasis placed on social differentiation in death.

The monuments of Ville-ès-Nouaux (OLIVER 1870, BELLIS & CABLE 1884) and Le Couperon (OLIVER 1870, HAWKES 1937), Jersey, are typical gallery graves. The monument of Les Fourciaux North, Alderney (KENDRICK 1928) has been identified as a gallery grave (HIBBS 1983), but is not a typical example. The ruined monument of La Roque qui Sonne, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928) may also have been a gallery grave, but the form of this monument cannot be established with any certainty. Unfortunately no material from a primary context has been recorded from Le Couperon

⁵ These monuments are all in the Paris Basin. Human remains are rarely preserved in Armorican monuments, owing to unfavorable soil conditions, and there is an obvious danger involved in extrapolating from one area to another. The S.O.M./gallery grave complex, however, is homogeneous in so many respects that it seems reasonable to consider it as a unity.

or Ville-ès-Nouaux. From Le Couperon we have only a few coarse-ware sherds with no distinctive features (in the Guernsey Museum). Bellis & Cable (1884) record that two distinct horizons were noted at Ville-ès-Nouaux, and it is clear from their report that virtually all of the pottery recovered relates to the upper level: the preserved material is all of Chalcolithic date. The lower level was explored only in one sounding, and was marked by a pavement of beach pebbles associated with limpet shells and "rough pottery".

In terms of structure, Ville-ès-Nouaux and Le Couperon are both typical Armorican gallery graves (Figs V.8/V.9). Unlike the Paris Basin gallery graves, which are set in trenches (BAILLOUD 1964), Armorican examples are built above ground. There is no clear evidence that either of the two Jersey monuments was covered by a tumulus. Cairns are recorded in connection with some Armorican gallery graves, as at Mein-Goarec à Plaudren (L'HELGOUACH & LECORNEC 1968) and La Grée-Basse à Monteneuf (LE ROUX 1977), Morbihan, but it is more likely that the Jersey examples were covered by earth mounds, like the lateral entrance tomb of Crec'h Quillé en Saint-Quay-Perros, Côtes-du-Nord (L'HELGOUACH 1967). The gallery grave of Le Couperon is set within a rectangular enclosure of upright stones (Fig.V.9) and this is a common feature of gallery graves in Brittany and Western Normandy, which sets them apart from Paris Basin monuments (L'HELGOUACH 1965, BENDER 1968). The line of stones running parallel to the Northern wall of the Ville-ès-Nouaux gallery grave (Fig.V.7) may represent the remains of a similar enclosure.

The gallery grave of Le Couperon has been badly restored on two separate occasions (HAWKES 1937, PATTON 1987a). On the first occasion, a dalle trouée was erroneously replaced as a capstone, and on the second occasion this same stone was placed (equally erroneously) at the Eastern end of the structure. The dalle trouée is a block with an artificially hollowed semi-circle on one side. Identical examples are known from the gallery

graves of Toul-an-Urz à Duault, Côtes-du-Nord, and Coat-Menez-Guen à Melgven and Men Meur en Guilvinic, Finistère (L'HELGOUACH 1965), and in cases where they have been found in situ, they invariably divide the main chamber from the antechamber. All of the Armorican monuments, including Le Couperon, have a single stone with an artificially hollowed semi-circle, in contrast to Paris Basin monuments (DANIEL 1960) in which two such stones are paired to form a true "porthole".

The monument of Les Pourciaux North was excavated in 1853 by Capt. F. du Bois Lukis, and recorded by his father, F.C. Lukis⁴. It was almost totally destroyed by the construction of German defences during the second world war. The monument consisted of a rectangular chamber (Fig.V.10), 8 m in length and 2 m in width, and was originally covered by capstones, of which three remained in situ in 1853. The chamber was paved with stone slabs, and limpet shells and pottery were found on this pavement. A series of small cists (Fig.V.10) were found lying on the pavement on the Western side of the chamber. Lukis records that these cists contained human remains, including a skull in each cist. None of the human remains are preserved, and the only pottery known from the site (KENDRICK 1928) is of Gallo-Roman date. Since none of the prehistoric material is preserved, one can only speculate as to the date of the deposits found within the chamber. The small cists are paralleled at Ville-ès-Nouaux, in the context of a Chalcolithic terminal deposition (see below); the Ville-ès-Nouaux cists contained pottery but no human remains. The proportions of the Pourciaux monument are unusual: Table V.1 shows the dimensions of Channel Island gallery graves.

⁴ Collectanea Antiqua Vol.V: pp112-114.

Fig.V.8. Ville-es-Nouaux.

(after BELLIS & CABLE 1884).

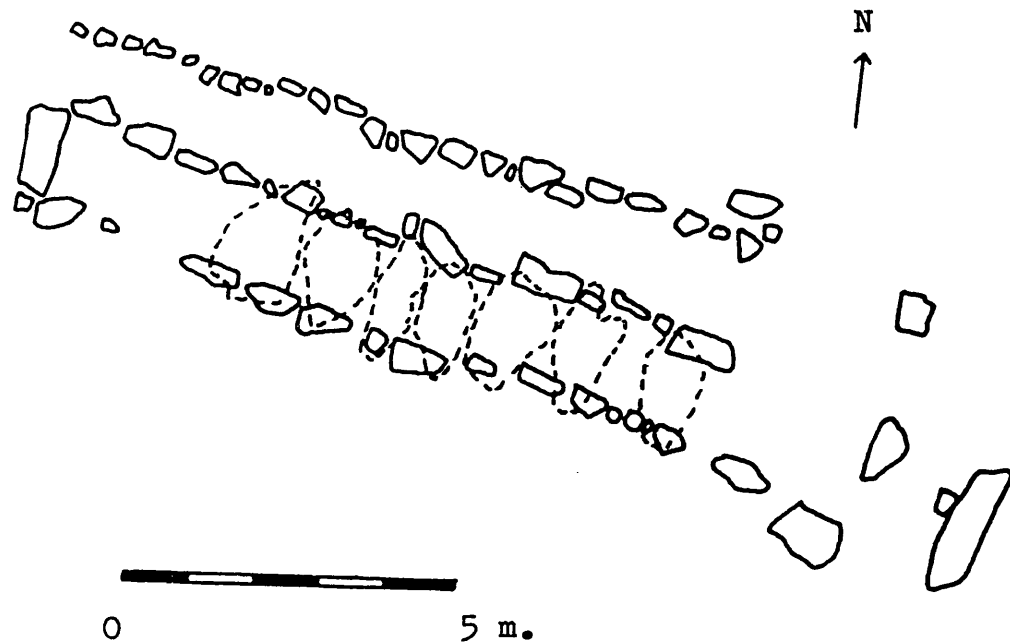


Fig.V.9. Le Couperon (not to scale).

(after HAWKES 1937).

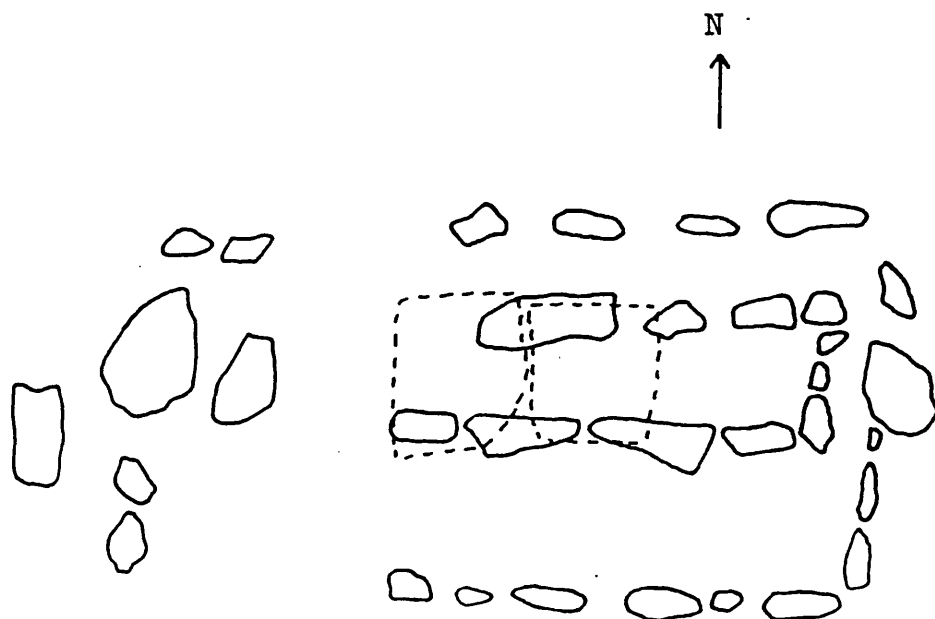


Fig.V.10. Les Pourciaux North.
(after KENDRICK 1928).

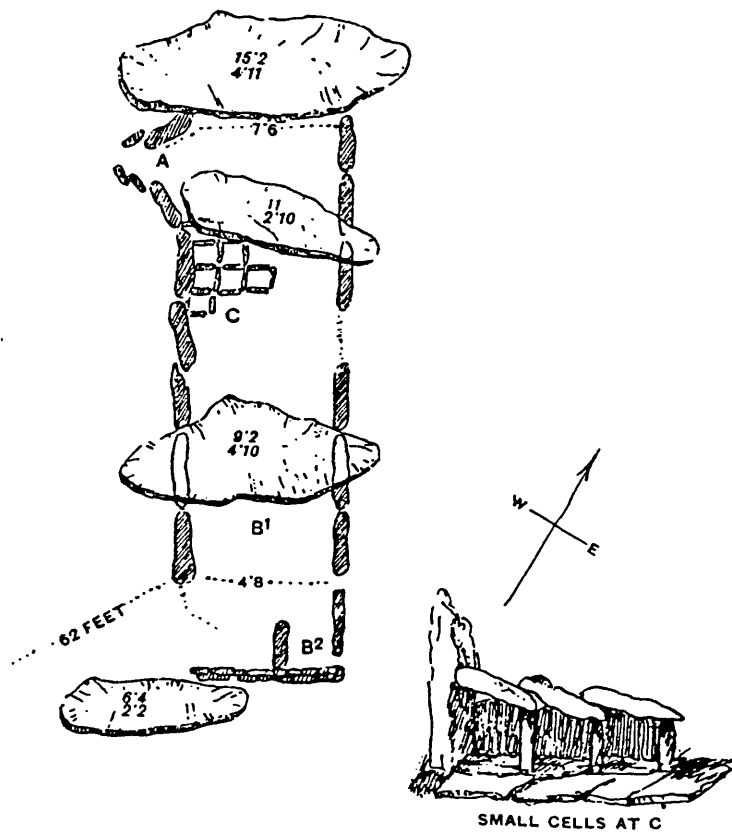


Table V.1. Dimensions of Channel Island gallery graves (metres).

	<u>Length</u>	<u>Width</u>	<u>Length ÷ Width.</u>
Ville-ès-Nouaux	11	1.5	7.3
Le Couperon	9	1	9
Les Pourciaux	8	2	4

The proportions of the first two monuments are entirely in keeping with those of gallery graves in Normandy (DANIEL 1960, BAILLOUD 1964) and Brittany (L'HELGOUACH 1965), but the Pourciaux monument is unusually wide in relation to its length. There are no clear parallels for Les Pourciaux North in this respect, and it should probably be seen as an insular variant within the gallery grave tradition.

The abandonment of passage graves and gallery graves.

Chalcolithic material has been found in many passage graves and gallery graves in Armorica and the Channel Islands, and it represents the last major phase of depositional activity associated with these monuments. It seems clear that most passage graves and gallery graves were abandoned during the 3rd Millennium BC, and in many cases this abandonment seems to have involved a deliberate and permanent sealing of the monuments. At La Hougue Bie, Jersey (BAAL et al. 1925) and HER 12, Herm (KENDRICK 1928), the passages were blocked by walls, whilst at Grantez, Jersey (NICOLLE et al. 1913), the passage was blocked by a cairn of small pebbles covering a corpse buried in a seated position. In other cases, the mound was extended so as to prevent access. This form of closure is seen most spectacularly in Brittany, at Ile Carn à Ploudalmézeau, Finistère (GIOT 1967, 1987), where the entrances to the four passage graves were blocked by a massive extension of the cairn. The entrances to the passage graves of Gavrinis à Larmor-Baden, Morbihan (LE ROUX 1983) and Ty-Floc'h à Saint-Thois, Finistère, were also blocked by extensions of the cairn, albeit on a more modest scale, and recent excavations at the passage grave of La Hougue des Géonnais, Jersey, revealed evidence for a similar blockage. The passage graves of Faldouet and Le Mont de la Ville, Jersey (see Ch.IV) were originally

open, and the mounds covering the chambers of these monuments must therefore have been constructed at the time of abandonment.

In discussing the abandonment of Paris Basin gallery graves, Leclerc (1987) refers to the deposition of sterile layers to cover the burial deposits at the time of closure. At Le Déhus, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928), the burial deposits were covered by a deposit of limpet shells, which Lukis (cited by KENDRICK 1928) records as being 20 inches (50 cm) in thickness.

It seems clear that passage graves and gallery graves were deliberately and systematically sealed and abandoned, rather than simply falling into disuse, and in some cases this closure seems to have involved a series of rituals, with final offerings being placed in the monuments.

A series of intact Beakers and Jersey Bowls were found in the gallery grave of Ville-ès-Nouaux, Jersey (OLIVER 1870). These had been placed along the North side of the chamber in groups of three, protected by small cists. The assemblage from Ville-ès-Nouaux also includes fragments of several other Beakers and a schist wristguard (Fig.V.5b). The wristguard was found near the centre of the chamber and Hibbs (1983) claims that it was associated with an extended burial. Oliver (1870), however, records only an area of soil, discoloured "as if with decayed bone", and on the basis of this it seems questionable to infer the existence of a burial, let alone an extended one. Small cists similar to those at Ville-ès-Nouaux were found in the gallery grave of Les Pourciaux North (Fig.V.10): these contained human remains but are of uncertain date.

In the passage grave of Le Déhus, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928), a tanged copper dagger, three decorated Beakers and two vessels of Groupe du Gord affinities were placed near the centre of the chamber before the floor was covered by the deposit of limpet shells. Human remains were found within the limpet shell deposit, near the junction of the passage and chamber: notes in F.C. Lukis'

diary for 1837 (cited in KENDRICK 1928) suggest that three skeletons were found (2 adults and a child), but the account in the Collectanea Antiqua⁷ suggests disarticulated remains.

Important assemblages of Chalcolithic material were also recovered from the passage graves of La Creux-ès-Faies and Le Trépied, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928), and although the depositional context of this material was not recorded in any detail, it seems likely that these assemblages represent final depositions similar to those attested at Ville-ès-Nouaux and Le Déhus. Both assemblages include intact Beakers (9 at La Creux-ès-Faies, 2 at Le Trépied) and barbed and tanged flint arrowheads (2 in each case). At La Hougue des Géonnais, Jersey, fragments of several Jersey Bowls were incorporated in the blockage.

Where distinct final depositions can be identified in Channel Island monuments, these are almost invariably of Chalcolithic date, suggesting that the monuments were sealed between 2850 BC and 2250 BC. Some passage graves, such as La Hougue Bie, have produced no clear evidence for Late Neolithic or Chalcolithic activity, and these may have been abandoned at an earlier stage. The skeleton associated with the blockage at Grantz is of unknown date. Chalcolithic material has been found in many Armorican passage graves and gallery graves (L'HELGOUACH 1965), but some Breton monuments were clearly sealed during the second half of the 4th Millennium BC. Charcoal associated with the blockage at Gavrinis (LE ROUX 1983) produced a radiocarbon date which calibrates between 2910 BC and 3340 BC⁸.

The evidence suggests that passage graves and gallery graves were not all sealed and abandoned at the same time. The construction of passage graves ceased in the mid-4th Millennium BC, and some were abandoned shortly after this, whilst others continued in use. The

⁷ Vol.V: pp20-48.

⁸ 2520±80 bc=2910-3340 BC (Gif 5766).

construction of gallery graves ceased early in the 3rd Millennium BC and again, some monuments continued in use after this. What is clear is that virtually all passage graves and gallery graves were sealed and abandoned before 2250 BC.

Menhirs.

The dating of menhirs is always problematic, since in most cases there is no associated material: even when depositions of artefacts are found around menhirs, a direct association can only be established on the basis of detailed stratigraphic excavation, which has rarely been undertaken. It is clear that the erection of menhirs in Armorica began during the Middle Neolithic period, if not before. A number of Breton menhirs are decorated with motifs identical to those found in passage graves (SHEE-TWOHIG 1981), and fragments of broken menhirs were sometimes re-used in the construction of passage graves (L'HELGOUACH 1983, LE ROUX 1984a). Of the sixteen menhirs known in the Channel Islands (see Appendix vi), only four have provided any evidence with regard to dating, and all of these date to the Late Neolithic or Chalcolithic periods. For this reason, the standing menhirs of the islands are considered in this chapter, although it is possible that some may be of Early or Middle Neolithic date.

Table V.2 shows the heights of known Channel Island menhirs.

Table V.2. Heights of Channel Island menhirs (metres).

<u>Menhir</u>	<u>Height</u>
<u>Jersey</u>	
Mont Cochon	2.4
White Menhir	1.7
Little Menhir	1.7
Broken Menhir	3
Great Menhir	2.1
Le Quesnil	4.8
La Dame Blanche	3.5
<u>Guernsey</u>	
Castel	1.6
La Longue Roque	3.5
La Gran'mere du Chimiquière	1.8
La Petite Longue Roque	1.4
Route St.Clair	1.2
La Longue Pierre	3
Le Crocq	2.1

No distinct groupings emerge from this table, suggesting a continuous variation from the smallest menhir (1.2 m) to the largest (4.8 m).

Two of the menhirs, Castel and La Gran'mere du Chimiquière, Guernsey, are decorated. The Castel menhir (Fig.V.11) has breasts, a necklace and a head-dress carved in haute-relief. La Gran'mere du Chimiquière (Fig.V.12) also has breasts carved in haute-relief, and there is little doubt that this menhir was originally similar to that at Le Castel: the "Gran'mere", however, has been altered (probably during the Gallo-Roman period) and the face and collar relate to these later alterations. The two statue-menhirs of Guernsey are clear examples of an iconography which can be recognised over much of Northern France (KINNES 1980, SHEE-TWOHIG 1981). Representations of breasts and necklaces carved in haute-relief are found in gallery graves both in the Paris Basin and in Brittany. Only in the Armorican region, however, does this iconography occur on menhirs. The menhirs of Kermené en Guidel, Morbihan (GIOT 1960, 1973) and Le Trévoux à Laniscat, Finistère (GIOT 1973) are essentially comparable to the Guernsey examples (KINNES 1980). The regular association of this iconography with gallery graves leaves little doubt as to the Late Neolithic date of the Guernsey statue-menhirs, and this is corroborated by the evidence from Kermené, where

fragments of a broken statue-menhir were associated with charcoal which gave a radiocarbon date calibrating between 2900 BC and 3340 BC⁹. The carvings of breasts and associated features on the walls of gallery graves and on the statue-menhirs of Brittany and Guernsey reflect an important departure from earlier traditions of megalithic art. The motifs found in Breton passage graves are in most cases highly stylised, and explicit representational art is rare. The technique of carving in haute-relief makes the Late Neolithic representations of breasts immediately visible, in contrast to the motifs found in passage graves, which are often difficult to see (the anthropomorph at Le Déhus was first noticed by archaeologists several decades after the chamber was excavated). The visibility and explicit representational character of Late Neolithic motifs may reflect an important transformation in terms of the definition and maintenance of social relations through ritual. The character of the artistic representations in passage graves, like the structure of the monuments themselves (see Ch. IV) embodies the potential for social power based on control of sacred knowledge: the motifs are not immediately visible, and their stylised character is likely to have required explanation. With Late Neolithic motifs this potential, whilst it still exists, is significantly reduced. Some of the carvings found in passage graves (including probably the Déhus anthropomorph) reflect re-use of previously carved stones. The carvings found in gallery graves, by contrast, are integral parts of the monuments themselves, and constitute more obvious ritual foci.

The Little Menhir and the Broken Menhir on Les Blanchés Banques, Jersey, can be dated to the Chalcolithic period on the basis of stratigraphic evidence. These menhirs are in close association with the megalithic cist known as "The Ossuary" (see below). Excavations in the early part of this century (RYBOT

⁹ 2440±140 bc = 2900-3340 BC (Gif 1966).

Fig.V.11. Castel statue-menhir.
(after KINNES 1980).

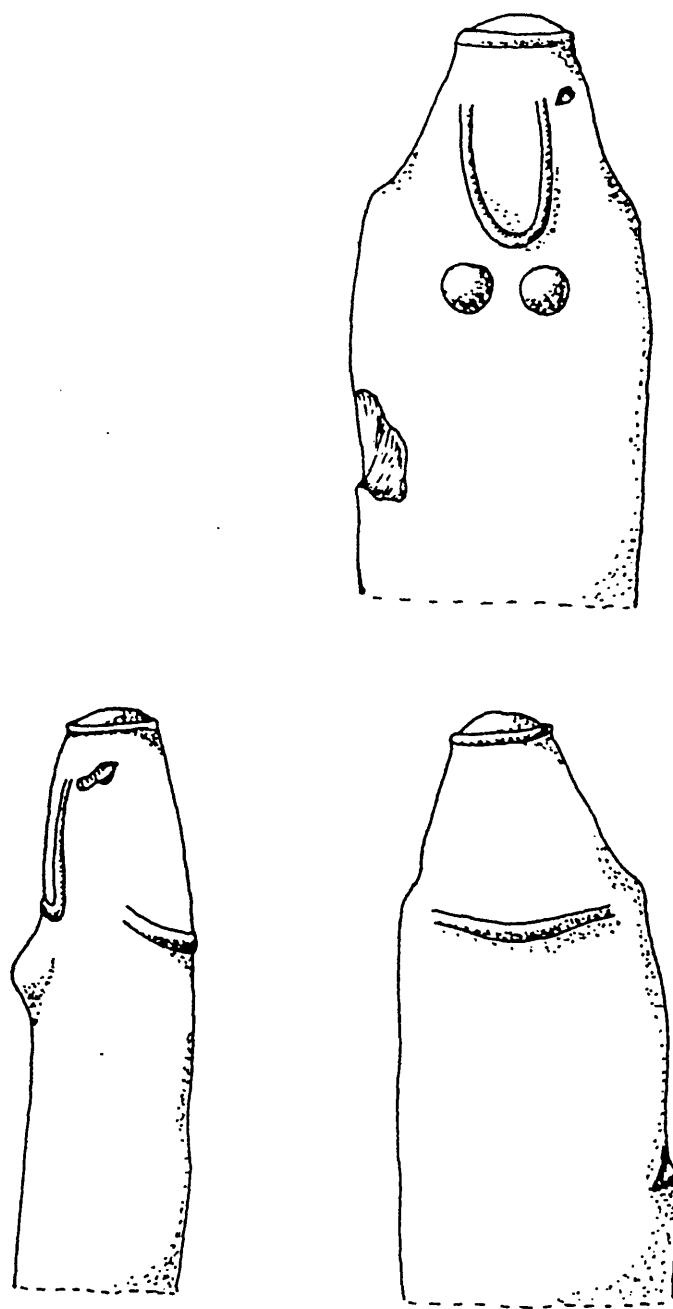


Fig.V.12. La Gran'mere du Chimiquiere.
(after KINNES 1980).

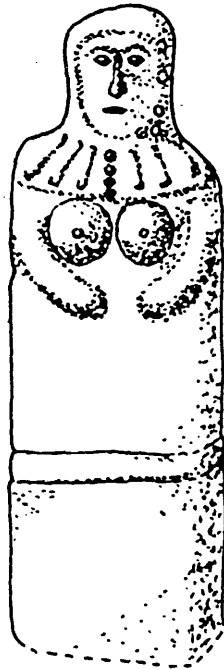
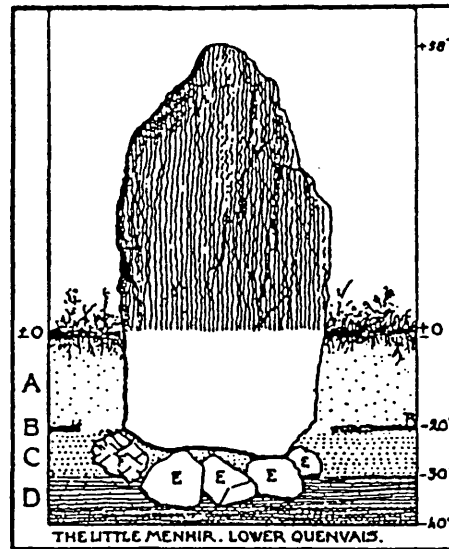


Fig.V.13. The Little Menhir.
(after RYBOT 1934).



- a) Recent blown sand
- b) Ancient land surface
- c - d) Ancient sand
- e - f) Trig stones

1934) revealed an ancient land surface cut by the pits in which the menhirs stand (Fig.V.13). More recent excavations (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming) have revealed settlement traces to the West of the menhirs and "Ossuary" (see section V.iii), and it is clear that the land surface found on the settlement site is continuous with that found in association with the menhirs. Since the settlement horizon was associated with Chalcolithic material, it seems clear that the menhirs also date to this period. The association between the Little and Broken Menhirs, the "Ossuary" and the Blanches Banques settlement may be highly significant, and this will be further considered at the end of this section.

The significance of menhirs is as problematic as their chronology. Some (e.g, the Guernsey statue-menhirs) are clearly anthropomorphic, whilst some Armorican menhirs have a decidedly phallic appearance. The iconography of the Guernsey statue-menhirs recurs in Northern France in funerary contexts, and it therefore seems likely that these menhirs were in some way associated with funerary ritual. A similar association is suggested by the close relationship between the Little and Broken Menhirs and the "Ossuary". Few large scale excavations have ever been carried out around menhirs, and because of this one can say little about the activities that took place around them. A small pit filled with limpet shells was found by accident a short distance from the menhir of La Dame Blanche, Jersey, presumably representing some form of ritual offering (RYBOT 1934).

The site of La Hougue Mauget.

The site of La Hougue Mauget (BAAL & SINEL 1915b) is the only monument of its type known in the Channel islands, though there are comparable sites on the Armorican mainland. The monument consists of a mound, 17 m in diameter and 2 m in height. A single granite slab was found near the centre of the mound, but there is no evidence to suggest that this formed part of a megalithic structure. 22 granite querns were found at the centre of the mound, most of them accompanied by millers: all but

three of the querns were broken. A series of six pottery vessels were found, deposited in an arc near the Southern edge of the mound: these vessels are all of the same type (Fig.V.7), having affinities in the Groupe du Gord of the Paris Basin (see Appendix v).

The monument is closely comparable to the site of Kermené en Guidel, Morbihan (GIOT 1960, 1973), where a tumulus 18 m in diameter and 2.75 m in height was associated with fragments of 75 broken querns. Fragments of a broken statue-menhir were also found at Kermené, and this is comparable to the Castel statue-menhir discussed above (KINNES 1980). No evidence for a megalithic structure was found at Kermené. The tumulus of Pleyben, Finistère (ANON 1876) may also be comparable, though this site is not well documented. This mound was 52 m in diameter and 2.5 m in height: as at La Hougue Mauger and Kermené, broken querns were found, but there was no evidence for a megalithic structure.

Charcoal found within the Kermené mound gave a radiocarbon date (Gif 1966) of 2440 ± 140 bc (=2900-3340 BC). This would place the monument near the end of the Late Neolithic period, and the presence of a broken statue-menhir lends support to this. The pottery from La Hougue Mauger may be slightly later than this (see Appendix v), but probably does belong in the first half of the 3rd Millennium BC.

Megalithic cists.

Five sites are included in this category, but only one of these, the "Ossuary" in Jersey (DARRELL HILL 1924), is reasonably well understood. The sites of HER 1, Herm (KENDRICK 1928) and the Beauport Cromlech, Jersey (CABLE 1877, JOHNSTON 1972) were both damaged by quarrying prior to archaeological excavation, and the cist of Tourgis, Alderney (KENDRICK 1928, JOHNSTON 1974), although structurally intact, had been looted. The cist beneath the Jersey Gasworks (WEDGEWOOD & MOURANT 1954, MOURANT 1985) is potentially of great interest but has not been excavated.

The five monuments can be divided into two groups on

the basis of their size; monuments of the first group (HER 1, Beauport Cromlech, Gasworks) having maximum dimensions of 4-5 m, and those of the second group ("The Ossuary", Tourgis) having maximum dimensions of 2-3 m.

Let us deal first with the larger monuments. The cist of HER 1 was discovered in 1838, and the Eastern portion had already been largely destroyed by quarrying. Lukis' account¹⁰, accompanied by a sketch plan (Fig.V.14) suggests that the cist was around 4 m in length, and built of uprights 1.5 m in height. The spaces between the uprights were packed with drystone walling, and the cist seems originally to have been covered by capstones, though only one of these remained in place at the time of the excavation. Like HER 1, the Beauport Cromlech had been severely damaged by quarrying before the original excavation (CABLE 1877). Cable identified the remains of a cist of mixed megalithic and drystone construction, 5 feet in length and 2½ feet in width (1.5 x 0.75 m). Re-examination by Johnston (1972) revealed further features. Two upright stones were found to the South-east of the "cist", with a "blockage" of small stones between them (Fig.V.15/V.16). Johnston considers these two stones to represent an entrance, and postulates the existence of a passage between the "entrance" and the "chamber" (Fig.V.15). There is no clear evidence for the existence of such a passage, but this evidence may have been destroyed by the activities of 19th Century quarrymen. Johnston claims that the bedrock in this area had been quarried and he suggests that this represents an original rock-cut passage. Such a feature would, however, be without parallel, and it seems more likely that this represents recent quarrying. It is difficult to accept Johnston's identification of the site as a "v-shaped or undifferentiated passage grave": even if the existence of a passage is accepted, the width of the "entrance" is more-or-less equal to that of the "chamber" (Fig.V.16), suggesting a rectangular cist rather than a passage

¹⁰ Collectanea Antiqua Vol.V: pp74-78.

grave. The total length of the structure is only 5 m, which is substantially smaller than any of the megalithic passage graves of the Channel Islands. A ruined megalithic site of unknown form, the La Moie Cromlech (or La Hougue de Foret), was discovered a short distance to the North-east of the Beauport Cromlech (BELLIS & CABLE 1880). Bellis & Cable (op cit.) noted a series of large stones between the two sites, and suggested that these might represent the remains of an avenue, but these stones were not recorded in any detail and have since disappeared.

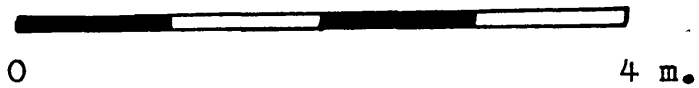
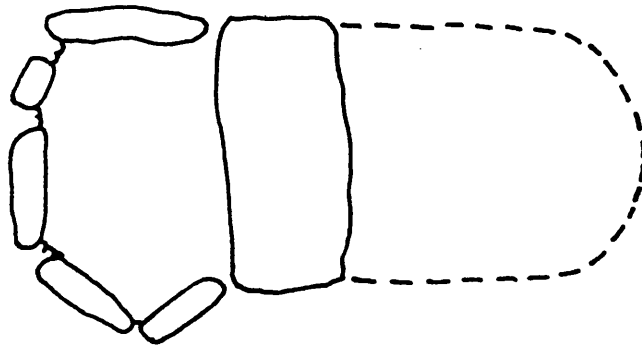
Lukis makes no mention of a mound associated with the HER 1 cist, and certainly no evidence of a mound or cairn can be traced on the surface today. Johnston (1972) claims to have identified the remains of a circular cairn (Fig.V.15) around the Beauport Cromlech, and whilst the published section drawing of this is not particularly convincing, he does state that it was seen more convincingly to the North of the section.

Both HER 1 and the Beauport Cromlech had paved floors. A single pottery vessel was found in the HER 1 cist, and this is of characteristic S.O.M. type (KENDRICK 1928: Fig.107), with flat base and splayed sides (cf Fig.V.1b). Fragments of four pottery vessels were found on the pavement of the Beauport Cromlech, and one of these was apparently protected by a small cist. All of the pottery from the latter site is of Chalcolithic date.

No identifiable human remains were found in the Beauport Cromlech, but this may simply be the result of soil acidity: traces of burnt bone were found in a deposit adhering to one of the pottery vessels (CABLE 1877), but this could be animal or human. Two levels of disarticulated human remains were found in the HER 1 cist, one above and the other below the pavement. No estimate is given of the number of individuals represented, but Lukis does state that the cist contained "a vast number of individuals both above and under the pavement". The human remains in this cist were associated with numerous shells of limpet and land-snails (Helix

Fig.V.14. HER 1.

Redrawn from sketch and information given in the
Collectanea Antiqua : approximate scale only.



(after JOHNSTON 1972).

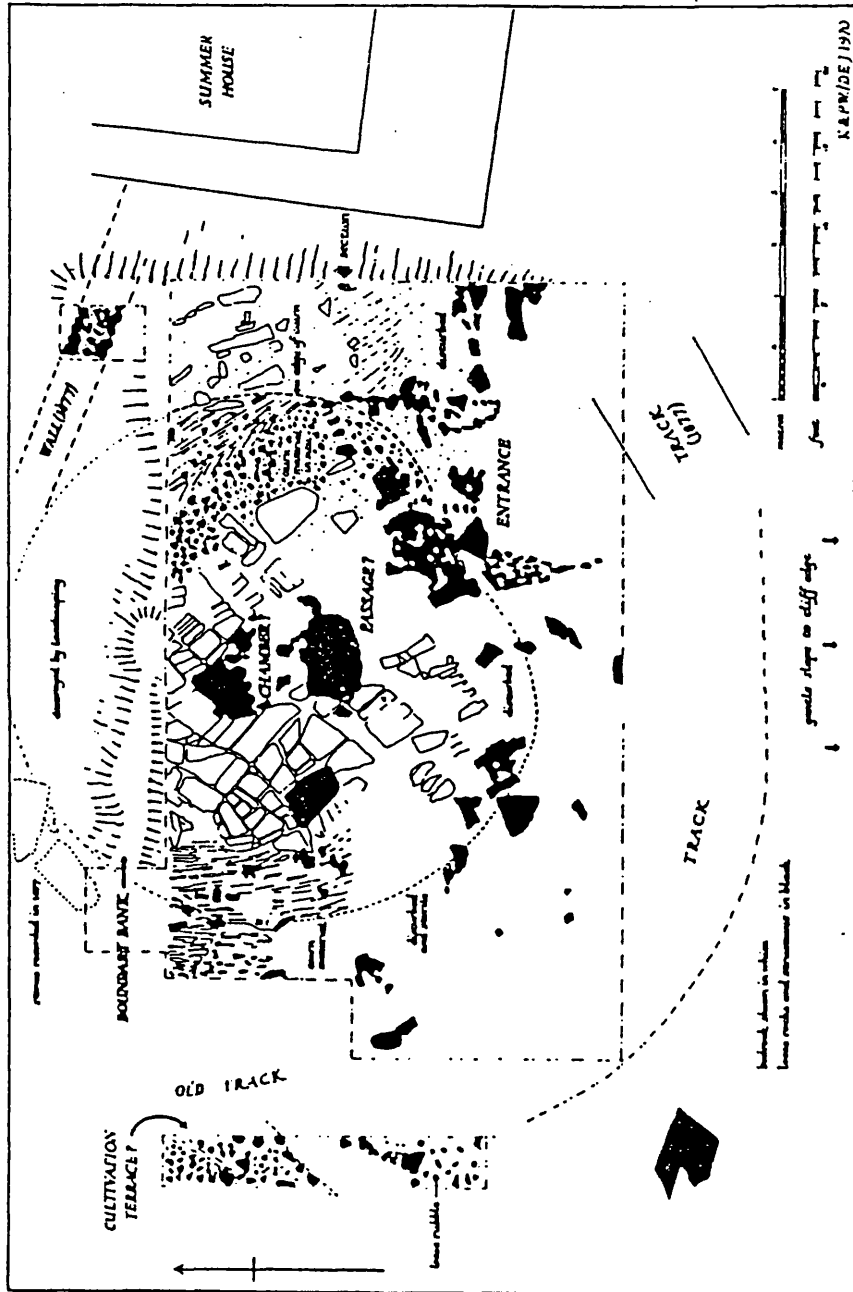
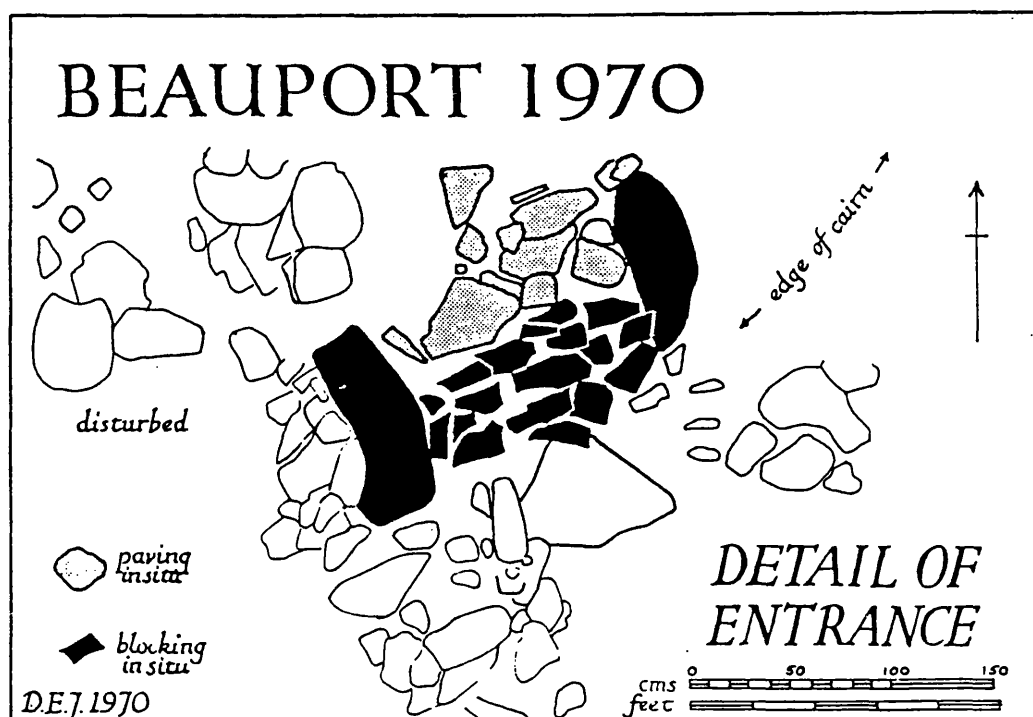
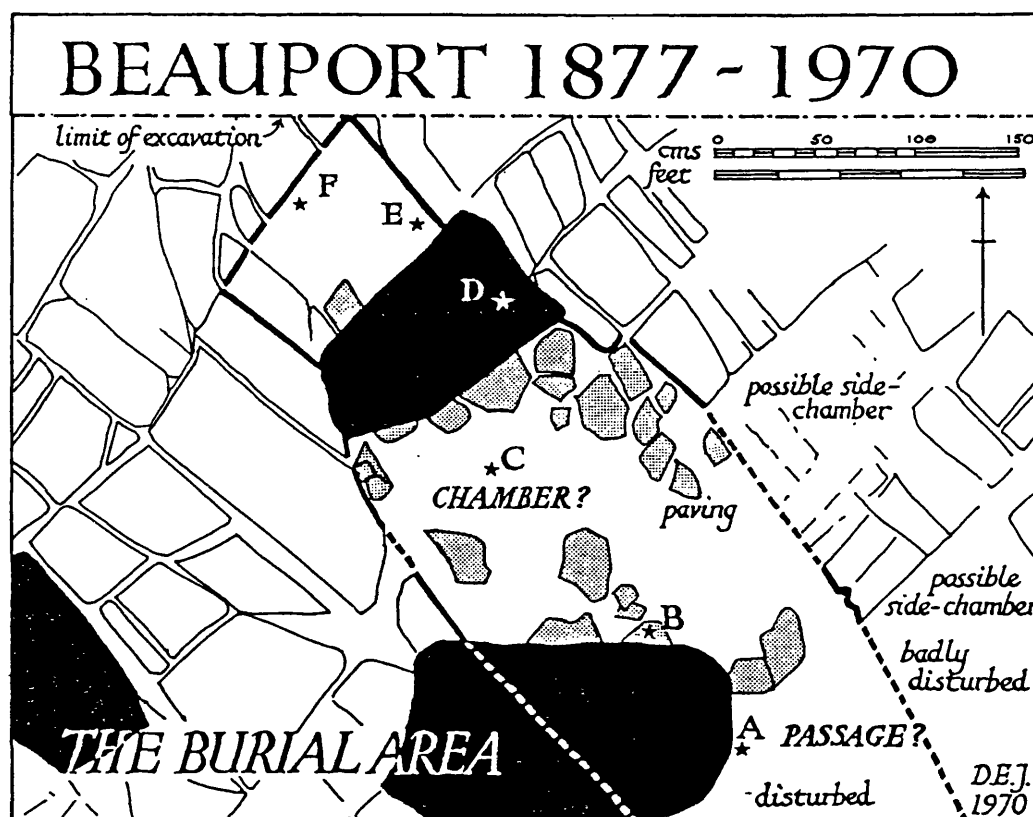


Fig.V.16. Details of Beauport Cromlech.
(after JOHNSTON 1972).



nemoralis)¹¹.

Comparable monuments on the Armorican mainland include the cists of Lost-er-Lenn à Grandchamp (LECORNEC 1972) and L'Hotié de Viviane (LE ROUX 1983, BRIARD 1984), Morbihan, which are of similar size and form. The assemblage from L'Hotié de Viviane includes polished axes, pebble pendants, transverse arrowheads and S.O.M. pottery, whilst that from Lost-er-Lenn includes both Late Neolithic (S.O.M. & Kerugou) and Chalcolithic (Beaker) pottery. A number of other Armorican monuments, including the cists of Tredion à Coetby, Morbihan (LE ROUX 1977) and Ezer à Loctudy, Finistère (MILON & GIOT 1949), are of comparable form but have produced no dateable material.

The megalithic structure discovered on the site of the St. Helier Gasworks, Jersey (WEDGEWOOD & MOURANT 1954, MOURANT 1985) may be comparable to the monuments discussed above. A capstone was found resting on four orthostats, and this was associated with an avenue of upright stones. The monument was discovered when the foundations for the gasworks were being dug, and only the most cursory archaeological examination was possible: the deposits within the cist were not examined at all. The gasworks have recently been demolished, and the site may shortly be available for excavation. Johnston (1972) has commented on the association of a cist and stone avenue at the Gasworks site, relating this to Bellis & Cable's (1880) suggestion of an avenue between the Beauport and La Moie Cromlechs.

The cist known as "The Ossuary" (Fig.V.17) is significantly smaller than HER 1 or the Beauport Cromlech. The cist is 3 m long, and formed by four uprights (1-4 on Fig.V.17), one of which had fallen. A fifth block (5) was interpreted (DARRELL HILL 1924) as a fallen capstone, since crushed bone and pottery was found beneath it. The cist of Tourgis, Alderney (KENDRICK 1928,

¹¹ It seems most likely that the land-snails arrived in the cist naturally.

222

JOHNSTON 1974) is closely comparable to the "Ossuary", being formed of two upright stones, 2 m in length, and covered by a single capstone.

The "Ossuary" was covered by 2 feet (0.6 m) of sand, which probably represents a natural dune deposit rather than a tumulus. No indication of a cairn was found, although a number of small "blockage stones" were found to the North-west of the cist. Johnston's (1974) excavations at Tourgis revealed that this cist was set in a circular mound with a core of sterile loess and an upper layer of granitic soil with redeposited flints.

The Tourgis cist had already been looted when it was recorded by Lukis¹²: no human remains are recorded, and no finds from the site are preserved, though it is recorded that a "flint knife" was found in 1853 (KENDRICK 1928). The "Ossuary", by contrast was undisturbed at the time of excavation, having been protected by dune deposits. Disarticulated human bones were found in the cist, and a few cattle bones were also found (2 molar teeth, a tibia, a femur and an os calcis). Table V.3 shows the composition of the human bone assemblage from the cist.

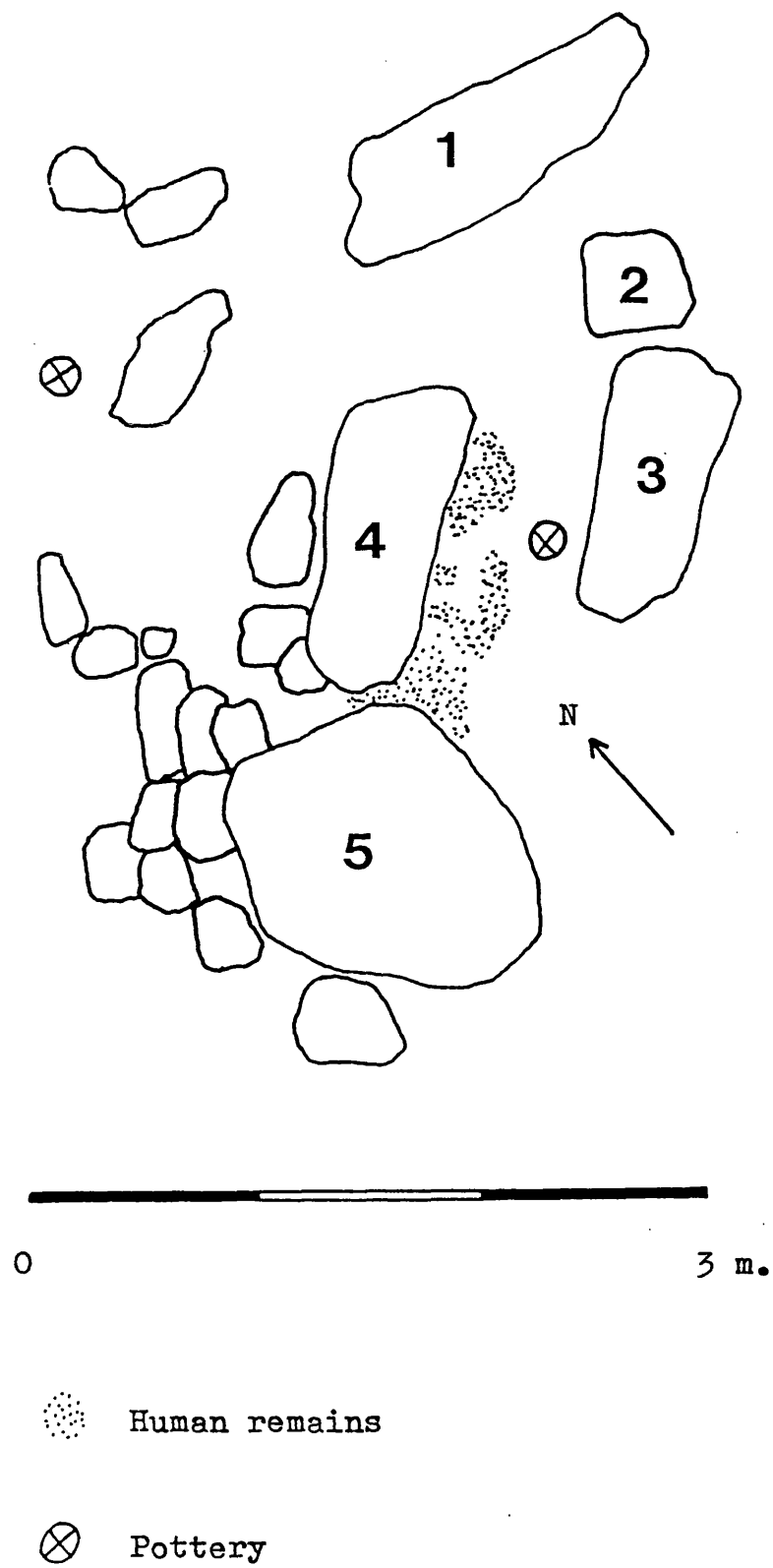
Table V.3. Human remains from the "Ossuary".

<u>Skeletal element</u>	<u>Number</u>
Skull	7
Pelvis	1
Femur (right)	10
Femur (left)	7
Tibia	4
Fibula	2
Humerus	3
Scapula	1
Astragalus	2

None of the bones were found in articulation, and not all parts of the skeleton are represented: vertebrae and ribs are completely absent, as are the bones of the lower arm and hand. Darrell Hill (1924) considered this as clear evidence for excarnation (i.e. the exposure or

¹² Collectanea Antiqua Vol.V: p110.

Fig.V.17. The Ossuary.
(after DARRELL-HILL 1924).



temporary burial of the corpse followed by deposition of the bones in the cist), and although Sir Arthur Keith has argued against this, his objections¹³ cannot be seriously maintained. Keith argues that the disarticulated nature of the remains could result simply from disturbance brought about by successive interments (of intact corpses), but if this were the case, one would expect to find at least one intact skeleton (the last corpse to be buried in the cist) and one would not expect some skeletal elements to be completely absent from the assemblage. Keith considered the assemblage to represent around 20 individuals: the reliability of this estimate is questionable, but the assemblage must represent a minimum of ten individuals, since it includes ten right femura.

Two Jersey Bowls were found at the "Ossuary", one inside the cist and the other a short distance to the North. These vessels suggest a Chalcolithic date for the cist, and this is corroborated by stratigraphic evidence. Darrell Hill (1924) records that the in situ stones were set into an ancient land surface: this horizon was recently re-exposed (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming), and was shown to be continuous with the land surface associated with the Little and Broken Menhirs (RYBOT 1934) and with the occupation horizon of the Blanchés Banques Chalcolithic settlement (see section V.iii).

There are no clear Armorican parallels for the "Ossuary" and the Tournais cist, but they can perhaps be related to the "simple dolmens" of Brittany and Normandy (cf BENDER 1968), about which very little is known. Two monuments on Chaussey (DASTUGUE 1971) may also be comparable, but these have not been excavated.

Cists in circles.

The Channel Island cists in circles represent a uniquely insular monumental tradition. Although some Early Bronze Age tumuli in Brittany have cists or dry-

¹³ Keith's comments are published as an appendix to Darrell Hill's (1924) report.

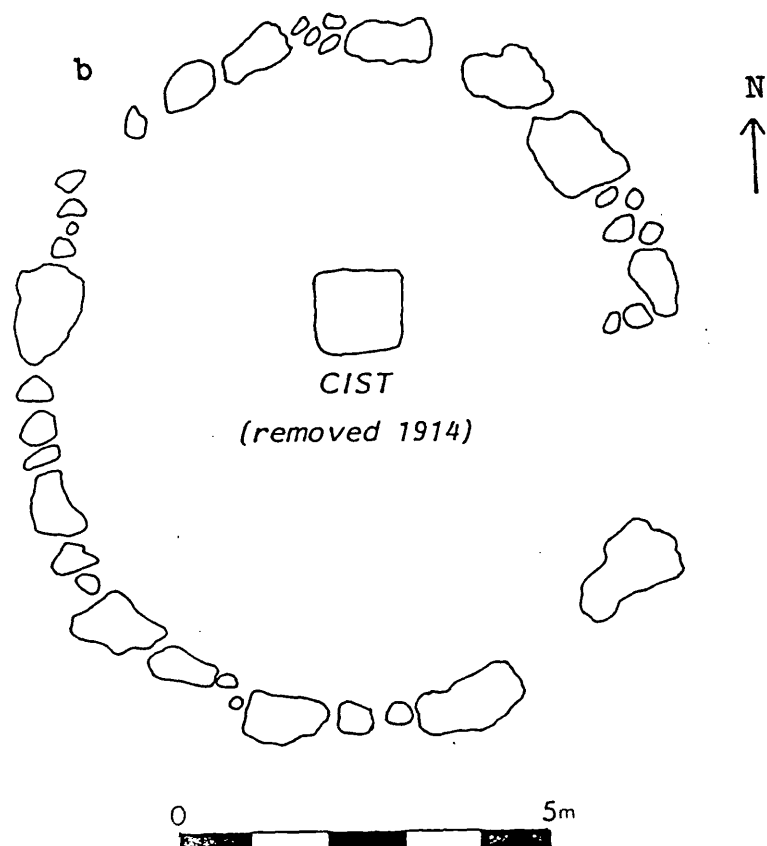
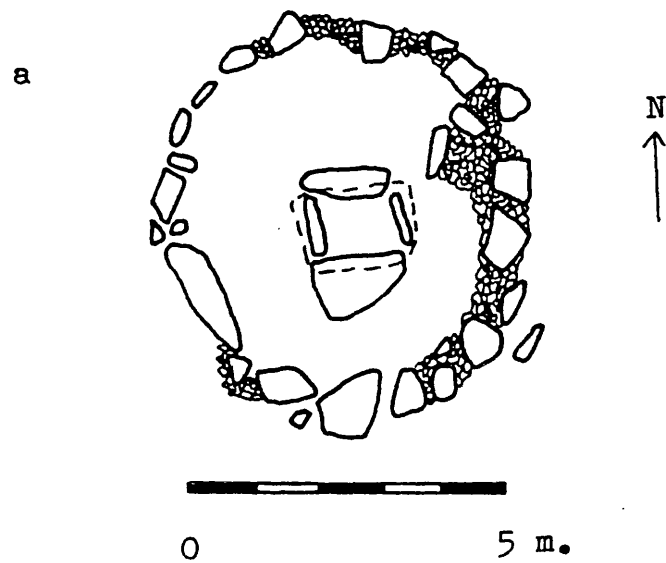
stone chambers surrounded by circles (e.g. Kerivoa en Bourbriac, Côtes-du-Nord, Tumulus I de Kerbernard, Tumulus I de Kergalec à Saint-Thois, Tumulus Ouest de Botsorhel, Finistère: BRIARD 1984), these are rare, and in any case are morphologically quite different from the Channel Island examples. All of the dated cists in circles in the Channel Islands are of Late Neolithic or Chalcolithic rather than Early Bronze Age date.

The typical cist in circle consists of a square or rectangular cist, covered by a single capstone and surrounded by a circle of upright stones (Fig.V.18/V.19). In most cases the cist is approximately at the centre of the circle, but at the site of HER 15 (Fig.V.19b), the cist is in the North-eastern corner of the circle.

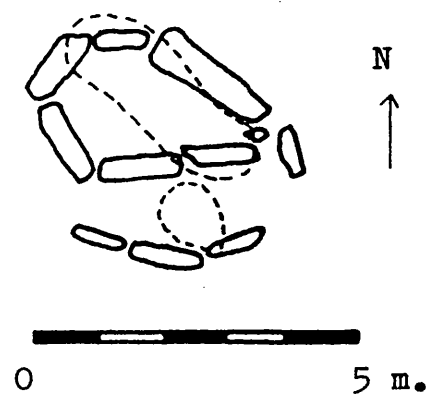
There are some marked elaborations on this basic pattern. At Rousse Tower, Guernsey, for example, two cists in circles are placed adjacent to one another (KENDRICK 1928), whilst at L'Islet, Guernsey (CAREY-CURTIS 1912), four small cists in circles are placed around the periphery of a larger circle, enclosing a double cist (Fig.V.20). The destroyed monument on the site of "Peter Fourneau's cottage", Alderney (KENDRICK 1928) was possibly a monument of this form, though the description is ambiguous. At Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (KINNES 1982 & forthcoming; KINNES & GRANT 1983), a monument clearly related to the cists in circles was constructed on top of the Early Neolithic long mound. The Eastern end of the long mound was covered by a platform consisting of successive layers of packed beach pebbles, earth and boulders, and on top of this platform was a circle of recumbent boulders enclosing two massive posts, set 2.4 m apart and "defining a presumptive linear mortuary zone" (KINNES 1982: p27). In this case a wooden structure seems to have taken the place of the cist, and the circle is also elaborated by the addition of two semi-circular enclaves (KINNES & GRANT 1983).

Table V.4 shows the diameters of Channel Island cists in circles.

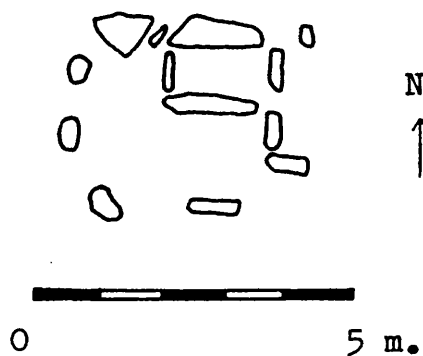
Fig.V.18. Ville-es-Nouaux (a) (after BELLIS & CABLE 1884)
and Les Platons (b) (after JOHNSTON 1981).



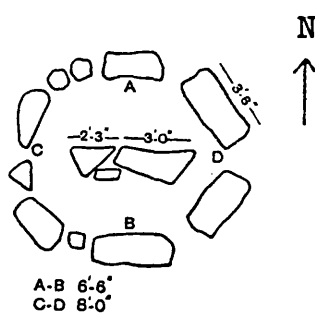
La Platte Mare



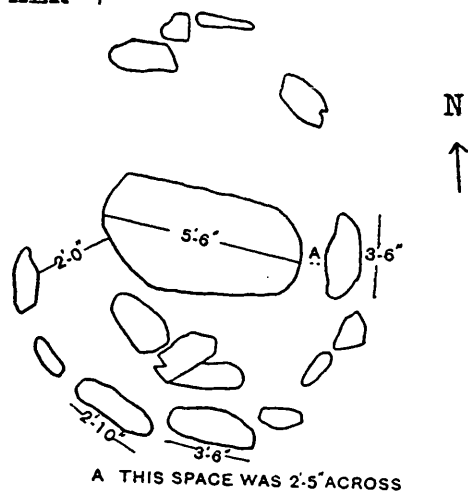
HER 15



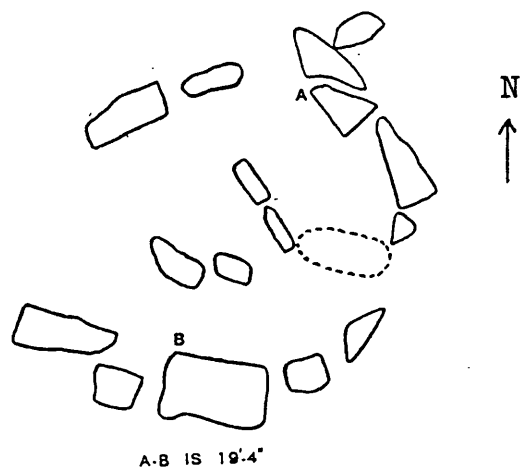
HER 3



HER 4



HER 11



HER 16

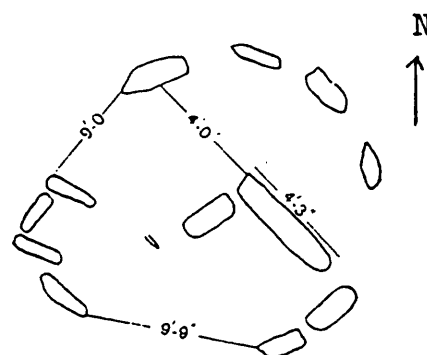
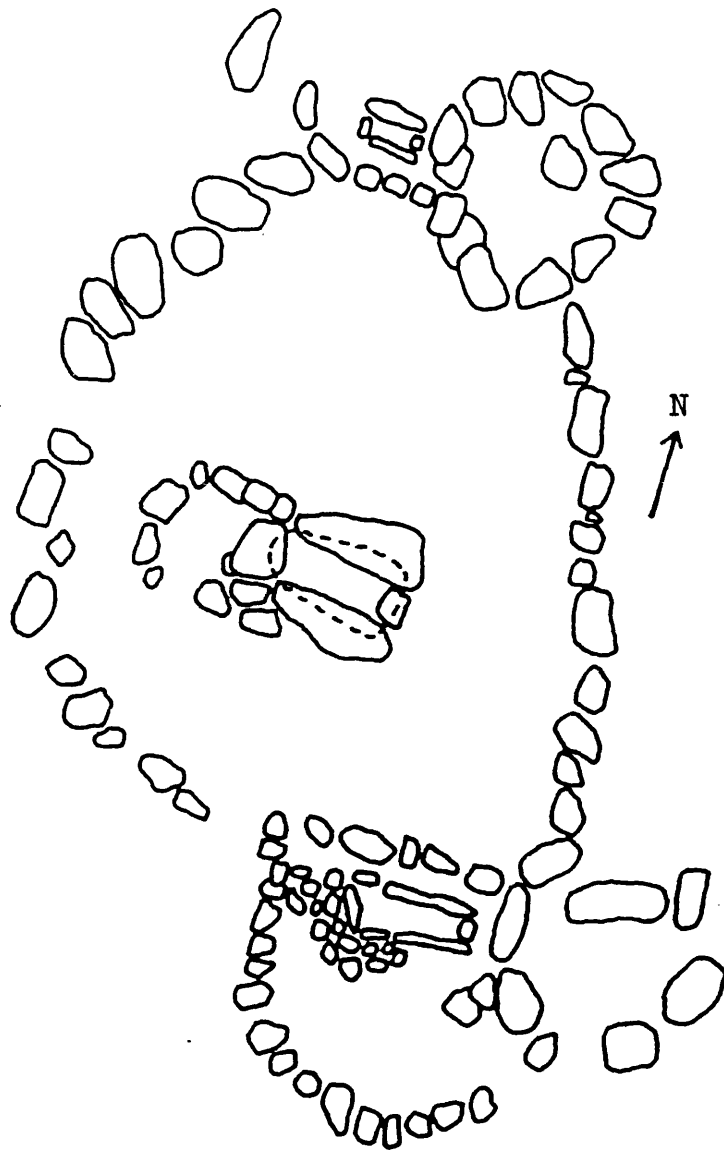


Fig.V.20. L'Islet.
(after CAREY-CURTIS 1912).



0 5 m.

Table V.4. Cists in circles: diameter of circle (metres).

	<u>Diameter</u>
<u>Jersey.</u>	
Ville-ès-Nouaux ¹⁴	5.5
Les Platons ¹⁵	9
<u>Guernsey.</u>	
La Platte Mare ¹⁶	c5
La Mare-ès-Mauves ¹⁷	c6
Martello Tower No.7 ¹⁸	c15
Rousse Tower ¹⁹	5.5/4.5 (2 circles).
L'Islet ²⁰	10.5 (large circle).
Les Fouaillages ²¹	3.8
<u>Herm²².</u>	
HER 3	c4
HER 4	c4
HER 11	c6
HER 15	c3
HER 16	c5

Most of the monuments cluster between 3 m and 6 m, but the sites of Les Platons, Jersey and L'Islet, Guernsey, and the cist near Martello Tower No.7, Guernsey, are significantly larger: the latter site (KENDRICK 1928) is very poorly documented.

Unlike passage graves and gallery graves, cists in circles cannot have been covered by mounds whilst they were in use: where evidence of a mound has been found, this must relate to the final abandonment of the monument. The cist at Ville-ès-Nouaux, Jersey (BELLIS & CABLE 1884, PATTON 1987a: Pl.X) was covered by a loess mound, the edge of which was defined by the circle. The Les Platons cist was covered by an earth mound (BAAL &

¹⁴ Bellis & Cable 1884.

¹⁵ Baal & Sinel 1915a.

¹⁶ Kendrick 1928.

¹⁷ Kendrick 1928.

¹⁸ Kendrick 1928.

¹⁹ Kendrick 1928.

²⁰ Carey-Curtis 1912.

²¹ Kinnes 1982, Kinnes & Grant 1983.

²² Kendrick 1928.

SINEL 1915a), 1.5 m in height, and again the circle formed the edge of the mound. The mound at Les Platons is described as consisting of "fine buff-coloured clay" (probably loess), with "well defined layers which when cut in vertical section showed in continuous lines", but no further description of the stratigraphy is given. The Fouaillages "mortuary zone" (KINNES 1982) was covered by an oval mound, 35 m long, formed of stacked turves laid on a foundation of beach pebbles. Charcoal from the base of this mound gave a radiocarbon date (BM 1891R) which calibrates at 2500 BC (2070±100 bc). One of the small cists at L'Islet was covered by a cairn (CAREY-CURTIS 1912).

The site of La Platte Mare is unique among the Channel island cists in circles, in that one of the stones is decorated with a line of twelve cupmarks (KENDRICK 1928).

The depositions found within these monuments have rarely been recorded in detail: many of the cists were damaged by quarrying before they were excavated and, with the exception of Les Fouaillages, none have been excavated since 1915. The cist of Ville-ès-Nouaux (BELLIS & CABLE 1884) was completely empty, although it was covered by a mound (PATTON 1987a: Pl.X) which had clearly not been disturbed. Bellis & Cable (op cit.) record that the cist contained only sterile white sand. It is possible that the cist contained human remains which had completely disintegrated, but this seems unlikely: the "white sand" described by Bellis & Cable could only refer to beach or dune sand, and one would expect this to contain a high proportion of calcareous material and thus be favorable to the preservation of bone (cf "The Ossuary": DARRELL HILL 1924). Human remains have been found in several of the Channel Island cists in circles, and a breakdown of these is given on Table V.5. All recorded depositions from these monuments are of disarticulated remains.

Table V.5. Human remains from cists in circles:
approximate numbers of individuals represented.

	<u>Number.</u>
<u>Jersey.</u>	
Les Platons	1-2 (cremated)
<u>Herm.</u>	
HER 2	"Many skulls"
HER 3	1
HER 7	20-30
HER 11	At least 2 skulls
<u>Alderney.</u>	
P.Fourneau's cottage	Human remains present

It is difficult to assess the reliability of W.C. Lukis' assertion (cited by KENDRICK 1928) that the remains from the HER 7 cist represented 20-30 individuals. The figure may well be over-estimated, but unfortunately the remains have not been preserved and are not described in detail. The deposition from Les Platons is particularly interesting. The cist contained two pottery vessels, both of S.O.M. affinities (see Appendix v), and the larger vessel contained human remains (BAAL & SINEL 1915a). Only a few fragments of bone have been preserved, and these could relate to a single individual. The excavators did not consider that the remains had been cremated, but the few fragments that are preserved clearly have been. A deposit of charcoal found beneath the cist (BAAL & SINEL op cit.) may represent the remains of a pyre. The presence of cremated remains is not in itself particularly surprising: cremation is attested in a Late Neolithic context at La Hoguette à Fontenay-le-Marmion, Calvados (CAILLAUD & LAGNEL 1972). The deposition of cremated remains in a pottery vessel, however, is more remarkable, as this practice has not been recorded in a Late Neolithic context elsewhere in the Armorican region.

Table V.6 shows the artefacts found in association with Channel Island cists in circles. The range of material found in these monuments is quite similar to that of earlier ritual and funerary assemblages. Pottery vessels are the items most commonly deposited, but arrowheads and stone axes are also known. At Les Fouaillages (KINNES 1982) a deposition of eight barbed

and tanged arrowheads (including four of Grand Pressigny flint) was found within the "linear mortuary zone". The presence of quantities of limpet shells in four of the monuments suggests a degree of continuity from Middle Neolithic mortuary practices (see Ch.IV).

The ceramic assemblages from cists in circles include pottery of S.O.M. and Groupe du Gord affinities (see Appendix v) and Beakers, suggesting that most of these monuments were built and used during the period 3250-2250 BC. Pottery of Groupe du Gord affinities was found together with Beakers at La Platte Mare, and this association poses no chronological problems (Appendix v). There are, however, no associations of S.O.M. and Gord pottery or S.O.M. pottery and Beakers, suggesting that individual monuments remained in use only for a limited period. Kinnes (1982) describes the "mortuary zone at Les Fouaillages as "long-lived", claiming that the posts were replaced once, and that the zone was later defined by a rectangular setting of recumbent boulders, but there is certainly no evidence for the degree of longevity attested in relation to passage graves.

It has already been suggested (Ch.IV) that the cist in circle tradition may have had its origins in the Middle Neolithic period: the sites of Grosnez Hougue, Jersey (RYBOT 1934) and Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928) can be identified as probable cists in circles, and both were associated with Middle Neolithic material. The tradition can perhaps be related back to the Early Neolithic by reference to the site of Les Fouaillages: although the Early Neolithic monument of Les Fouaillages (Ch.III) is enclosed by an axe-shaped setting rather than a circle of stones, the same basic pattern of a cist or cists within an open enclosure can be identified. Whilst the cists in circles may relate to earlier monumental traditions, there is clear evidence for the proliferation of such monuments between 3250 BC and 2250 BC, and this must be related to other developments during the same period.

One development that can be traced in the Late

Table V.6. Composition of assemblages from cists in circles (excluding human remains).

	S.O.M. POTTERY	GORD POTTERY	BEAKER	JERSEY BOWL	ARROWHEAD (barbed/tanged)	STONE AXE	LIMPET SHELLS
LES PLATONS	X						
L'ISLET	X						
LA PLATTE MARE		X	X		X	X	
LES FOUAILLAGES		X			X		
P.FOURNEAU'S COTTAGE						X	X
HER 2				X			
HER 3							X
HER 7							X
HER 11							X

Neolithic evidence is a trend towards increasing simplicity of monuments in terms of the organisation of space. This development has already been discussed in relation to gallery graves, and it is argued that this trend relates to a breakdown in the restriction of access to sacred knowledge. This development is taken a stage further with the cists in circles, since these are completely open. Whilst the circle defines an area to which access may have been restricted, any ceremonies taking place within the monument could easily have been observed by people standing outside. The trend away from spatial complexity can perhaps also be seen in the developmental sequence of the cist in circle monuments themselves. The most complex of these monuments is the site of L'Islet, Guernsey (Fig.V.20), and this may also be one of the earliest. The pottery from L'Islet (KENDRICK 1928) is all of S.O.M. affinities, and later elements are completely absent from the assemblage. The site was covered (CAREY-CURTIS 1912) by a deposit of peat, 38 cm in thickness, which must have been deposited in marsh conditions: the formation of these deposits may account for the abandonment of the monument. Jones *et al.* (1989) have identified evidence for a significant rise in sea-level during the 4th Millennium BC, peaking at around 3250 BC at 2-3 m above the present mean sea-level (see Ch.II). This sea-level rise would have flooded the Braye du Valle²³, the edge of which is only a few metres to the South-west of the monument. This rise in sea-level would have led to a general rise in the water-table and thus encouraged the spread of marshland in low-lying areas. The cist beneath the Jersey Gasworks (WEDGEWOOD & MOURANT 1954, MOURANT 1985) were also covered by peat deposits, which can perhaps be related to the same period of marshland expansion. If, as seems likely, this episode of marsh formation is related to the sea-level rise identified by Jones *et al.*, then clearly the L'Islet

²³ The narrow channel separating the Northern parish of Vale from the rest of Guernsey, reclaimed in 1812.

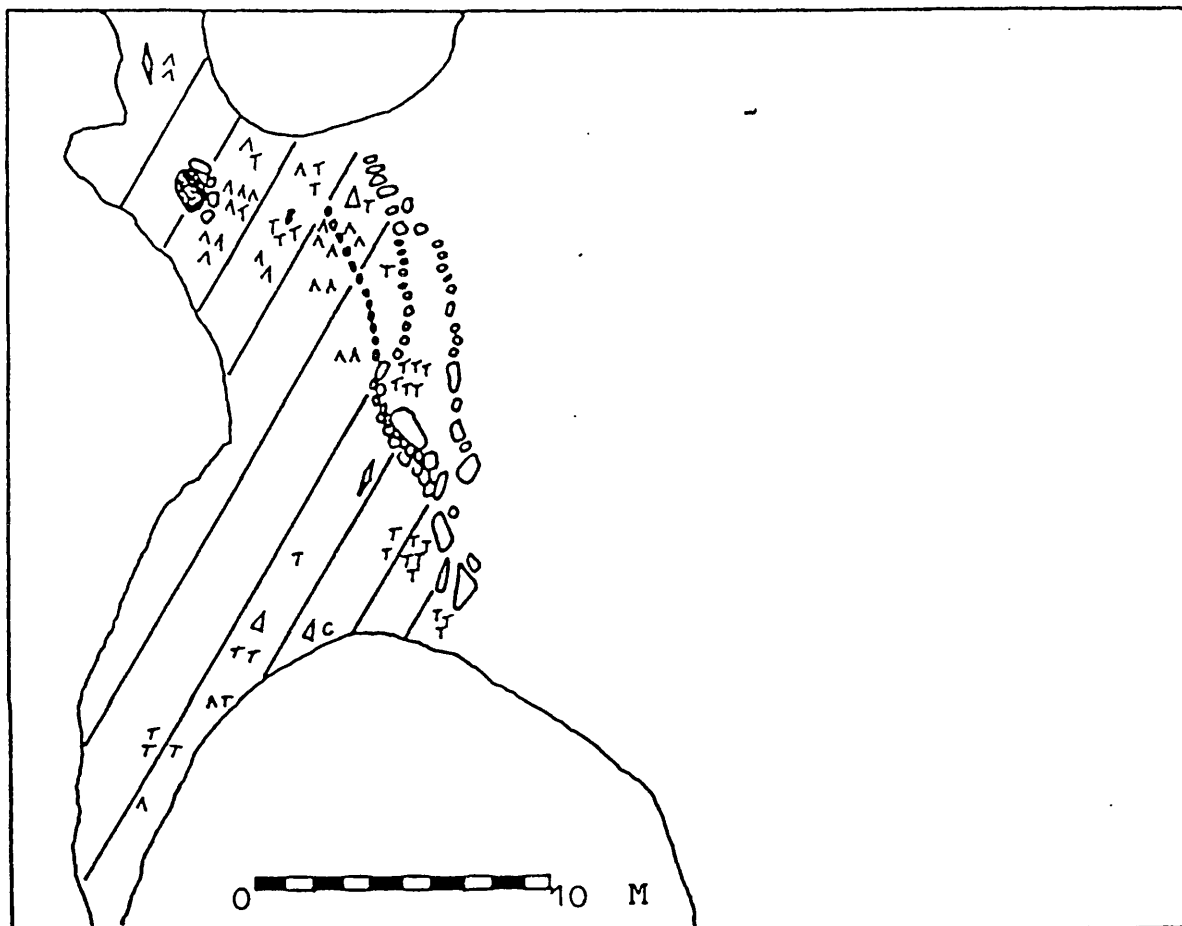
monument must have been abandoned before the end of the 4th Millennium BC. The double cist in circle at Rousse Tower, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928) must also have been abandoned at an early stage, since this is situated below the modern high-tide mark. All of the other cist in circle monuments in the islands are relatively simple, with a single cist and a single circle.

Spatial complexity can perhaps be related to social differentiation, particularly in the case of the L'Islet monument, where the central cist and circle are considerably larger than the peripheral structures, and the central cist is also the only double cist in the monument and the only cist covered by a capstone (Fig.V.20). Since the two complex cist in circle monuments (L'Islet and Rousse Tower) also appear to be relatively early (late 4th Millennium BC), the evidence suggests that social differentiation in ritual may have decreased during the 3rd Millennium BC. The significance of these developments may become clearer when we consider the articulation of monuments in the landscape at the end of this section.

The site of Le Pinacle.

The site of Le Pinacle, Jersey (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949, 1950) was reoccupied in the 3rd Millennium BC after a hiatus of around 1500 years (see Ch.III). The site is on a low col at the base of a natural granite pinnacle, and the main feature of the Chalcolithic site is a bank running across the col from North to South (Fig.V.21). Godfray & Burdo (1950) interpreted the bank as a defensive rampart relating to a settlement on the col, but a detailed examination of the evidence reveals this suggestion as untenable (PATTON 1987a). To begin with, the location of the site makes defence an impossibility, since the cliffs to the East would give an attacker a clear advantage. There is, in fact, no evidence for a settlement at Le Pinacle: huts and other domestic structures are absent and there are no midden remains. The assemblage from the site includes a flat copper axe and an exceptionally large quantity of Grand Pressigny

Fig.V.21. Le Pinacle.



Hachured area denotes platform.



Hearth

Λ

Barbed & Tanged arrowhead

T

Transverse arrowhead

Δ

Polished stone axe

C

Copper axe

g

Copper bead

◇

Grand Pressigny flint blade.

flint, items which would not normally be discarded in a domestic context, whilst hammerstones, flint-working tools and querns are completely absent.

It also seems clear that the excavators misunderstood the stratigraphy of the site. They considered that the "dark layer" (Fig.V.22) contained in situ Early Neolithic material (see Ch.III) and that only the "gravel layer" related to the Chalcolithic phase. There is little doubt, however, that the Early Neolithic material from the "dark layer" is redeposited, and that only the underlying "dark layer occupation" (Fig.V.22a; also shown as "hearths & middens" on Fig.V.22b) was in situ. The "dark layer" formed a platform between the bank and the base of the pinnacle, and since the "gravel layer" (which was associated with large quantities of Chalcolithic material) seems to have existed only on top of this platform, it is likely that these two layers relate to a single depositional event, presumably during the Chalcolithic period.

The stratigraphic arguments are particularly complex, and will be presented in detail in a forthcoming monograph (FINLAISON & PATTON), but it seems clear that the Chalcolithic bank formed a revetment for a platform at the base of the pinnacle (Fig.V.21), and that the gravel layer represents the surface of this platform.

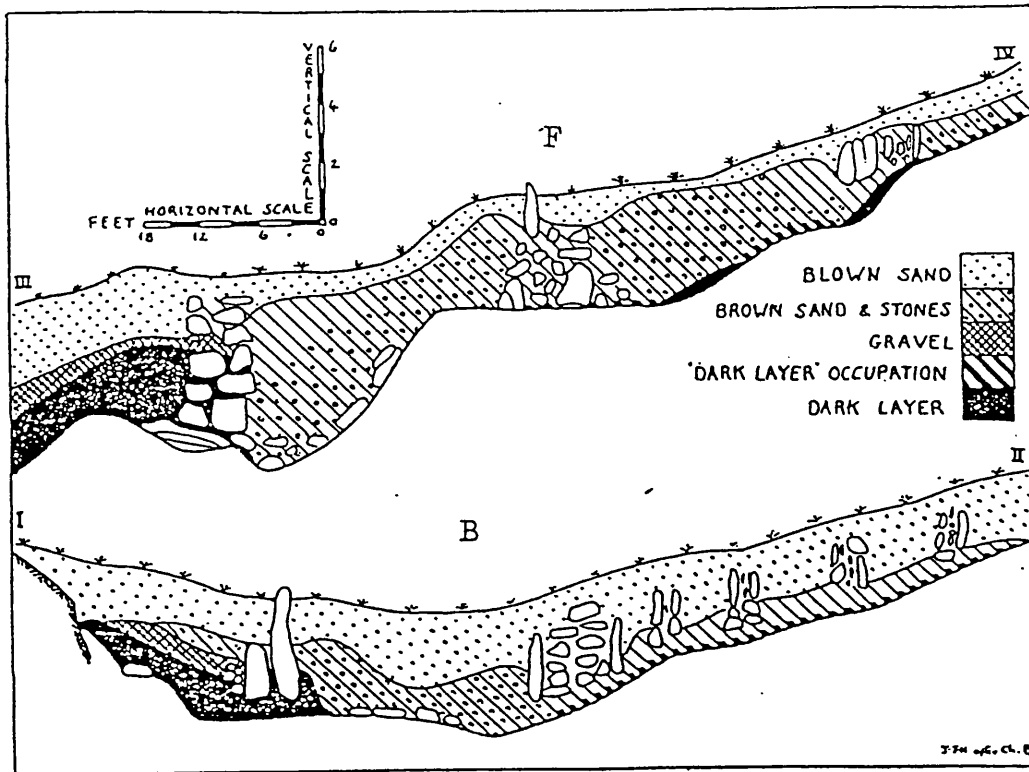
Apart from the bank, the only feature associated with the platform was a hearth at the Northern end (Fig.V.21). Carbonised beans (Vicia faba) and barley grains (Hordeum hexatrichum) were recovered from the area around the hearth. Artefacts were concentrated at the Northern and Southern ends of the platform (Fig.V.21). Three polished stone axes and a flat copper axe were found, as well as a small copper bead and an arciform stone pendant (Fig.V.3a). The flint assemblage from the site is particularly important, and includes 47 transverse arrowheads and 38 barbed and tanged arrowheads. Eighteen of the barbed and tanged arrowheads are of Grand Pressigny flint, and three fine blades of Grand Pressigny flint (see Appendix i) were also found. This is by far

Fig.V.22. Stratigraphy of Le Pinacle.

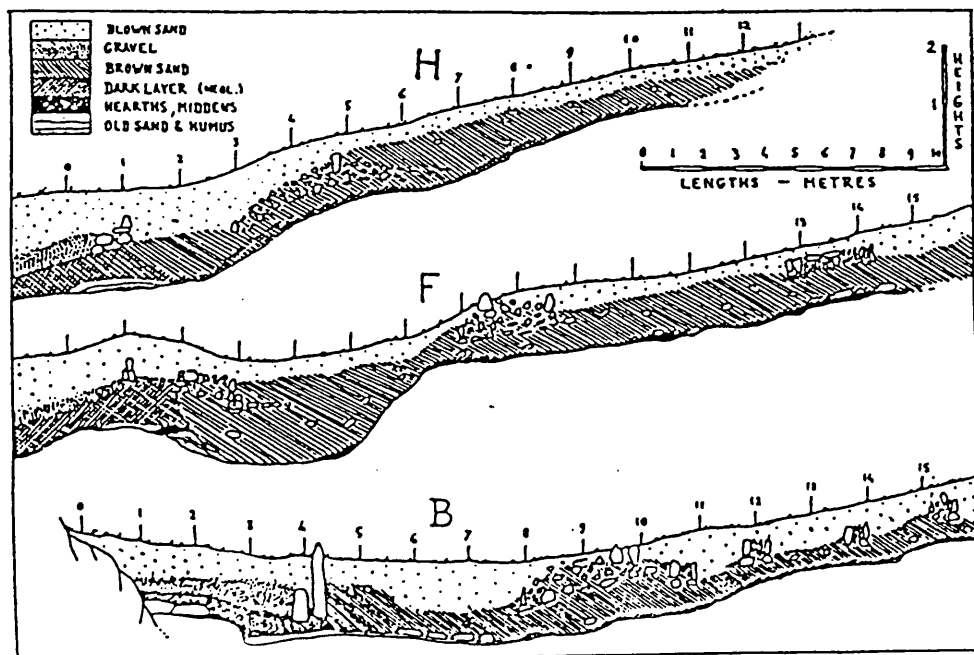
a (after HAWKES 1937)

b (after GODFRAY & BURDO 1949).

a



b



the largest assemblage of Grand Pressigny flint from any single site in the Armorican area. In Armorica, Grand Pressigny flint is known almost exclusively from ritual and funerary contexts (BRIARD & L'HELGOUACH 1957), and where domestic assemblages are known (as at Les Blanches Banques, Jersey and Jerbourg, Guernsey), Grand Pressigny flint is absent.

The composition of the Le Pinnacle assemblage suggests that the character of the site was ritual or ceremonial rather than domestic, and the platform itself is more easily explained as a ceremonial feature. The site of Le Pinnacle is one of the most dramatic locations in the Channel Islands, and from the North the pinnacle has the appearance of an enormous natural menhir. The position of the platform suggests that the pinnacle itself was a focus of ceremonial activity, and the cliffs to the East form a natural amphitheatre around the platform.

The site of Le Pinnacle is in some respects similar to the site of Er Yoh, on the island of Houat, Morbihan (LE ROUZIC 1930b). Like Le Pinnacle, Er Yoh was interpreted as a settlement, and there is clear evidence for a domestic element to prehistoric activity at Er Yoh: midden remains were found, and the assemblage includes hammerstones, flint-working tools and a series of bone implements. Other aspects of the site, however, are less easily explained in a domestic context. To begin with, the location of the site is an unlikely location for a village: the Ilot d'Er Yoh is an islet, 80 m by 30 m, accessible only at low tide and consisting largely of bare rock. A series of artificial platforms were found, and the central platform was set between two conspicuous outcrops of rock. A number of niches in the rock were found to contain depositions which were clearly ritual in character: one of these niches contained long-bones of a human infant, another contained an intact pottery vessel. A human skull was also found, though the depositional context of this is uncertain.

The presence of platforms associated with conspicuous outcrops and the evidence for ritual deposition are

important points of comparison between the sites of Le Pinnacle and Er Yoh. A major difference between the two sites is the evidence for domestic occupation at Er Yoh, and this could perhaps be interpreted as reflecting periodic residence on the islet by groups of people temporarily secluded in the context of extended rituals such as, for example, initiation ceremonies. The assemblage from Er Yoh includes Conguel and Kerugou style pottery, suggesting a date between 3250 BC and 2850 BC. The assemblage from Le Pinnacle includes both Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic elements (section V.i), and one might tentatively suggest a date between 2850 BC and 2500 BC.

Monuments in the landscape.

The Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods are marked not only by changing monumental forms and ritual practices, but also by marked changes in terms of the articulation of monuments within the landscape. Tables V.7-V.9. show the heights above O.D. of Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic monuments.

Table V.7. Cists in circles: heights (in metres) above O.D.

Ville-ès-Nouaux	6
Les Platons	111
Les Fouaillages	7
La Platte Mare	7
La Mare-ès-Mauves	7
Martello Tower No.7	7
Rousse Tower	7
L'Islet	8
HER 2	8
HER 3	8
HER 4	8
HER 7	11
HER 11	6
HER 15	4

Table V.8. Gallery graves, megalithic cists and other ritual sites: heights (in metres) above O.D.

<u>Gallery graves</u>	
Ville-ès-Nouaux	6
Le Couperon	18
Les Pourciaux	21
<u>Megalithic cists</u>	
Gasworks	5
Ossuary	18
Beauport	66
Tourgis	48
HER 1	8
<u>Miscellaneous</u>	
Le Pinacle	30
La Hougue Mauger	102

Table V.9. Menhirs: heights (in metres) above O.D.

Mont Cochon	12
White Menhir	9
Little Menhir	18
Broken Menhir	18
Great Menhir	33
Le Quesnil	51
La Dame Blanche	12
La Blanche Pierre	54
Castel	60
La Gran'mere du Chimiquière	98
La Longue Roque	53
La Petite Longue Roque des Granges	60
Route St.Clair	9
La Longue Pierre	15
Le Crocq	15

The majority of Middle Neolithic monuments (see Ch.IV) are situated on the plateau zone of the islands, within sight of the sea. With Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic

monuments, the pattern is rather different. Most of the cists in circles are on the coastal plain and only three of these monuments (Les Platons, HER 7, HER 11), are on the plateau zone. Three of the cists in circles on Herm (2-4) are clustered around a small hill at the Northern end of the Herm coastal plain. The gallery graves and megalithic cists are divided evenly between the plateau zone (Le Couperon, Les Pourciaux, Beauport, Tourgis) and the coastal plain (Ville-ès-Nouaux, Gasworks, Ossuary, HER 1), and menhirs show a similar pattern. In looking at the Middle Neolithic evidence (Ch.IV), a marked contrast was identified between Jersey and Guernsey, in that passage graves in Jersey are consistently located on higher land than those on Guernsey: no such pattern can be identified in relation to Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic monuments.

Figures V.23. & V.24. show the distribution of megalithic structures and menhirs respectively. The distribution of cists in circles is particularly clustered: with the exception of the two Jersey examples (3 & 48), all of these monuments fall into one of two clusters, the first in the Northern part of Guernsey (3,4,5,8,9) and the second in Herm (2,3,4,7,11,15). Menhirs are unknown on the islands of Alderney and Herm.

The petrology of the Jersey monuments has been studied by Mourant (1937,1977). The stones for most of these monuments come from within a radius of 1-2 km of the sites themselves, and although the stones which make up the gallery grave of Ville-ès-Nouaux are taken from a slightly larger area (Fig.V.25), no monument stands out in the way that La Hougue Bie does (see Ch.IV). Granite from Fort Regent (Le Mont de la Ville) is present in three of the monuments; the gallery grave and cist in circle of Ville-ès-Nouaux and the megalithic cist beneath the St.Helier Gasworks (MOURANT 1977). Fort Regent granite is also present in the passage grave of La Hougue Bie (Ch.IV), and Mourant suggests that the outcrop, which rises like an acropolis over the modern town of St.Helier, may have had particular religious

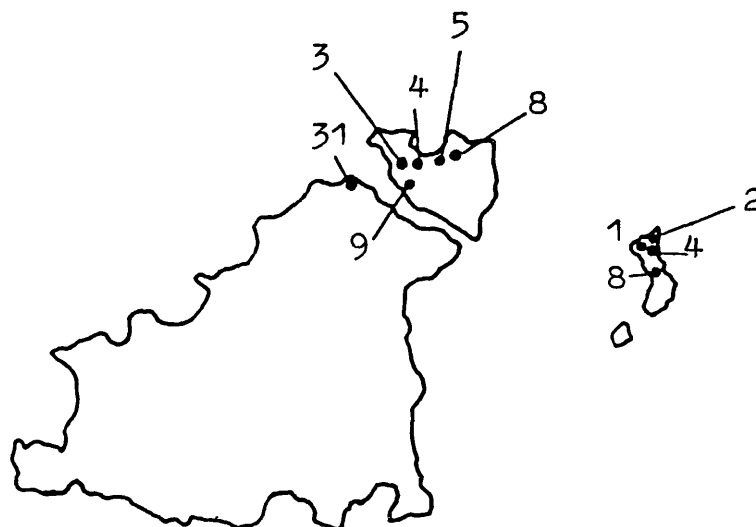
Fig.V.23. Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic ritual sites.

The numbers shown on the maps refer to the list of sites in Appendix vi.

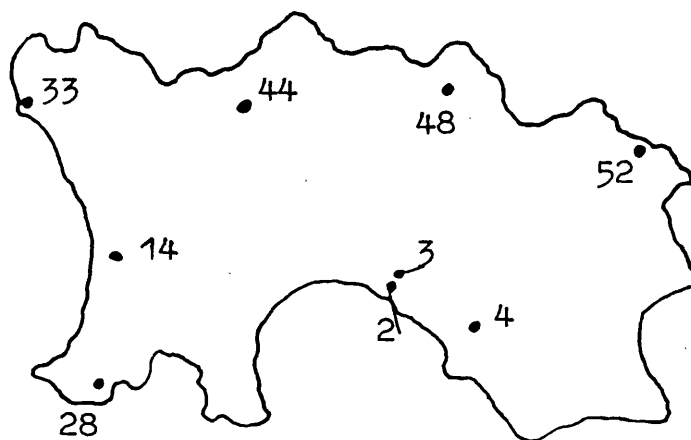
Alderney.



Guernsey/Herm.



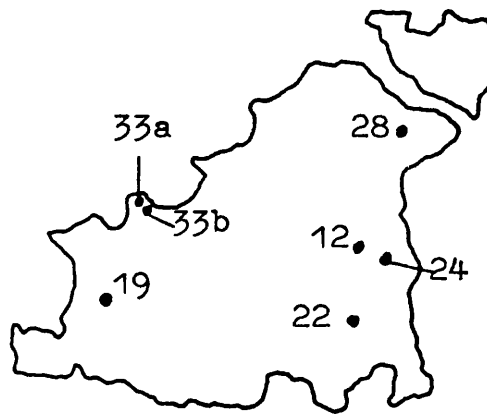
Jersey.



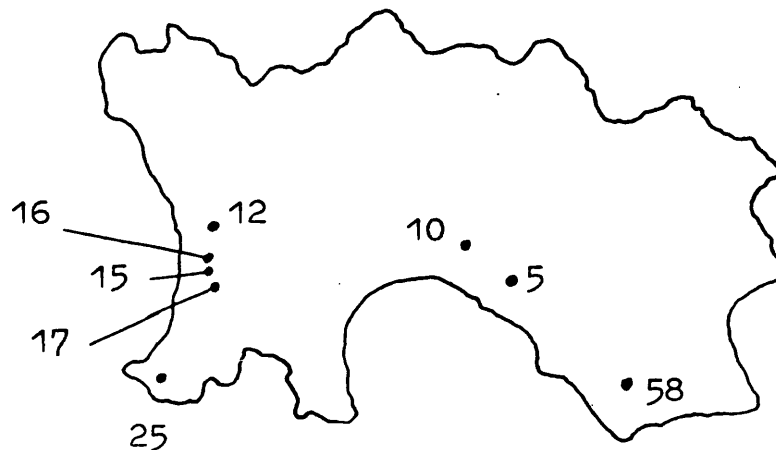
Coastlines shown are estimated coastlines at 2500 BC.

Fig.V.24. Distribution of menhirs in the Channel Islands.
The numbers shown on the maps refer to the list of sites
in Appendix vi.

Guernsey



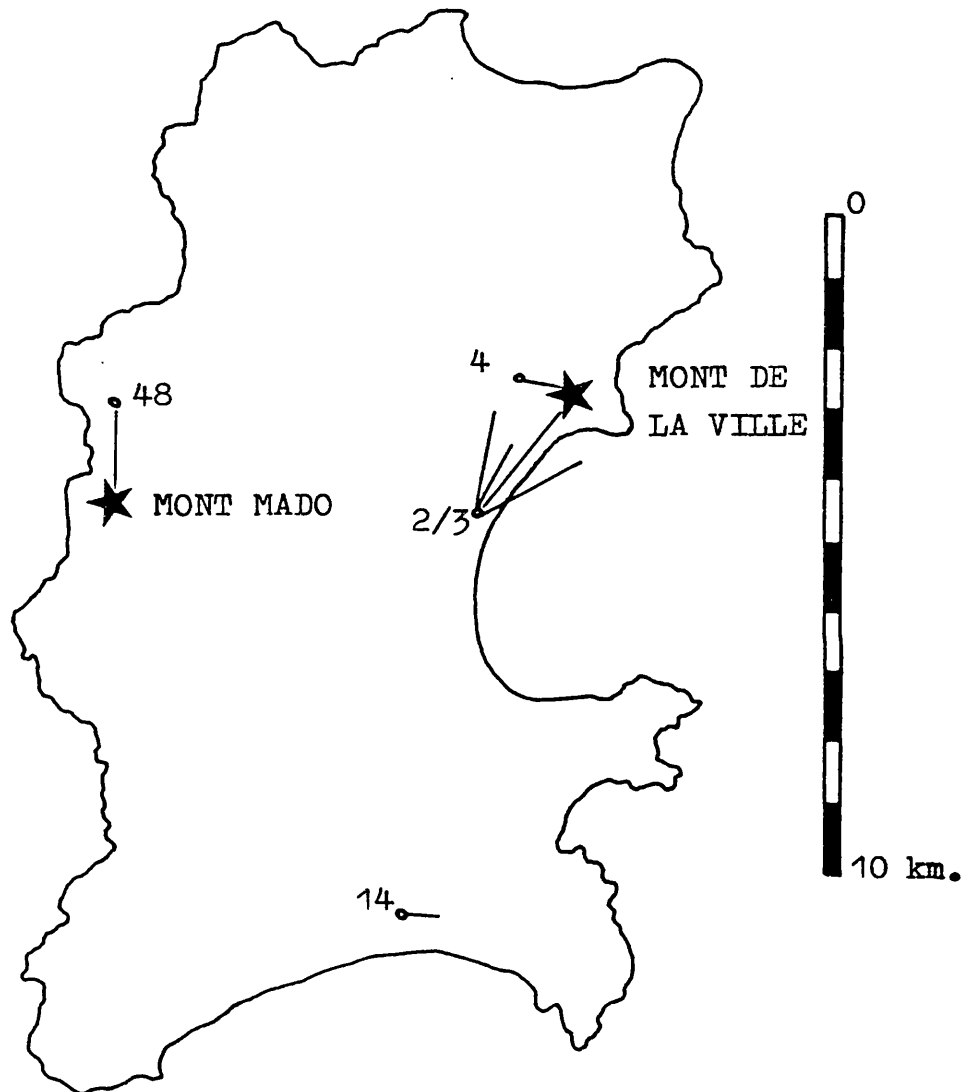
Jersey



Coastlines shown are estimated coastlines at 2500 BC.

Fig.V.25. Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic monuments in Jersey: sources of stone.

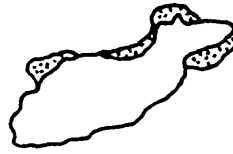
The numbers shown refer to the list of sites in Appendix vi.



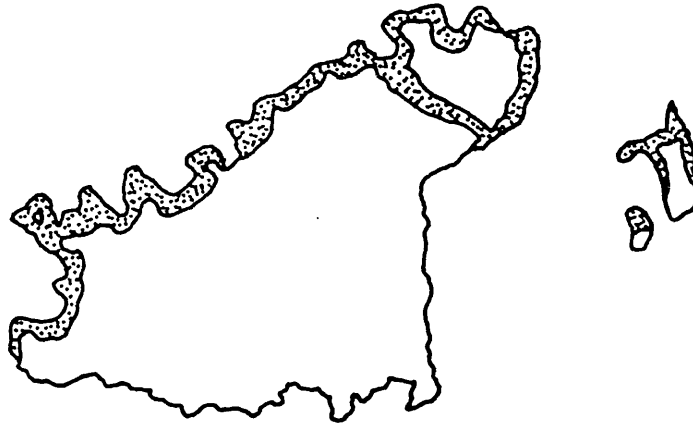
Coastline shown is modern coastline.

Fig.V.26. Extent of land lost to rising sea-levels during the late 4th Millenium BC.

Alderney



Guernsey/Herm

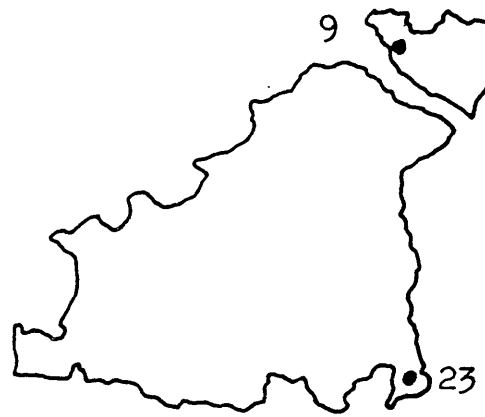


Jersey



Fig.V.27. Chalcolithic settlements in the Channel Islands.
The numbers shown refer to the list of sites in Appendix
vi.

Guernsey



Jersey



Coastlines shown are estimated coastlines at 2500 BC.

201

significance: this suggestion is strengthened by the presence of a passage grave on top of Le Mont de la Ville itself (Ch.IV). Mourant suggests that the outcrop of Mont Mado in the North of Jersey may have had a similar significance, and granite from Mont Mado is present at La Hougue Bie and in the cist of Les Platons. The use of Fort Regent and Mont Mado granite in both Middle Neolithic and Late Neolithic monuments may suggest a degree of continuity in terms of the sacred geography of Jersey. Other evidence suggests that one aspect of changing ritual practice between 3250 BC and 2250 BC may have been an increasing emphasis on conspicuous natural features. The site of Le Pinnacle is at the base of a massive granite outcrop, whilst on the island of Herm a megalithic cist and five cist in circle monuments are clustered around a small hill known as le Petit Monceau.

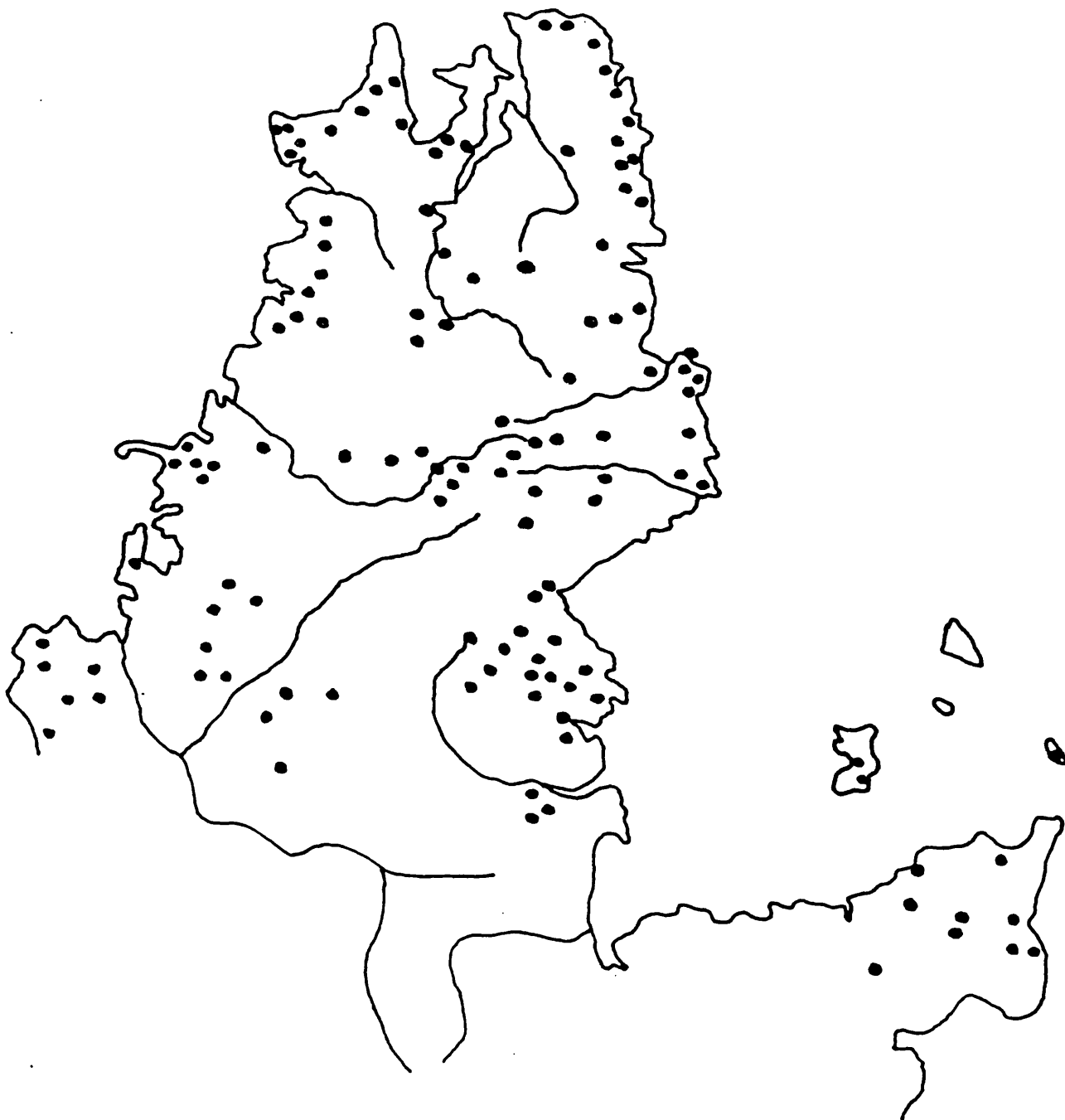
In two cases in the Channel Islands it is possible to identify a direct relationship between Chalcolithic monuments and particular settlements. The megalithic cist known as "The Ossuary" is set between the Little Menhir and the Broken Menhir on the coastal plain in the Western part of Jersey, near to the edge of the plateau zone, and this area forms part of a dune system known as Les Blanches Banques. Casual surface collection by amateurs from the early 20th Century onwards has produced large quantities of Chalcolithic pottery and worked flint from the dunes to the West of the "Ossuary", and recent excavations (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming) have shown that this material relates to an extensive settlement on Les Blanches Banques. During the course of the excavations, a buried soil horizon was exposed, and this was associated with post-holes and in situ Chalcolithic material. It was established that the "Ossuary" and the Little and Broken Menhirs were associated with this same horizon. Jersey Bowls were found both in the "Ossuary" and in the settlement horizon and this, together with the stratigraphic evidence, suggests that the settlement, the "Ossuary" and the menhirs are contemporary. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the "Ossuary" and

the menhirs together formed part of a ritual complex directly associated with the Blanches Banques settlement. The tumulus of La Tête des Quennevais, on the edge of the plateau overlooking the "Ossuary" was probably also associated with the Blanches Banques settlement, though the evidence suggests (Ch.VI) that this site is slightly later in date than the "Ossuary". Settlement on les Blanches Banques continued into the Early Bronze Age, though the main area of settlement seems to have shifted a few hundred metres to the North-east (see Ch.VI).

A similar association between domestic and ritual sites was identified as a result of recent excavations at Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (KINNES 1982 & forthcoming, KINNES & GRANT 1983). The Chalcolithic monument of Les Fouaillages was built on top of an Early Neolithic long mound (see Ch.III). Sampling in the area to the South of the mound revealed settlement evidence, with post-holes, pits and hearths and an important assemblage of worked flint and pottery, including Jersey Bowl fragments. Charcoal from the base of the mound which covered the monument produced a radiocarbon date calibrating between 2460 BC and 2860 BC (2070 ± 100 bc; BM 1891R), whilst radiocarbon dates from the settlement area calibrate between 2600 BC and 2910 BC (2300 ± 110 bc: BM 1895R), and between 2450 BC and 2850 BC (2050 ± 100 bc: BM 1897R). It seems likely, therefore, that the settlement activity is contemporary with the use of the monument. The cist in circle of La Platte Mare, 100 m to the North of Les Fouaillages may also have been associated with this settlement. The precise chronological relationship between Les Fouaillages and La Platte Mare is unclear, but the material from La Platte Mare is of Chalcolithic date (see Table V.6).

The association of ritual and domestic sites at Les Blanches Banques and Les Fouaillages may be of particular importance in understanding the significance of changing ritual practices at the end of the Neolithic. In the previous chapter, it was suggested that the articulation of Middle Neolithic monuments in the landscape reflected

Fig.V.28. Distribution of Armorican gallery graves.



three levels of social organisation, which were characterised respectively as "minor lineages" (individual domestic groups), "major lineages" and "clans". Most of the Middle Neolithic monuments were assigned to the second of these levels, whilst the passage grave of La Hougue Bie was assigned to the third. One problem that was identified in relation to the Middle Neolithic evidence was the archaeological invisibility of the first level, and this is not a problem in relation to the Chalcolithic evidence. The cist known as "The Ossuary" and the monuments of Les Fouaillages and La Platte Mare can be assigned with some confidence to the first level (the individual domestic group). Most of the other Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic monuments in the islands are comparable to these three sites in terms of size and location, and could also relate to social groups of the first level: only the gallery graves are significantly larger, and these can probably be assigned to the second level. In looking at developments during the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, it may be possible to identify evidence for a shift in the principal focus of ritual activities from the second level to the first, and this is a question to which we will return at the end of the chapter.

V.iii. Economy and settlement in the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic of the Channel Islands.

The second half of the 4th Millennium BC was marked by important rises in sea-level which resulted in the loss of much productive land (JONES et al. 1987, 1989). In Jersey, much of the coastal plain around the Southern and Eastern parts of the island were lost, and the extensive coastal marshes in the West of the island were flooded by the sea: sedimentary sequences from Beaumont Marsh and Grouville Marsh suggest a sea-level 2-3 metres higher than at present. In Guernsey, coastal land was also lost, and one cist in circle monument (Rousse Tower) is now in the intertidal zone. The Braye du Valle, which separated the Northern parish of Vale from the rest of Guernsey

Fig.V.29. Distribution of Armorican Bell Beakers.



Fig.V.31. Distribution of Armorican tanged copper daggers.



until it was reclaimed in 1812, was probably flooded by the sea at this stage. Rising sea-levels were probably accompanied by an expansion of marshland in low-lying areas, and the formation of peat deposits over the megalithic monuments of the Gasworks, Jersey and L'Islet, Guernsey, can probably be dated to this period. Fig.V.26 shows the likely extent of land losses during the second half of the 4th Millennium BC. These rises in sea-level will undoubtedly have put considerable pressure on local communities, though the effect of this on settlement and land exploitation patterns is perhaps most noticeable in relation to the Early Bronze Age evidence (see Ch.VI).

The scarcity of Middle Neolithic domestic sites has been discussed in the previous chapter, and we have, unfortunately, no domestic evidence of any sort for the Late Neolithic period. One possible explanation for the lack of domestic evidence may be that settlements were located on the coastal plain, in which case rising sea-levels are likely to have destroyed much of the evidence. Several important Chalcolithic settlements are known in the Channel Islands, and in this respect the Chalcolithic evidence contrasts with the Middle and Late Neolithic evidence. Fig.V.27 shows the distribution of known Chalcolithic domestic sites. All of the known sites are on or near the coast, though this distribution pattern may to some extent reflect recovery bias: of the five sites shown on Fig.V.27, two were discovered as a result of coastal erosion (Petit Port & La Motte) and a third (Les Blanchés Banques) was discovered as a result of wind erosion in a duneland context. The sites of Les Fouaillages, Guernsey and Les Blanchés Banques & La Motte, Jersey, are on the coastal plain²⁴. The site of Petit Port, Jersey, is at the coastal end of a dry valley, whilst Jerbourg, Guernsey, is on a headland overlooking the sea.

The most important evidence has come from the sites of

²⁴ La Motte is now a small islet, but on a 16th Century map it is shown as the tip of a narrow peninsula.

Les Fouaillages and Jerbourg, Guernsey, and Les Blanchés Banques, Jersey. At Les Fouaillages (KINNES 1982 & forthcoming, KINNES & GRANT 1983) a series of post-holes, pits and hearths were found in association with Chalcolithic material. The site of Les Blanchés Banques (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming) is essentially similar, with two main groups of post-holes associated with an extensive occupation horizon. The definitive publications on these two sites are still in preparation. At Jerbourg (BURNS 1988), Chalcolithic pottery was found in association with a land surface underlying Bronze Age defences. The evidence from Petit Port (HAWKES 1927) and La Motte (NICOLLE & SINEL 1912, 1914a, WARTON 1913) is less informative, since both assemblages are mixed: other assemblages from the islands (e.g. the material from Banque à Barque, Guernsey; see Appendix v: and Le Mont Orgueil, Jersey; BARTON 1984) may relate to domestic sites but are of uncertain status.

The only site which has provided a significant assemblage of faunal remains is La Motte. A series of kitchen middens were found, but since these produced both Middle Neolithic and Chalcolithic material with no apparent stratigraphy, it is difficult to evaluate the evidence. The middens included bones of cattle, pig and ovicaprids, and large quantities of limpet shells.

The ritual site of Le Pinnacle (GODFRAY & BURDO 1950) has provided some information relating to subsistence. Carbonised barley grains (*Hordeum hexatrichum*) found in association with the hearth are wholly unsurprising, but the presence of large quantities of carbonised beans (*Vicia faba*) demonstrates that legumes, as well as cereals, were cultivated.

V.iv. The Channel Islands in regional context: 3250-2250 BC.

In the previous chapter, the occurrence of particular material culture styles and monumental traditions in the Channel Islands was discussed in relation to distribution patterns on the Armorican mainland. The dense

concentration of passage graves in the islands was considered to be particularly surprising in view of the absence of these monuments from the mainland areas closest to the islands (North-eastern Brittany and Western Normandy). The occurrence of large numbers of vase-supports in Jersey is similarly surprising, since these are almost completely unknown in assemblages from immediately adjacent mainland areas. In these respects the evidence from the Channel Islands is more closely comparable with the evidence from Southern and Western Brittany than with that from the départements of Ille-et-Vilaine and Manche, where passage graves and vase-supports are largely absent.

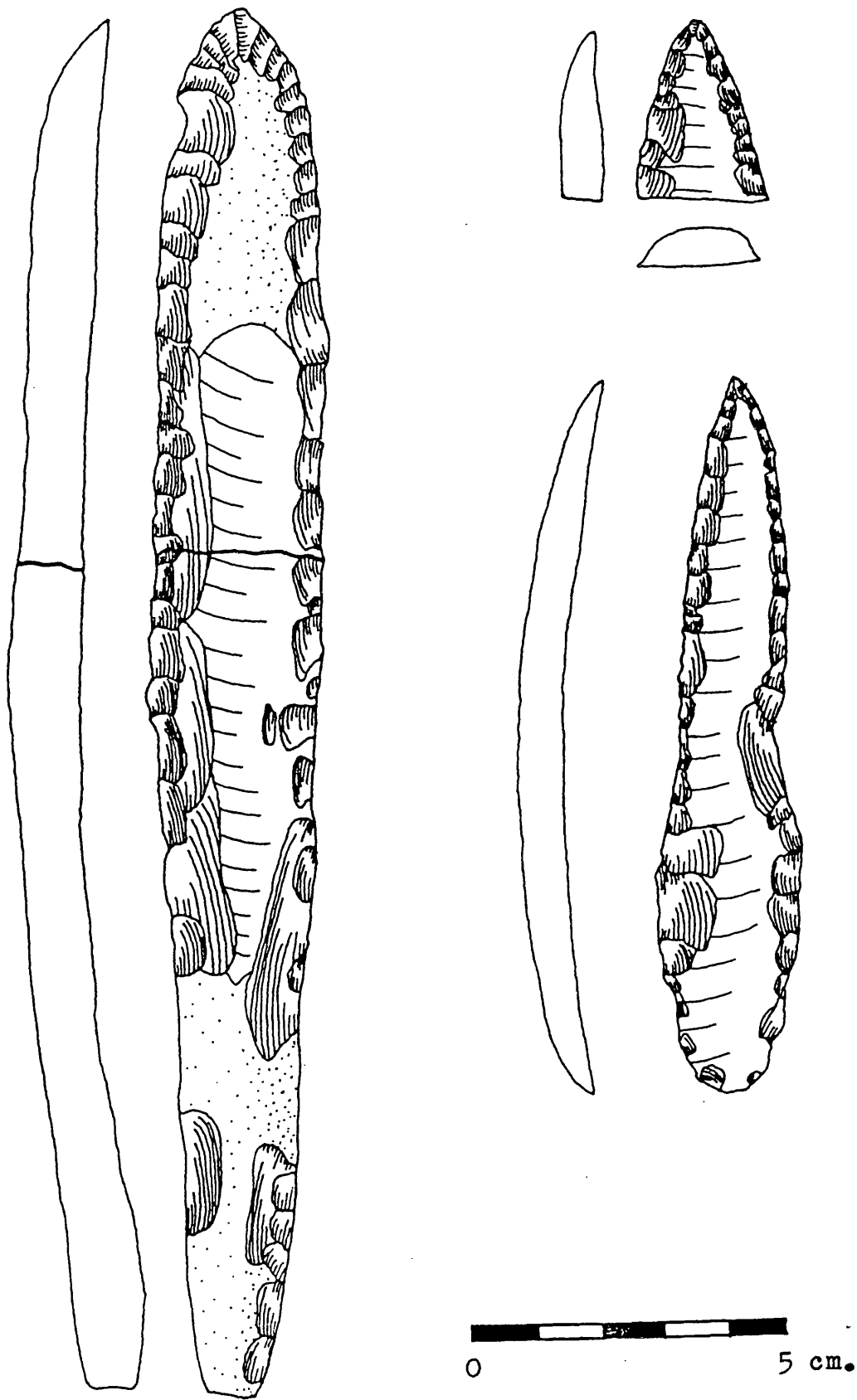
This contrast, between the evidence from Southern and Western Brittany and the Channel Islands on the one hand and North-eastern Brittany and the Cotentin on the other, is much less apparent in relation to the Late Neolithic period. Gallery graves, unlike passage graves, are found in virtually all areas of Armorica (Fig.V.28). The material culture styles associated with these monuments (S.O.M. & Quessoy pottery styles, axe-shaped and arciform pendants), are found over a similarly wide area, and Kinnes (1980) has pointed to important parallels between artistic motifs found in Late Neolithic contexts in the Paris Basin and Armorica. In contrast to the passage grave tradition, which is confined to restricted areas, the gallery graves represent a religious and funerary tradition which extends over the whole of Northern France, from the Belgian border to Finistère (DANIEL 1960). Within this tradition there are local variations, but the overall picture is one of remarkable homogeneity, both in terms of funerary practices and material culture styles.

These developments should not in themselves be seen as evidence for an expansion of the regional interaction network. The evidence presented in the previous chapter suggests that throughout the Middle Neolithic period, communities in the Paris Basin, the Cotentin, Northern and Southern Brittany and the Channel Islands were all

Fig.V.32. Distribution of Grand Pressigny flint in Armorica.



Fig.V.33. Grand Pressigny flint blades from the Channel Islands.



linked to each other by networks of interaction and exchange, yet this did not lead them to adopt uniform material culture styles or monumental traditions.

In the previous chapter it was suggested that the marked contrasts between regions may relate to important differences in the social formations of the communities concerned, and following this line of argument we might suggest that these differences were broken down in the context of social transformations which occurred during the late 4th and early 3rd Millennium BC.

The Chalcolithic evidence may at first sight appear to reflect a re-emergence of the Middle Neolithic pattern. Fig.V.29 shows the distribution of Bell Beakers: this is somewhat reminiscent of the distribution of vase-supports (Fig.IV.25), with major concentrations in Southern and Western Brittany and the Channel Islands, and very little in North-eastern Brittany or the Cotentin. Beaker sherds are known from only one Cotentin site, Le Raumarais à Digulleville (VERRON 1975, 1981). Similar patterns are suggested by the distributions of schist wristguards (Fig.V.30) and tanged daggers (Fig.V.31), though there is a cluster of wristguard find-spots in the Eastern part of the département of Côtes-du-Nord. These distribution maps, however, may be highly misleading, in that they may be a more-or-less direct reflection of the distribution of passage graves. L'Helgouach (1963) lists the contexts of Armorican Beaker finds, and of the 65 contexts listed, 55 relate to secondary depositions in passage graves and gallery graves. In areas where such monuments do not exist, it is possible that Beakers and other characteristic artefacts were in use, but were deposited in contexts that are less visible in the archaeological record. Although gallery graves are present in the Cotentin (COUTIL 1929, BENDER 1968), most have been looted, and only one of the monuments, Le Bois de la Plesse à Lithaire (EDEINE 1971) has produced a significant assemblage.

As with the Middle Neolithic, a distinctive insular tradition can be identified in the Late Neolithic and

Chalcolithic of the Channel Islands. The gallery graves of Ville-ès-Nouaux and Le Couperon are morphologically indistinguishable from Breton and Norman examples, but the monument of Les Pourciaux North is atypical, and has proportions which are without parallel on the Armorican mainland. The distinctive insular tradition of the Channel Islands is most clearly manifested in the cist in circle monuments, since these occur only on the islands. Although there are significant local variations, Middle Neolithic monuments in the Channel Islands (with the possible exceptions of Grosnez Hougue and Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin) are all of types known from the Armorican mainland. The appearance during the Late Neolithic of a monumental tradition unique to the islands may thus be of particular significance in terms of developing insular identity. Depositional practice in relation to cists in circles is not well understood, but the deposition found at Les Platons, with an S.O.M. pottery vessel containing cremated remains, is unparalleled in a Late Neolithic context on the Armorican mainland. Whilst the monuments provide evidence for a distinct insular tradition, there is little distinction between Late Neolithic material culture assemblages from the islands and those from the Armorican mainland: ceramic assemblages are dominated by undecorated flat-based vessels of S.O.M./Quessoy affinities (Fig.V.1), with little evidence for local variation. Bell Beakers from the Channel Islands are identical to those found on the Armorican mainland (see Appendix v), but Chalcolithic assemblages on the islands are distinguished by the presence of Jersey Bowls (Fig.V.4b), which are unknown in mainland contexts.

Differences between islands are less marked in the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic evidence than in the Middle Neolithic evidence. Monument forms show considerable diversity, but there are no consistent variations between one island and another. S.O.M. pottery and Beakers, unlike vase-supports, are known from Guernsey and Herm as well as from Jersey.

The Armorican evidence suggests a significant

intensification of inter-group exchange during the late 4th Millennium BC. Le Roux (1979, 1979a, 1984b) has recorded evidence for the intensification of stone axe production at Plussulien during this period, and the distinctive "button axes" produced at this site are of Late Neolithic date. The problems involved in understanding the development of stone axe exchange in the Channel Island context have been mentioned in the previous chapter, and are discussed in detail in Appendix ii: briefly, since the vast majority of axes found in the islands have no archaeological context, it is difficult to distinguish between axes of different dates. It seems clear, however, that at least some of the flint and Type A dolerite axes, and possibly also some of the fibrolite, jadeite and eclogite axes found in the islands are of Late Neolithic date. A flint axe was found stratified with Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic material at Le Pinnacle, Jersey (GODFRAY & BURDO 1950), and eight "button axes" of Type A dolerite are known from the islands (4 from Jersey, 3 from Guernsey & 1 from Sark). The analysis presented in Appendix ii demonstrates a clear asymmetry between Jersey and Guernsey in terms of the proportions of imported axes: over 43% of the axes found in Jersey are of mainland origin, compared with only 27% in Guernsey. The significance of this asymmetry has been considered in the previous chapter, and there would be little point in repeating those discussions here, except to reiterate the suggestion that communities in Guernsey and Sark may have acquired mainland axes indirectly, through exchange with Jersey communities, and to refer back to the discussion in section IV.iv, where possible reasons for this were suggested, based on the practicalities of navigation. Because of the chronological problems alluded to above, it is not possible to identify any diachronic development in relation to this asymmetry.

Stone axes constitute the only material evidence for exchange between the mainland and the islands during the Middle Neolithic, though it seems probable that other,

less durable items were also exchanged. For the Late Neolithic period we have blades and arrowheads of Grand Pressigny flint as well as stone axes.

Items of Grand Pressigny flint are widely distributed in Northern France (BRIARD & L'HELGOUACH 1957, BAILLOUD 1964, BENDER 1968, and where associations have been recorded the context is almost invariably Late Neolithic (S.O.M. complex). Fig.V.32 shows the distribution of Grand Pressigny flint in the Armorican region. As with the Beaker distribution pattern discussed at the beginning of this section, the pattern may be largely an artefact of recovery bias. Blades of Grand Pressigny flint have been found at Le Pinnacle (Fig.V.33a) and Le Mont Ubé, Jersey (HAWKES 1937), and Le Mont Cuet, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928), whilst barbed and tanged arrowheads of Grand Pressigny flint have been found at Le Pinnacle, and also at Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (KINNES 1982). The blades found on the Armorican mainland and on the islands are of a uniform type (cf Fig.V.33a), and it seems reasonable to suggest that these were made at or near Grand Pressigny, and exchanged as finished objects: this suggestion is strengthened by the absence of cores and waste flakes of Grand Pressigny flint in Armorican and Channel Island assemblages. Arrowheads of Grand Pressigny flint are rare on the North French mainland, and the arrowheads found in Jersey and Guernsey may have been made locally from broken blades. Three blades from Guernsey are of particular interest: these are from La Varde (Fig.V.33b), Northlands (Fig.V.33c) and Le Crocq. These blades are typologically indistinguishable from Grand Pressigny blades, yet they are of opaque white flint rather than the characteristic brown flint of Grand Pressigny. Given the extraordinary quantity of Grand Pressigny flint found at Le Pinnacle, Jersey (see section V.ii), and given that "imitation" Grand Pressigny blades have not been found on Jersey, we might suggest that, as with stone axes, communities in Guernsey acquired Grand Pressigny flint through exchange with Jersey communities. The material of the Guernsey "imitations" is clearly

exotic to the Channel Islands, but these implements could have been made in Jersey or Guernsey from broken flint axes of Norman origin. Items of Grand Pressigny flint are very much rarer than mainland stone axes, and the social context of exchange is likely, therefore, to have been somewhat different. Since mainland axes are relatively common, it is possible that many people could have had access to them, albeit that this access may have been controlled by particular groups, and conditional upon some service to them (see Ch.IV). Grand Pressigny blades, by contrast, can only have been possessed by a very limited number of people, and their significance as symbols of social power is likely to have been greater.

The particular exchange systems which developed during the Neolithic period appear to have collapsed during the second quarter of the 3rd Millennium BC. Production of stone axes at Plussulien ceased at this stage (LE ROUX 1970), and axes of flint, fibrolite, eclogite and jadeite are rare in Chalcolithic contexts. The circulation of Grand Pressigny flint seems also to have ceased at this stage: although blades and arrowheads of Grand Pressigny flint are present in the assemblage from Le Pinnacle, which probably dates to the beginning of the Chalcolithic period, Grand Pressigny flint is generally absent from Armorican Beaker complex assemblages (BRIARD & L'HELGOUACH 1957). A series of new interaction networks developed in Armorica, involving the exchange of metal objects, notably flat copper axes and tanged knives & daggers. It is not possible at this stage to think in terms of metal axes replacing stone axes for everyday work: the number of metal axes is simply too small, and in any case copper is a relatively soft metal, and from a purely functional point of view early copper axes would in many cases have been inferior to stone axes. It seems likely that early metal objects were more important as symbols of social power and status than as functional tools and weapons. Other items which circulated in Chalcolithic exchange networks are schist wristguards and gold jewellery: rare items of personal adornment which

270

are also likely to have been important as symbols of power. There is a frequent association (not confined to the Armorican region) between wristguards and copper knives & daggers, suggesting that these may have circulated together as parts of a "status package". Bell Beakers are frequently associated with this "package" and these may also have been significant as symbols of social status, though it is unclear to what extent the pots themselves were involved in exchange. Gold jewellery is in some cases associated with the Bell Beaker "package", though it is very much rarer than the other items. In the Armorican area, the Bell Beaker "package" is known almost exclusively from ritual contexts, most notably depositions in earlier monuments (passage graves and gallery graves. In contrast to other areas (e.g. the Netherlands, the British Isles), Bell Beakers in Armorica are never associated with individual burials in round barrows. The significance of flat axes is unclear, since these are rarely found in ritual contexts, or in association with Beakers, wristguards or daggers (though at the ritual site of Le Pinnacle, a flat axe was associated with a Beaker assemblage). Most of the flat axes from the Armorican region (BRIARD 1965) are chance finds with no reliable associations, and whilst the depositional context of these axes is unknown, it is clearly different from that of the items discussed above.

There is no evidence for asymmetry between islands in terms of the occurrence of these Chalcolithic exchange items. Of the six flat axes known from the islands, three are from Jersey, one from Guernsey and two from Alderney. The only tanged dagger known from the islands is from Guernsey, whilst the only two wristguards which have been recorded are from Jersey. It is clear, however, that together with communities from adjacent mainland areas, Channel Island communities became increasingly isolated from the developing exchange networks which centred on Southern and Western Brittany. Flat axes are concentrated in North-western Brittany: Briard (1965) lists 56 from Finistère and 48 from Côtes-du-Nord, compared with 24

from Morbihan and only 13 from Ille-et-Vilaine. Most of these are either chance finds or from hoards, and the distribution patterns are probably less biased by recovery factors than the distribution patterns of Beakers, wristguards and tanged daggers, which are known mostly from secondary depositions in earlier tombs, and may simply reflect the distribution of Middle Neolithic monuments. Gold lunulae are rare in Armorica: Briard (1965) lists four from Côtes-du-Nord and four from the Cotentin. One of these lunulae is a chance find (Saint-Potan, Côtes-du-Nord), whilst the others are from hoards (Kerivoa en Bourbriac, Côtes-du-Nord, La Montagne du Roule à Turlaville and Montebourg, Manche). These lunulae are almost certainly of Irish origin (cf COFFEY 1913), and testify to the development of long distance maritime contacts. A second series of gold objects is known from the département of Morbihan, and this series is known almost exclusively from secondary depositions in passage graves. Le Rouzic (1911c) lists gold objects from eleven Morbihan monuments, and these assemblages consist principally of gold bands, plaques and rings. Gold objects are unknown in Armorican passage graves outside the département of Morbihan. Chalcolithic goldwork is completely unknown in the Channel Islands and in North-eastern Brittany and, with the exception of the lunulae from Montebourg and La Montagne du Roule, is absent from the Cotentin. During the Early Bronze Age (see Ch.VI), North-eastern Armorica (including the Channel Islands) seems to have been peripheral to exchange systems centred on the départements of Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère and Morbihan, and the Chalcolithic evidence can perhaps be seen as representing the emergence of this regional configuration. The social significance of changing regional configurations will be considered in the following section, and in the final chapter of the thesis.

V.v. Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic society in the Channel Islands.

In attempting to reconstruct the social formation of Middle Neolithic communities in the Channel Islands (Ch.IV), stone axe exchange was considered to be particularly important, and it was suggested that control of access to imported axes may have been related to elders' control of young men's access to potential wives. This suggestion was then developed, by reference to Friedman & Rowlands' (1977) model of social transformations, to explain inter-communal and inter-island asymmetries suggested by the Channel Island evidence.

The stone axe exchange system discussed in Chapter IV and in Appendix ii seems to have continued in operation at least until the end of the 4th Millennium BC, and indeed the Armorican evidence suggests an intensification of exchange in the second half of the 4th Millennium BC. The appearance of Grand Pressigny flint in Late Neolithic assemblages from Armorica and the Channel Islands suggests the development of a new exchange network, which co-existed with the established axe exchange networks during the period 3250-2850 BC. Items of Grand Pressigny flint are very much rarer than the stone axes in circulation in the Channel Islands and adjacent mainland areas, and they are found almost exclusively in ritual and funerary contexts. Given the rarity of Grand Pressigny flint, it seems difficult to explain this exchange system simply as an extension of the established networks: the social context of exchange is likely to have been fundamentally different. Since items of Grand Pressigny flint are rare, only a small number of people could have had access to them, and their significance as symbols of social power and status is likely in consequence to have been much greater. Access to these objects must have been more competitive, and exchange was probably carried out on a more individualistic basis.

The circulation of stone axes and items of Grand Pressigny flint ended in the first half of the 3rd

Millennium BC, and a new series of exchange systems developed involving the circulation of schist wristguards and objects of copper and gold. As with Grand Pressigny flint, these items are rare, and only a small number of people are likely to have had access to them.

It is possible, therefore, to suggest two modes of exchange, which for the sake of convenience we may characterise as the communal mode and the competitive mode respectively. The communal mode involves the exchange of objects which are available in relatively large numbers. Many people (for example all adult men in a community), may potentially have access to these objects, and such access may be necessary if a person is to progress socially. Access, however, may be restricted, and controlled by particular groups (for example the elders of a "lineage" or "clan"), who are thus able to make demands on the labour of others. The objects involved in such exchange may have symbolic or cosmological significance (see the discussion on axe symbolism in section IV.v), but may simultaneously be functional tools. The competitive mode involves the exchange of much rarer objects, including items of personal adornment and objects which could be prominently displayed as symbols of power and status. The rarity of these items means that they are likely to have been possessed only by a small number of people, and normal social progression (for example from childhood to adulthood or from bachelor to married status) could not depend on access to them, although progression to positions of power might.

In looking at the Channel Island evidence, we can identify three phases in the development of exchange systems. In the first phase (from 4850 BC to 3250 BC) the communal mode was dominant. During the second phase (from 3250 BC to 2850 BC) the two modes coexisted, whilst in the third phase (from 2850 BC to 2250 BC) the communal mode disappeared entirely. These developments in the nature and context of exchange may relate to important social transformations. Changes in the mode of exchange

may reflect changes in the power base of the elite. The decline of the communal mode of exchange may suggest an increasing inability on the part of the established elite to maintain their control over the "means of reproduction", whilst the rise of the competitive mode may reflect the emergence of a new elite with a different power base.

In the previous chapter, inter-island asymmetries suggested by the Middle Neolithic evidence were linked to control of access to the regional interaction network in the context of the communal mode of exchange. These asymmetries broke down at more-or-less the same time as the communal mode of exchange collapsed, and it seems reasonable to suggest a direct relationship between the collapse of the communal mode and the breakdown of inter-island asymmetry.

The significance of these transformations can perhaps be better understood by reference to the marked changes which occurred between 3250 BC and 2250 BC in terms of ritual and funerary practice. In looking at developments in ritual and funerary practice during the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, three main trends can be identified.

The first trend is a general reduction in the spatial complexity of monuments and ceremonial sites. The organisation of space in Channel Island passage graves is relatively complex, with lateral chambers and internal divisions, and in the previous chapter, a possible relationship was suggested between spatial complexity and social differentiation. The organisation of space in gallery graves is more simple, and this may suggest a decline in the emphasis placed on social differentiation in death. The relatively large numbers of skeletons found in Paris Basin gallery graves suggest a widening of access to monuments, whilst the visibility and explicit representational character of the carvings found in some monuments may suggest a breakdown in the control of sacred knowledge by particular social groups. The essentially open character of cists in circle monuments

supports the suggestion of increasing access to monuments. Whilst the circle defines an area to which access could be restricted, any ceremonies taking place within the monument could easily have been observed by people standing outside, and this is clearly not the case with the majority of passage graves. The trend towards increasing openness and simplicity in terms of spatial organisation can be identified in the developmental sequence of the cist in circle monuments themselves: two of the Guernsey cist in circle monuments, L'Islet and Rousse Tower, are more complex than the others, and environmental and sedimentological evidence (see section V.ii) suggests that they are also among the earliest cist in circle monuments.

The second trend is a general diversification of ritual practice. For the Middle Neolithic period we have only passage graves, one closed megalithic cist (La Hougue Boëte) and two possible cists in circles (Grosnez Hougue and Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin), whilst for the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods we have a much wider range of funerary and ceremonial sites (see section V.ii). This diversification is evident from the nature of depositions as well as from the character of the sites themselves. In terms of mortuary practice, both excarnation and cremation are attested in the Channel Island evidence. Depositional practice in the megalithic cists and cists in circles is in many respects similar to that in earlier monuments, with human remains accompanied by pottery and stone tools. Other sites, however, provide evidence for entirely different depositional practices, such as the burial of deliberately broken stone querns at La Hougue Mauger and the deposition of prestige items (blades and arrowheads of Grand Pressigny flint, a flat copper axe and bead) on the platform at Le Pinacle. Neither La Hougue Mauger nor Le Pinacle have provided any evidence for mortuary activity, and these sites seem to have been purely ceremonial in character.

The third trend is a reduction in the size of funerary monuments and ceremonial sites. Gallery graves are

comparable in size to the majority of passage graves, but the megalithic cists and cists in circles are significantly smaller, and their construction would have required the cooperation of much smaller numbers of people. In the previous chapter (see also section V.ii) it was suggested that the articulation of Middle Neolithic monuments in the landscape reflected three levels of social organisation, which were characterised respectively as "minor lineages" (individual domestic groups), "major lineages" and "clans". These levels were identified on the basis of size differences between monuments, the location of monuments in relation to one another and petrological evidence. The vast majority of Middle Neolithic monuments were considered to reflect the second level, and it is suggested that these monuments were built and used by communities of a few hundred people, occupying an area of 10-15 km². It is clear from the mortuary depositions found within Armorican and Channel Island passage graves that only a small proportion of the people who contributed to the construction of these monuments were actually buried in them. The size and spatial distribution of gallery graves suggest that these monuments were built and used by communities of similar size, but mortuary depositions from Paris Basin monuments suggest that burial in gallery graves may have been less restricted. In contrast to the passage graves and gallery graves, the cists in circles and small cists of the Channel Islands should probably be assigned to the first level. The small scale of these monuments suggests that they could have been built by individual domestic groups, and in two cases (Les Blanchés Banques, Jersey and Les Fouaillages, Guernsey), it has been possible to identify a direct relationship between a Chalcolithic ritual site and a particular settlement. Only one Middle Neolithic monument (La Hougue Bie) was assigned to the third level (groups of 1000 people or more), and none of the Late Neolithic or Chalcolithic monuments can be linked to this level.

Taken together, these trends may suggest the

disintegration of the power structures discussed in the previous chapter, and this can perhaps be related to the transformations in exchange systems considered above. In terms of chronology, we can identify three phases of transformation in ritual practice during the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. During the first phase, from 3500 BC to 3250 BC, the construction of passage graves ceased. The second phase, from 3250 BC to 2850 BC, is marked by the appearance of gallery graves and megalithic cists, and by the proliferation of cists in circles. Some passage graves were abandoned during this phase, whilst others continued in use. It is interesting to note that the passage grave of La Hougue Bie has produced no evidence for Late Neolithic or Chalcolithic activity, and we might suggest that this monument was abandoned at a relatively early stage. During this second phase, therefore, we can postulate the abandonment of the only known 3rd level monument (La Hougue Bie), and the coexistence of 2nd level monuments (gallery graves) and 1st level monuments (megalithic cists, cists in circles). Changes in the character of 2nd level monuments (reduced spatial complexity, the appearance of more explicitly representational art) may represent responses to a developing crisis at this level of social organisation. The second phase of development in terms of ritual practice coincides chronologically with important transformations in the nature and significance of exchange, marked by the development of the competitive mode. The third phase, from 2850 BC to 2250 BC, is marked by the abandonment of all second level monuments, and this coincides chronologically with the collapse of the communal mode of exchange. The transition between the second and third phases is marked by further diversification of ritual practice, particularly evident from the sites of La Hougue Mauger and Le Pinacle, and this may reflect an intensification of social crisis. The construction and use of 1st level monuments seems to have continued until the end of this period, as suggested by the evidence from the site of La Tête des Quennevais (see

Chapter VI).

Whilst it seems clear that the social formation discussed in the previous chapter collapsed between 3250 BC and 2250 BC, the precise nature of the social formation which replaced it is more difficult to ascertain. There are, nonetheless, certain features which can be identified. To begin with, social organisation seems to have become increasingly decentralised, with the apparent collapse of 3rd level and then 2nd level social units, and by the mid-3rd Millennium BC there is little clear evidence for social units larger than individual domestic groups. Individual domestic groups are unlikely to have been endogamous, and almost certainly people will have recognised affiliation to larger social units, but the main focus of ritual activity and of social power seems to have been at a very local level. The evidence also suggests that power based on the control of sacred knowledge and control of the "means of reproduction" collapsed, with the reduction of social differentiation in ritual and the decline of the communal mode of exchange. The social formation which emerged as a result of these transformations does not appear, however, to have been egalitarian in nature. The development of the competitive mode of exchange suggests a significant degree of social differentiation, since the items involved are rare and only a limited number of people are likely to have had direct access to them. The basis of this differentiation is unclear, but the evidence is perhaps most easily explained as reflecting a "big man" system (cf SAHLINS 1963), with individuals competing with one another for power and status within their own communities. Typically, such systems involve individuals competing for followers by offering feasts, and by offering personal assistance and thereby creating indebtedness. A "big man" is able to make demands on the labour of his followers and thus increase the size of the surplus that he is able to produce: this surplus can be used to sponsor large feasts and thus increase his reputation, to acquire prestige items, or to increase the

size and productive capacity of his own household by acquiring extra wives. The feasts sponsored by "big men" are often held in a ritual context, and the status objects acquired by "big men" may also be of ceremonial importance.

The model outlined above involves a transition from a social formation dominated by elders, whose power depended upon the ability to control essential "rites de passage", to one dominated by individuals, who established and maintained their privileged status through competitive exchange, and the processes associated with these social transformations will be further considered in Chapter VII. The power of Chalcolithic elite formations in the Channel Islands (and in the Armorican region more generally) seems to have operated on a very local scale: there is, for example, no evidence for asymmetry between islands, in contrast to the Middle Neolithic pattern. The Armorican Early Bronze Age is characterised by the development of marked regional asymmetries, suggesting that "big men" in certain areas had succeeded in monopolising control over the circulation of prestige items. In the process of these developments, Channel Island elites seem to have found themselves increasingly on the periphery, and this theme will be taken up in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EARLY BRONZE AGE.

Strictly speaking, the Bronze Age falls outside the scope of this thesis. Recent discoveries have added considerably to our understanding of the period, and there is enough material to fill a separate and substantial monograph on the Channel Island Bronze Age. For the purposes of this thesis it is necessary to consider the Early Bronze Age (the period 2250-1500 BC), since the social and cultural developments discussed in the previous chapters may be better understood in the light of subsequent transformations.

The Early Bronze Age is defined on the basis of characteristic pottery styles and bronze tool types (see section VI.i). In Western Brittany the period is also characterised by the distinctive burial tradition associated with the Armorican series A and B tumuli (BRIARD 1984), but this tradition has not been identified with any certainty on the islands (see section VI.ii).

VI.i. The Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age transition: 2400-2250 BC.

The use of the terms "Chalcolithic" and "Early Bronze Age" implies a technological transformation, with copper tools being replaced by objects of bronze (an alloy of copper and tin). Such a transformation did occur in North-western France during the latter part of the 3rd Millennium BC (BRIARD 1965), but the importance of this development, at least in the Channel Island context, should not be over-estimated. Metal remained a rare commodity throughout the earlier part of the "Bronze Age". From the Channel Islands we have only two metal objects of demonstrably Early Bronze Age date: an axe with hammered flanges from Little Sark, and a halberd from Chateau l'Etoc, Alderney (KENDRICK 1928). A burial found at Raz Island, Alderney (KENDRICK op cit.) was reportedly accompanied by a bronze dagger, but this has been lost. The Tréboul type hoard from La Sergenté,

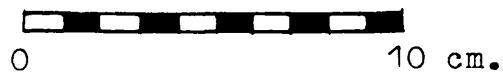
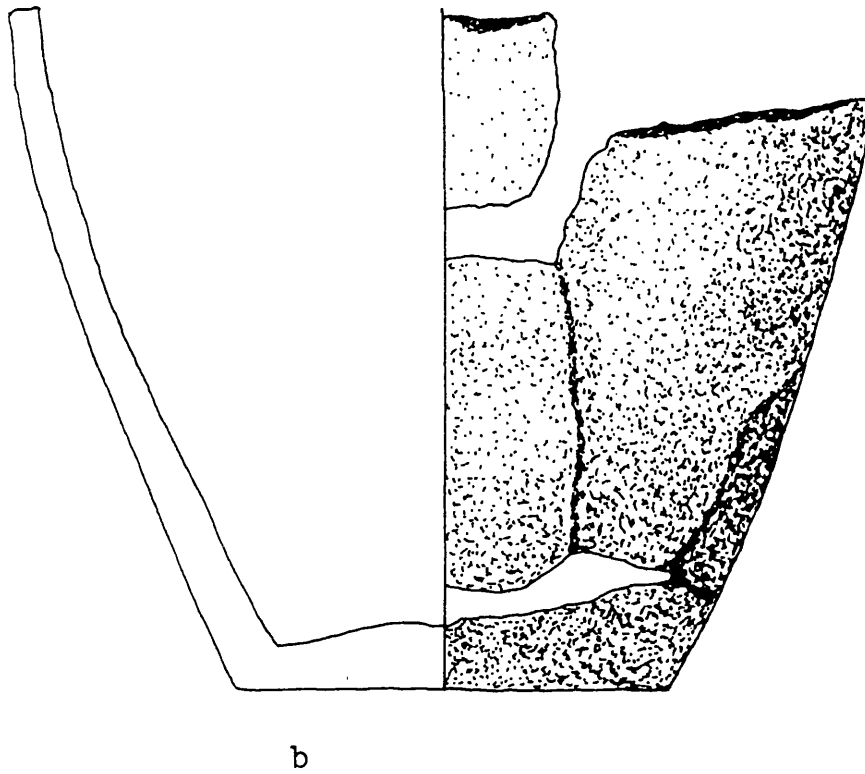
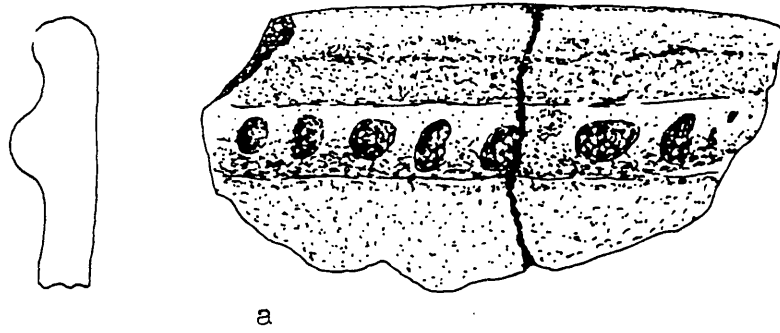
Jersey (HAWKES 1937) should probably be assigned to the Middle, rather than the Early Bronze Age, although Briard (1965) considers that there may be some chronological overlap between Tréboul hoards and the tumulus complex of the Armorican Early Bronze Age. The evidence from the Early Bronze Age settlement of La Moye I, Jersey (PATTON 1984, 1988a,b), attests to the continued importance of stone tools during this period: no trace of metal was found, but the assemblage does include a large number of stone tools and worked flints. Two polished stone axes were found in an Early Bronze Age horizon at Les Blanches Banques, Jersey (SINEL 1916).

The period 2400-2250 BC was also marked by the appearance of new pottery styles. Beakers and Jersey Bowls disappeared during this period and Early Bronze Age assemblages are dominated by coarse-ware vessels with flat bases and flattened rims (Fig.VI.1,VI.2). Some vessels are decorated with finger-impressed cordons (Fig.VI.1a,VI.2a), and many have a single plain cordon running below the rim (Fig.VI.2b-d). Several Channel Island assemblages include fragments of strap-handled vessels (Fig.VI.3) of the type usually associated with Armorican series B tumuli (BRIARD 1984).

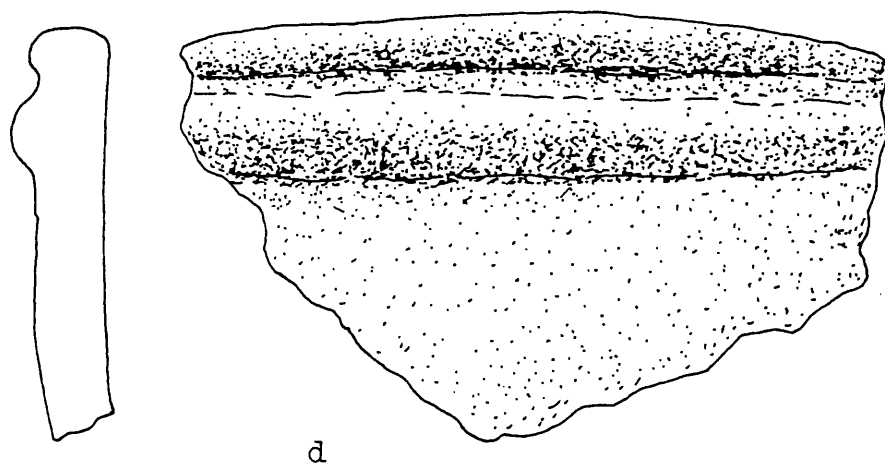
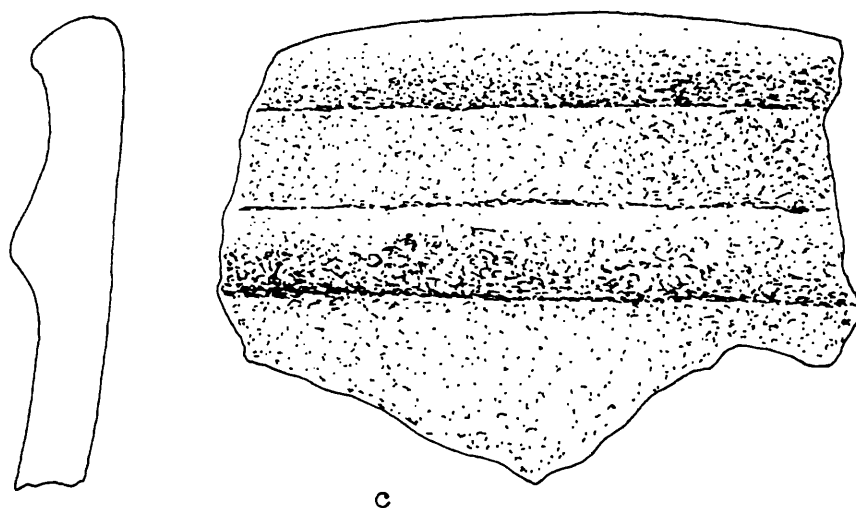
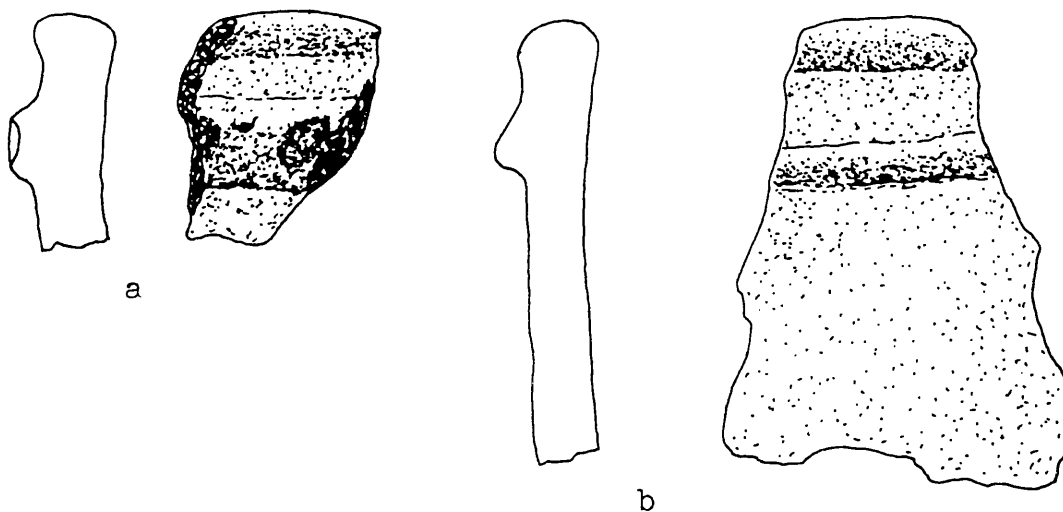
Although stone tools remained economically important in the Channel Islands at least until the mid-2nd Millennium BC, there is no evidence for the continuation of stone axe exchange into the Early Bronze Age: none of the known production centres in North-western France (or, for that matter, in the British Isles), have produced any evidence for Bronze Age activity. The circulation of Grand Pressigny flint had also ceased before the beginning of the Bronze Age.

The second half of the 3rd Millennium BC was marked, on the Channel Islands and on the Armorican mainland, by the decline of collective burial traditions and the appearance of individual graves. The megalithic monuments of the Channel Islands all appear to have been sealed up and abandoned before the beginning of the Bronze Age, though there is ephemeral evidence for intrusive activity

fig. VI.1. Early-Bronze Age pottery from Icho Islet
(a) and La Moye Gravel Quarry (b).



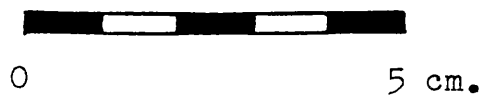
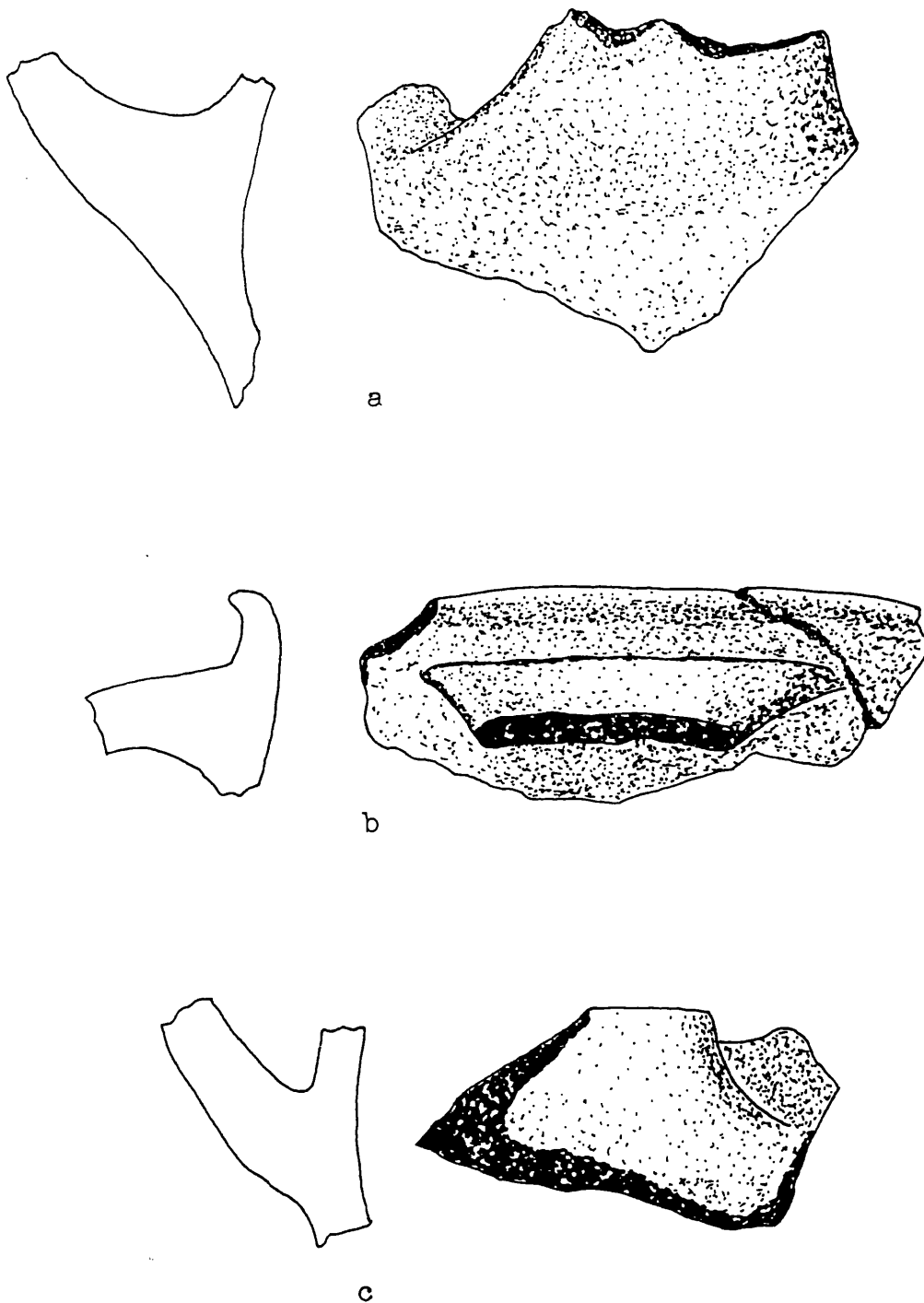
of-war camp site (a,c-d) and La Pulente (b).



0

5 cm.

Fig.VI.3. Early Bronze Age pottery from La Pulente
(a), Petit Port (b) and Le Pinnacle (c).



and secondary depositions in and around some monuments. Although no tumuli of classic Armorican type are known in the islands, the appearance of individual graves during the Early Bronze Age is suggested by the evidence from the sites of La Motte (NICOLLE & SINEL 1912, 1914a, WARTON 1913), Icho Islet (BAAL 1920, 1921, RYBOT 1930) and La Tête des Quennevais (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming) in Jersey.

VI.ii. Ritual and mortuary practice in the Channel Islands: 2250-1500 BC.

Depositions in megalithic monuments.

The abandonment of passage and gallery graves has been discussed in the previous chapter: where discrete "terminal depositions" can be identified (as for example at Le Déhus and Ville-ès-Nouaux), these are of Chalcolithic date, suggesting that the monuments were abandoned before the beginning of the Bronze Age. At La Hougue des Géonnais, Jersey, Chalcolithic material (including Jersey Bowl fragments) was associated with rubble blocking the entrance to the passage (FORREST & RAULT forthcoming). There is ephemeral evidence for Early Bronze Age activity at several of the Channel Island passage and gallery graves. Early Bronze Age material from these monuments includes fragments of strap-handled vessels from Le Mont Ubé and Ville-ès-Nouaux (Fig.VI.11a), Jersey, a handled cup from La Roque qui Sonne (Fig.VI.11b) and two large lugged urns from La Varde, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928). The "grape cup" (HAWKES 1937) and vessel of Deverel II type (MARETT 1912), allegedly from Le Mont Ubé, must almost certainly be discounted as recent introductions (HAWKES 1937, PATTON 1987a)¹. The context of the Early Bronze Age material

¹ These two vessels and a faience bead were sold to the British Museum along with other material from Le Mont Ubé. These two vessels are the only intact vessels from the site, and both are of Southern British Early Bronze Age type, without parallel in Armorica. It seems distinctly possible that these vessels and the bead were added to the collection to increase its value, before

from Le Mont Ubé and La Roque qui Sonne is unknown. The two vessels from La Varde were apparently found within the chamber, whilst the fragments of a strap-handled vessel from Ville-ès-Nouaux were found in the sand horizon overlying the gallery grave and cist in circle (BELLIS & CABLE 1884). All of this material can probably be considered to represent either intrusive re-use of a monument (La Varde), or secondary deposition in the environs of a sealed and abandoned monument (Ville-ès-Nouaux). In either case, it seems reasonable to suggest that the depositions reflect a degree of continued veneration (the intact vessels from La Varde and La Roque qui Sonne are unlikely to represent casual depositions in a non-ritual context), but the small quantity of material involved suggests that such activity only occurred on an occasional basis.

None of the Channel Island cists in circles have produced Early Bronze Age material, and it is likely that these monuments were also abandoned before the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. The Beauport Cromlech, Jersey (CABLE 1877, JOHNSTON 1972) is a monument of unknown form (see Chapter V) and the assemblage from this site includes Early Bronze Age as well as Chalcolithic pottery.

There is no evidence to suggest that megaliths of any form were built after 2250 BC: all of the monuments which have produced Early Bronze Age pottery have produced Neolithic or Chalcolithic material as well. It also seems clear that ritual activity in and around megalithic monuments occurred on a much less frequent and systematic basis during the Early Bronze Age than during the Chalcolithic period.

Cist-graves and "Tombelles".

Recent excavations in the Western part of Jersey have shed some light on changing ritual and mortuary practices at the end of the Neolithic. The Chalcolithic settlement

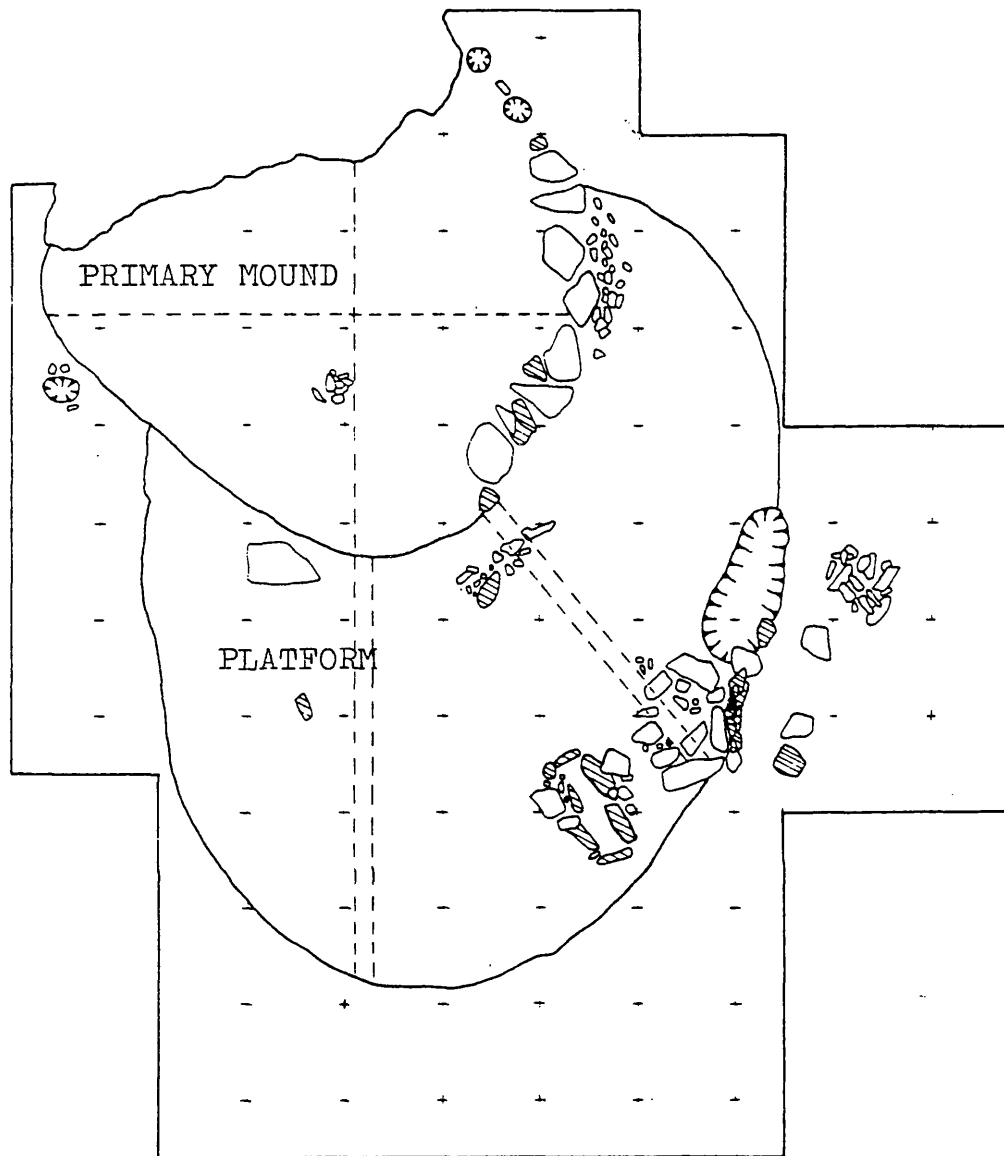
offering it for sale to the B.M. The three artefacts could be from a single barrow in Southern England.

of Les Blanches Banques (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming) was associated with a small tomb known as "The Ossuary" (DARRELL HILL 1924), which contained the disarticulated remains of around twenty people. Jersey Bowl fragments were found both in the tomb itself and in the occupation horizon of the settlement, and stratigraphic evidence suggests that the tomb and settlement are contemporary. Settlement on Les Blanches Banques continued into the Early Bronze Age: the main focus of the Early Bronze Age settlement is on the site of the 1914-18 Prisoner-of-War camp, a few hundred metres to the North of the Chalcolithic settlement (see section VI.iii).

The site of La Tête des Quennevais (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming) is on the plateau overlooking Les Blanches Banques. This site consists (Fig.VI.4) of two main elements: a primary mound, with a facade of granite and shale blocks on the Northern side; and a platform, abutting the mound and associated with two small cists. Fragments of at least four Jersey Bowls were found associated with a land surface (Deposit 5) underlying the primary mound. The land surface was sealed by the mound, which in turn was sealed by the material of the platform (Fig.VI.5). The stratigraphy of the site suggests three phases of prehistoric activity: activity associated with the land surface; construction of the primary mound; and construction of the platform and cists. The presence of Jersey Bowls in the palaeosol suggests that this deposit is broadly contemporary with "The Ossuary" and the Chalcolithic settlement on Les Blanches Banques: the mound, platform and cists are presumably later. The mound and platform were sealed by a layer containing Early Bronze Age pottery, including a fragment of a strap-handle. The mound, platform and cists seem, therefore, to fall into the period of the Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age transition.

The cists at La Tête des Quennevais were found to be completely empty, though there is no evidence to suggest post-depositional disturbance (one of the cists, covered by three small capstones, was found beneath an intact

Fig.VI.4. La Tete des Quennevais: site plan.



0

5 m.

cairn). Soil conditions on the plateau of La Tête des Quennevais are different to those on Les Blanchés Banques, and one should probably not expect bone to have been preserved². There is no clear evidence that the function of the cists was funerary, but by analogy with other sites in Armorica, it seems most likely. The Quennevais cists (Fig.VI.6) are too small to have contained intact adult inhumations: they could have contained infant bodies or disarticulated remains. A similar cist at the Early Bronze Age site of Roc'h Croum à Santec, Finistère, contained an adult skull (BRIARD 1984).

Assuming that we are correct in identifying La Tête des Quennevais as a funerary site, the mortuary tradition is clearly very different to that represented at "The Ossuary". The latter is a true collective tomb, whereas the Quennevais cists could have held only a very small number of bones. The evidence outlined above suggests that the cists at La Tête des Quennevais are later in date than "The Ossuary", and it seems likely, therefore, that the difference in mortuary traditions represents diachronic change. This is wholly unsurprising, since the Armorican evidence suggests that a similar transition occurred across the entire region, with collective burial traditions giving way to individual burials between 2400 and 2250 BC (BRIARD 1984). Briard (op cit.) has distinguished several types of mortuary site in the Armorican Early Bronze Age, including isolated cists, cist-grave cemeteries and tumulus burials. The site of La Tête des Quennevais has certain features in common with the cist-grave cemetery of Roc'h Croum à Santec,

² The remains in "The Ossuary" were sandwiched between two layers of dune sand, containing a high proportion of calcereous material which will have increased the pH of the soil and thus favoured the preservation of bone. Deposition of dune sand on the plateau of La Tête des Quennevais did not occur until a later stage (a layer containing Early Bronze Age pottery runs beneath the earliest deposit of dune sand), and the soil formed in situ through breakdown of the shale bedrock has a lower pH.

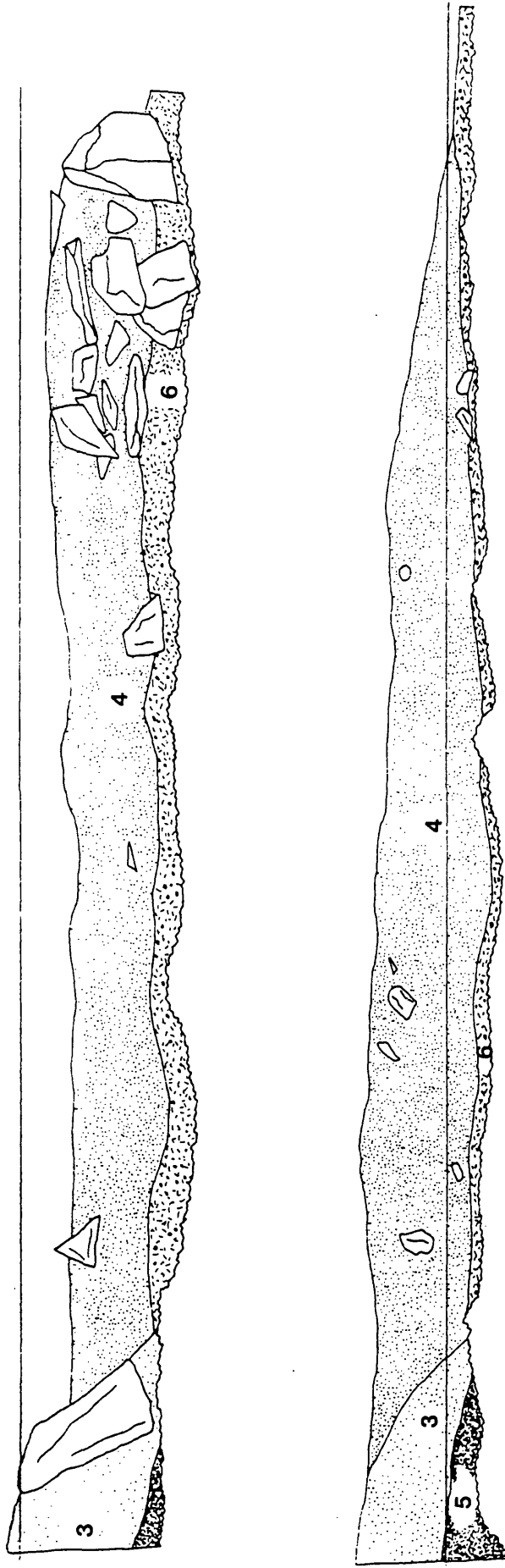
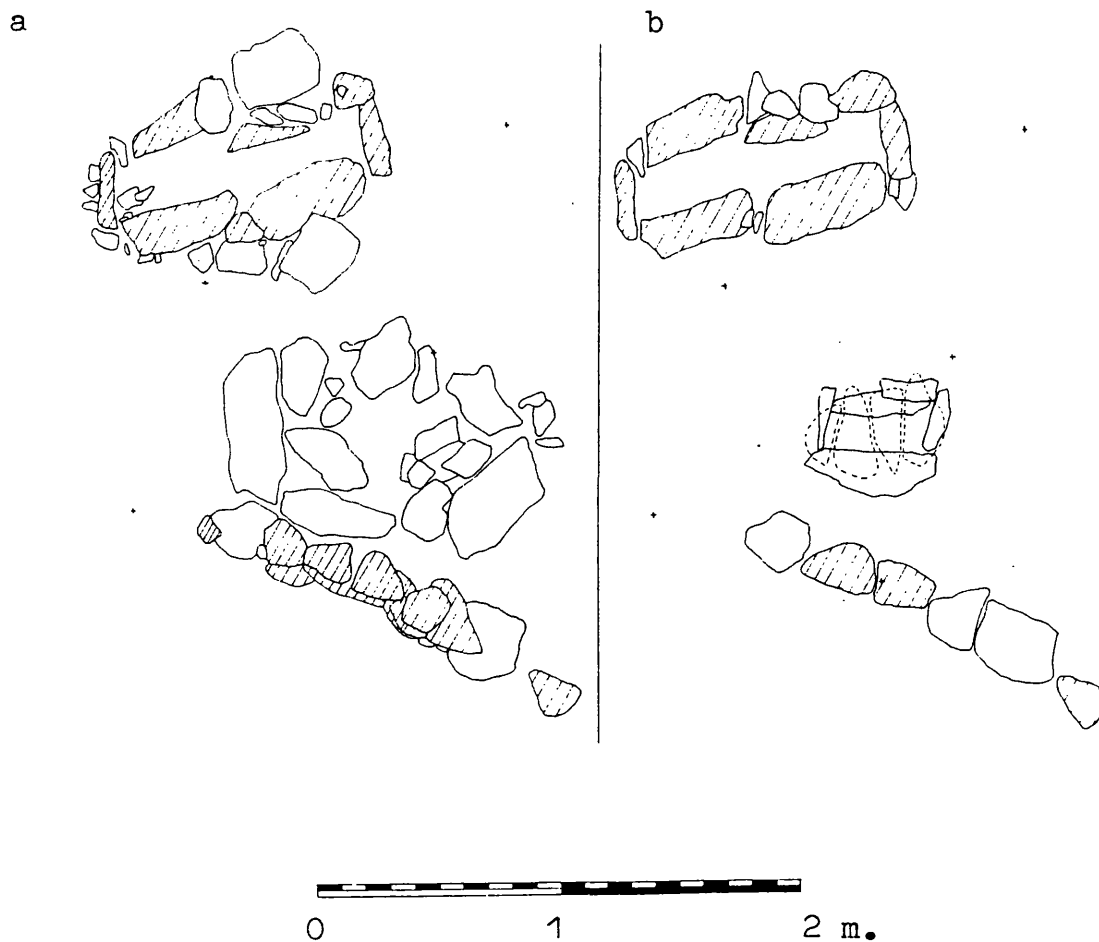


Fig.VI.6. La Tete des Quennevais: cists before (a) and after (b) removal of the cairn covering the smaller cist.

Shaded blocks are granite, others are shale.



Finistère (LE ROUX 1979b,1981, BRIARD 1984). This is a much larger site, with 30 rectangular cists built around the outside of a small tumulus. The tumulus was 3.35 m in diameter, with a facade of stone blocks and dry-stone walling. Some of the cists at Roc'h Croum are only 50-60 cm in length, and some are covered whilst others are open.

The site of Roc'h Croum forms part of a group which Briard (1984) classifies as cimitières à coffres littorales, and he also includes in this group the site of La Motte, Jersey (NICOLLE & SINEL 1912,1914a, WARTON 1913). Excavations at La Motte revealed a series of fifteen cist-graves, as well as a large cairn and a series of "kitchen middens". The middens were associated with Middle Neolithic and Chalcolithic pottery, and have been discussed in Chapters IV and V. The stratigraphic position of the graves in relation to the cairn and middens is unclear: Dunlop (1913) considers that the middens are earlier than the cairn, and that the graves are later, whereas Sinel (1913) considers the graves to be the earliest features on the site. It seems most likely that Dunlop's account of the stratigraphy is correct, since if the graves are earlier than the middens they would have to be of Early or Middle Neolithic date, and the mortuary tradition represented at La Motte is totally unlike anything known in an Armorican Early or Middle Neolithic context. The La Motte cemetery is comparable to the cemeteries of Ile Thinic and Mané-Beg-er-Noz à Saint-Pierre-Quiberon, Morbihan, and Park-ar-Hastel à Tréguennec, Côtes-du-Nord (BRIARD 1984). Briard (op cit.) assigns these sites to the Early Bronze Age, on the basis of evidence from Mané-Beg-er-Noz and Roc'h Croum, but it must be said that there are serious chronological problems. The assemblage from Ile Thinic, for example, includes Iron Age as well as Early Bronze Age pottery, and a similar cemetery at Saint Urnel en Plomeur, Finistère (FAVRET & BENARD 1924, GIOT & COGNE 1948) produced Late Bronze Age, Iron Age and Gallo-Roman pottery, but nothing earlier. Cist-graves found at

Gavrinis were of Medieval date (de CLOSMADÉUC 1885), and a cist recently found in the cemetery of Saint Lawrence, Jersey, contained a skeleton associated with a Medieval pot (L.B. MALLALIEU pers.comm.): the latter grave was almost identical in size, shape and construction to the majority of those found at La Motte. The cists found at La Motte contained no grave-goods, only a few sherds and flints presumably redeposited from the middens. As regards the treatment of the corpse, the evidence from La Motte is ambiguous, since the skeletons were all in a very poor state of preservation. Nicolle & Sinel (1912) claim that one of the cists contained an extended inhumation, and that another contained disarticulated remains of two people. The date of the La Motte cists remains uncertain: they may be of Early Bronze Age date, but equally, they could be substantially later. Some cist-graves from Alderney may also be of Early Bronze Age date: Kendrick (1928) cites an account by Francis Lukis which describes the discovery of a series of cists on Raz Island (in Longy Bay), one of which contained a crouched inhumation with a bronze dagger (now lost).

A burial found on Icho Islet (BAAL 1920, 1921, RYBOT 1930) can be assigned to the Early Bronze Age with a greater degree of certainty. The remains of a single individual were found, associated with a large portion of an Early Bronze Age pot with finger-impressed cordon (Fig.VI.1a). Bones of horse and goat, and shells of scallop and oyster were also found. The bones and pottery were crushed by stones, and from the published account it seems likely that the deposition was of the type classified by Briard (1984) as tombelle (i.e. a tomb consisting of a circular accumulation of stones, less than 1 m in height). Burials of this type have been recorded in several areas of Brittany, notably in the Monts d'Arrée and in the forests of Paimpont (Ille-et-Vilaine) and Pont-Calleh (Morbihan).

Tumulus burials.

The most spectacular monuments of the Armorican Early Bronze Age are the tumuli (BRIARD 1984): these contain

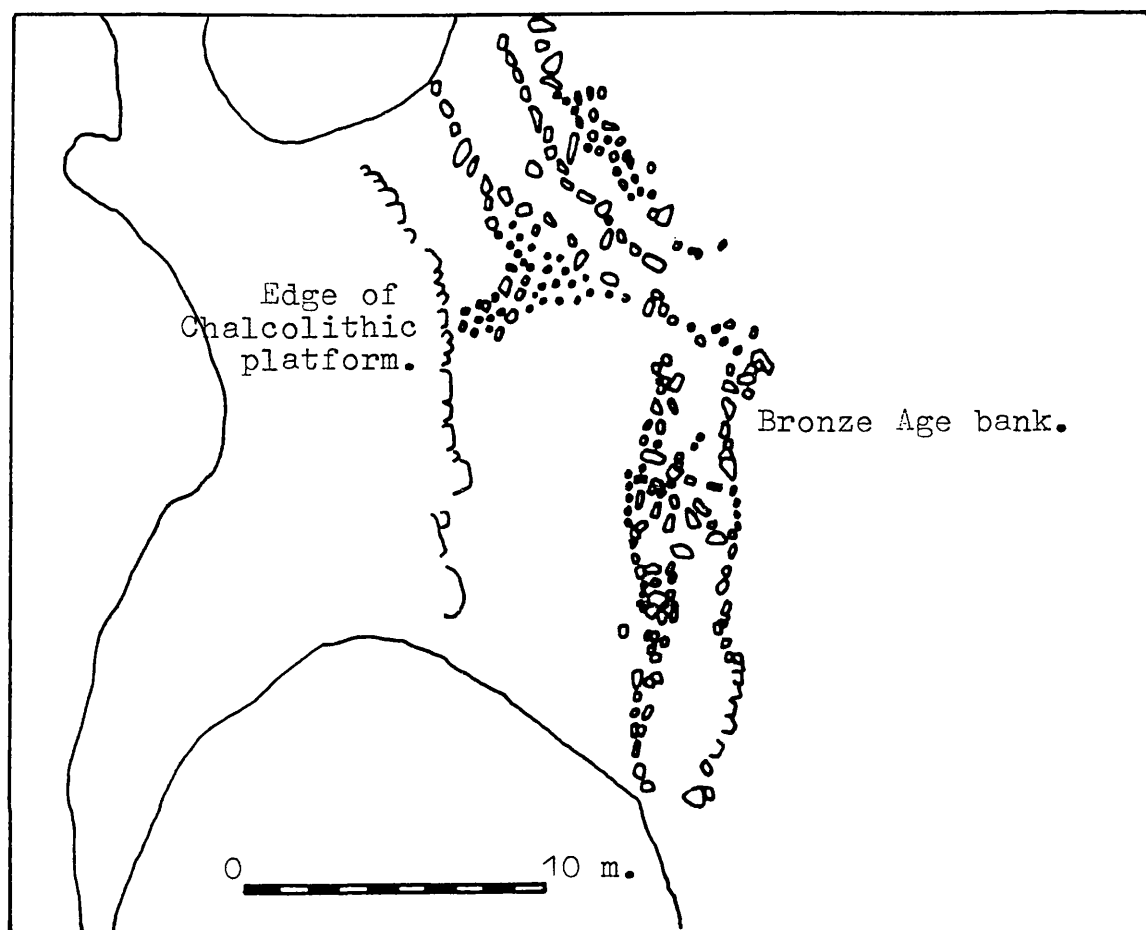
funerary chambers built of stone slabs, dry-stone walling or wood, and the burials within them are often accompanied by flint arrowheads and objects of bronze and gold (series A), or by depositions of pottery (series B). Monuments of this type have not been identified with any certainty in the Channel Islands. The destroyed monument of Les Hougues de Millais, Jersey, described by Oliver³, is compared by Hawkes (1937) to the Armorican tumuli, but Oliver's description of a dry-stone chamber 18 feet in length (5.5 m), covered by five capstones, suggests a monument much larger than any of the Armorican caveaux en pierres-seches (cf BRIARD 1984). The chamber at Les Hougues de Millais did, however, contain a strap-handled pottery vessel of the type frequently associated with Armorican series B tumuli. The most likely explanation is that this vessel represents an intrusive deposition in an earlier monument (an atypical passage grave?). Kendrick (1928) cites a description by F.C. Lukis of a destroyed monument at La Creux des Féés, Guernsey. This was a drystone chamber, 10½ feet in length and 2 feet in width (c3x0.6 m), covered by a conical tumulus. The dimensions of this chamber are more in keeping with those of the Armorican Early Bronze Age examples, but no finds are recorded.

The site of Le Pinacle.

The Chalcolithic ritual site of Le Pinacle, Jersey (GODFRAY & BURDO 1950) has been discussed in Chapter V, and activity on this site continued through the Early Bronze Age. At some stage during the Bronze Age the complex was enlarged by the construction of a second bank (Fig.VI.7), but the precise date of this is uncertain. The assemblage includes Early Bronze Age pottery with flattened rims and finger-impressed cordons, and fragments of two strap-handled vessels, but also Middle Bronze Age pottery and a Late Bronze Age socketed spearhead. The stratigraphy of the upper levels of the site (Bronze Age, Iron Age, Gallo-Roman) is unclear from

³ British Press & Jersey Times. June 1st 1870.

Fig.VI.7. The Bronze Age site of Le Pinacle.



the excavation report, and the precise nature of the Early Bronze Age activity cannot be ascertained. The sequence from Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age, however, appears to be unbroken, and the Bronze Age bank is parallel to the edge of the earlier platform, so there can be little doubt that the Bronze Age site represents a continuation of the Chalcolithic ritual complex.

The evidence discussed in Chapter V suggested increasing diversification of ritual and mortuary practice at the end of the Channel Island Neolithic, and a trend towards smaller funerary monuments: in several respects, the evidence for the Early Bronze Age suggests a continuation and culmination of these developments. The cists at La Tête des Quennevais and La Motte, and the burial at Icho Islet, all represent significantly smaller investments of labour and time when compared to the cists in circles of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. The diversity of the Early Bronze Age evidence is striking: we have the cists at La Tête des Quennevais and possibly La Motte, the tombelle at Icho, the open-air ceremonial site of Le Pinnacle and secondary depositions in and around the earlier monuments of Le Mont Ubé, Ville-ès-Nouaux and La Varde. We know virtually nothing of ritual and mortuary practices during the Middle Bronze Age of Armorica and the Channel Islands. Middle Bronze Age material was found at Le Pinnacle, though the depositional context of this is unclear. In Brittany, there are a number of bronze weapons found in river-beds (BRIARD 1965) which may represent votive offerings. All of the evidence suggests that the Early Bronze Age saw the final manifestations of the elaborate ritual and mortuary traditions which have been discussed in this thesis.

VI.iii. Economy and settlement in the Early Bronze Age of the Channel Islands.

Several settlements of Early Bronze Age date have been recorded in the Channel Islands. Settlement on Les

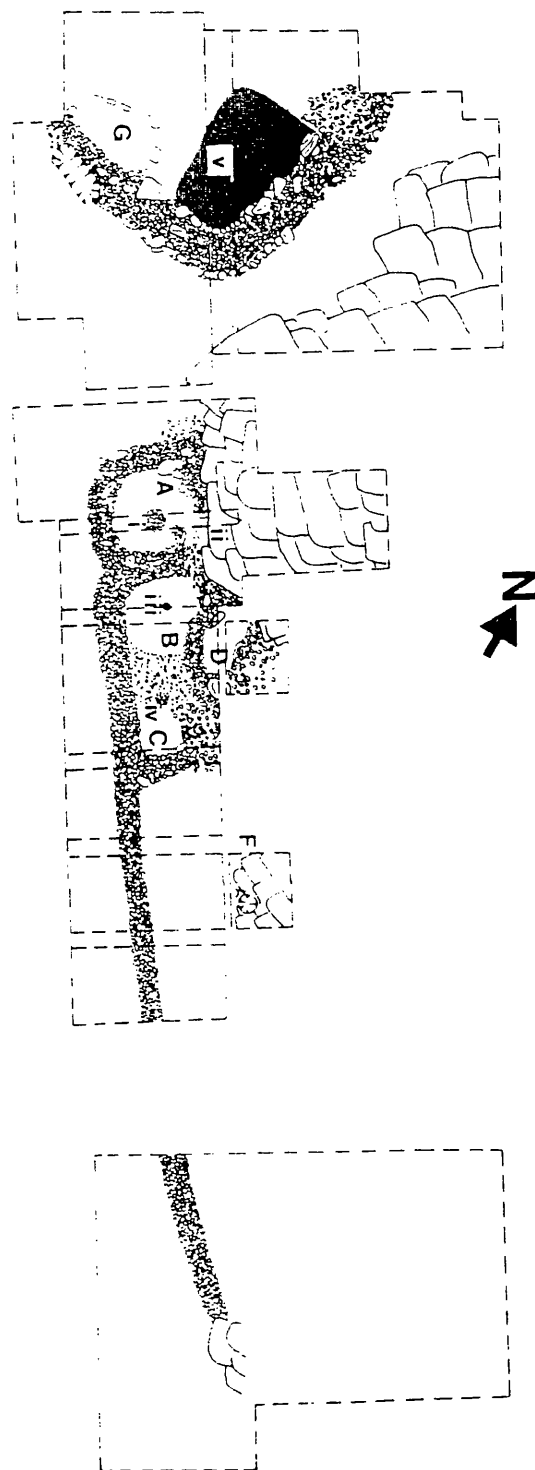
Blanches Banques, Jersey, continued through this period, though the main settlement area seems to have shifted a few hundred metres to the North of the Chalcolithic site (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming). The main concentration of Early Bronze Age material on Les Blanches Banques is on the site of the 1914-18 prisoner-of-war camp. Excavations carried out prior to the construction of the camp (SINEL 1916), revealed a hearth associated with shells, animal bone, stone tools and Early Bronze Age pottery. The ceramic assemblage includes flattened rims, finger-impressed cordons and a fragment of a strap-handled vessel, and is clearly different from the Chalcolithic assemblages from Les Blanches Banques discussed in Chapter V.

The existence of coastal settlements is suggested by large quantities of Early Bronze Age pottery found at Petit Port and La Pulente, Jersey (HAWKES 1937) and at L'Erée, Guernsey, but these sites are known only from surface collections.

The clearest evidence for Early Bronze Age settlement in the Channel Islands comes from the site of La Moye I, Jersey (PATTON 1984, 1988a, b). Excavations between 1981 and 1985 revealed portions of two enclosures, one of which was associated with three small circular structures (Fig. VI.8 A-C) and two pits (Fig. VI.8 D & F). Two of the structures have central post-settings (Fig. VI.8 i & iii). These structures are too small to have served as houses, but their precise function could not be ascertained from the archaeological evidence. The North-western enclosure was interpreted as a probable stock compound, and a deposit of darker soil in the corner of this enclosure (Fig. VI.8 v) may represent animal dung. Stone tools and worked flints were associated with land surfaces in both enclosures, and Early Bronze Age pottery was also found, principally in the floor levels of the circular structures and in the in-fill of one of the pits (D).

Recent excavations at Jerbourg, Guernsey (BURNS 1988) have revealed evidence for occupation throughout much of the Bronze Age. The site is on a coastal promontory,

Fig.VI.8. The settlement of La Moya I (after PATTON 1988b).



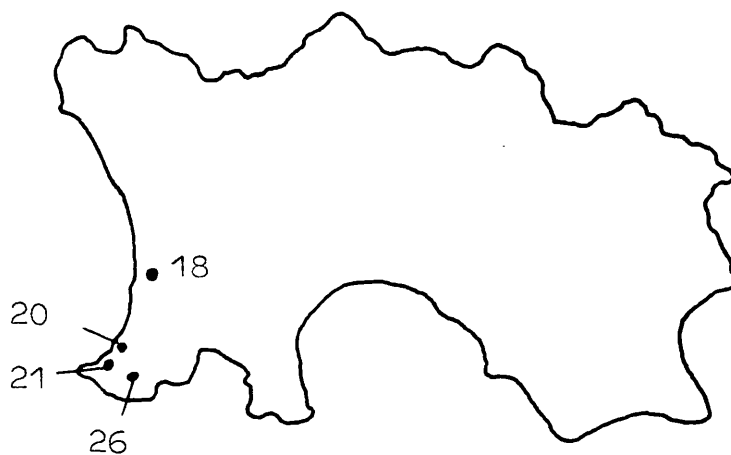
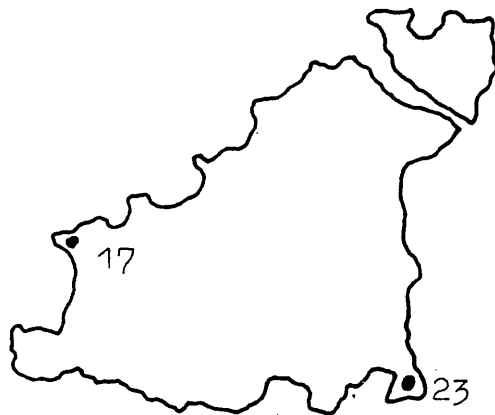
surrounded on three sides by cliffs, and sealed off by an earthwork, the earliest phase of which seems to date to the Early Bronze Age. The location of the site and the presence of the earthwork suggest a concern for defence.

Fig.VI.9 shows the distribution of known Early Bronze Age settlements in the Channel Islands. This distribution pattern is unlikely to be representative of the original settlement pattern, but there are certain points of interest. Two of the sites, La Moye I and Jerbourg, are on granitic headlands. The soil on these headlands is thin and acidic, and is probably the least fertile soil on the islands: even today, when agricultural production on the islands is particularly intensive, most of the headlands are uncultivated. The location of the La Moye settlement in such a marginal area suggests considerable pressure on the availability of land, and it has been argued (PATTON 1988a,b) that this relates to the loss of cultivable land to rising sea-levels during the late 4th Millennium BC (cf JONES et al. 1987,1989). The South-eastern enclosure at La Moye I was built around a low granite outcrop, and it is suggested (PATTON 1988a,b) that this was done in order to avoid locating it on potentially useful agricultural or pasture land. The apparent concern for defence at Jerbourg can perhaps also be related to this increasing pressure on land, since such pressure is likely to have resulted in an escalation of inter-group conflict.

The cultivation of marginal areas such as La Moye is likely to have resulted in fairly rapid soil exhaustion. The archaeological layers at La Moye I were covered by a deposit of wind-blown sand: this is not dune sand, as on Les Blanchés Banques, but rather the granitic sand of the headland itself. This layer of sand seems to represent a single depositional event, and it must have buried the site soon after it was abandoned, since there is no evidence for post-depositional disturbance of the archaeological deposits, such as would undoubtedly have occurred had they been left exposed for any significant length of time. This deposit suggests the development of

Fig.VI.9. Early Bronze Age settlements in the Channel Islands (the numbers shown on the maps refer to the list of sites in Appendix vi).

Guernsey.



a "dust-bowl" phenomenon, probably related to over-exploitation of the land.

As regards subsistence economy, the clearest evidence comes from the prisoner-of-war camp site on Les Blanches Banques. The middens found on this site (SINEL 1916) included bones of cattle (Bos longifrons), ovicaprids, red deer, hare and a large bird (possibly goose); shells of limpet (Patella vulgata & P. athletica), mussel, ormer, winkle (Trochus lineatus), razor-fish (Solen ensis), scallop (Pecten maximus) and edible crab (Cancer pagarus); and bones and teeth of rock-fish (Labrus maculatus). No statistical details were recorded, though it is stated that limpet, mussel and winkle shells were particularly abundant, and that one pottery vessel, found on the hearth, contained a mass of limpet shells. The evidence from this site suggests that coastal resources formed a very important element in the diet of Early Bronze Age communities, and the coastal location of the sites of Petit Port, La Pulente and L'Erée is also suggestive of this. Excavations on Maître Ile, Les Minquiers (GODFRAY 1929) suggested that the hunting of grey seal (Halichoerus gryphus) became important during the Bronze Age. The lower horizon on Maître Ile produced a mass of seal remains associated with pottery: much of the pottery is of Middle Bronze Age date, but the assemblage includes a fragment of strap-handle. It is likely that the isolated reef of Les Minquiers was a breeding colony for grey seals, and that periodic hunting expeditions were organised from Jersey.

The apparent focus on coastal resources in the subsistence economy of Early Bronze Age communities in the islands can perhaps be related to the rises in sea-level already mentioned. The loss of land as a result of rising sea-levels would have decreased the productive capacity of the islands in terms of agriculture and pastoralism, but increased exploitation of coastal resources could have compensated for this to a significant extent.

VI.iv. The Channel Islands in regional context: 2250-1500 BC.

Many of the patterns of development which have been identified in the Early Bronze Age of the Channel Islands can also be seen on the Armorican mainland. Most megalithic monuments were abandoned before 2250 BC, and Early Bronze Age burial sites in Armorica include isolated cists, cist-grave cemeteries and "tombelles" (BRIARD 1984). The sites of La Motte and La Tête des Quennevais have been linked to the Armorican cimitières à coffres littorales: the distribution of these cemeteries centres on the départements of Morbihan, Côtes-du-Nord and Finistère (BRIARD 1984), with one example in the Cotentin (Siouville, Manche; GRAINDOR 1959) and none in Ille-et-Vilaine. The chronological problems raised by these cemeteries have already been alluded to, and it must be said that some are clearly not of Early Bronze Age date. The Icho burial has been identified as a probable tombelle, and clusters of tombelles are known in Ille-et-Vilaine (Forêt de Paimpont), Morbihan (Forêt de Pont-Calleh) and Finistère (Les Monts d'Arrée). Tombelles, however, are relatively inconspicuous structures, and the actual distribution pattern may be considerably more extensive than is apparent.

The Armorican Early Bronze Age has been characterised (cf BRIARD 1984) as "Tumulus Culture", but tumuli of Armorican type are apparently absent from the Channel Islands. Fig.VI.10 shows the distribution of Armorican series A and B tumuli. It is clear that the tumulus complex is centered on the Western part of Brittany (the départements of Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère & Morbihan), and that North-eastern Brittany (Ille-et-Vilaine) and the Cotentin are peripheral to it. Coutil (1896) describes a group of tumuli at Beaumont-Hague, Manche, recording that one of these produced ten flint arrowheads, and that a second produced ten more arrowheads and an "épée en bronze". Coutil's account suggests a group of tumuli related to the Armorican series A (cf BRIARD 1984), but this is the only clear indication of any monuments in the

Fig.VI.10. Distribution of Armorican tumuli series A and B (after BRIARD 1984).

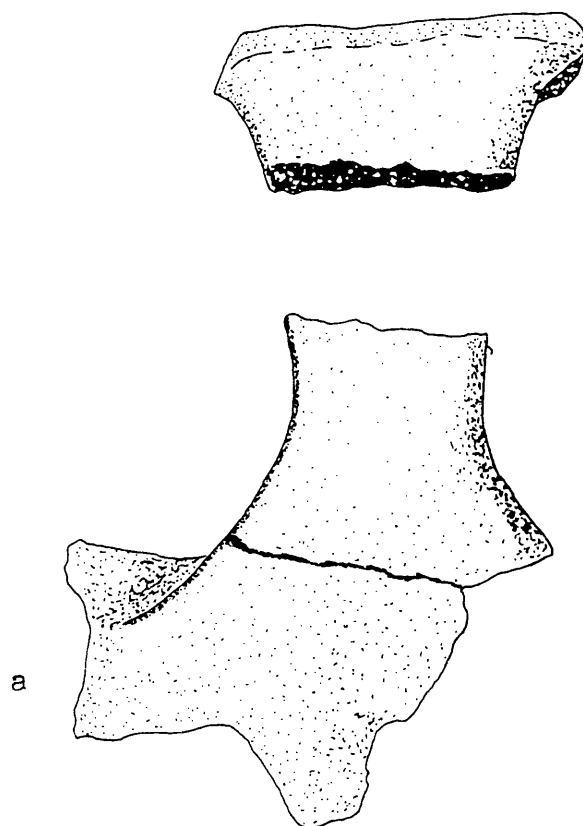
series A.



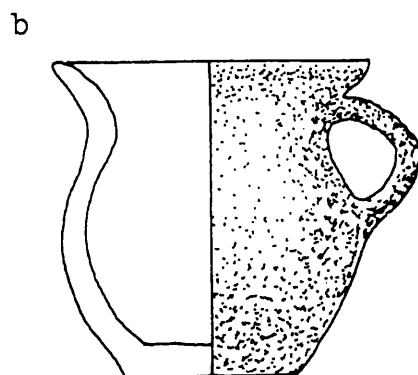
series B.



Fig.VI.11. Early Bronze Age pottery from Ville-es-Nouaux (a) and La Roque qui Sonne (b).



0 5 cm.



0 10 cm.

Cotentin comparable to the Armorican tumuli.

Whilst the tumuli themselves are apparently absent from the Channel Islands, types of artefact normally associated with the Breton tumulus complex are known. An arrowhead of Briard's (1984) type ogivale courte was found at Jerbourg (BURNS 1988), and fragments of strap-handled vessels of the type generally associated with series B tumuli have been found on several Channel Island sites⁴. A handled cup from La Roque qui Sonne, Guernsey (Fig.VI.11b), is comparable to vessels from the tumuli of Juno-Bella and Esquibien, Finistère (BRIARD 1984). In North-eastern Brittany and the Cotentin, by contrast, the material culture styles specific to the Armorican tumulus complex (strap-handled pottery, elaborate flint arrowheads etc.) are absent⁵, and in this respect the Channel Island evidence stands out.

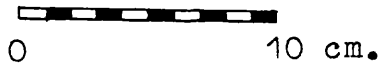
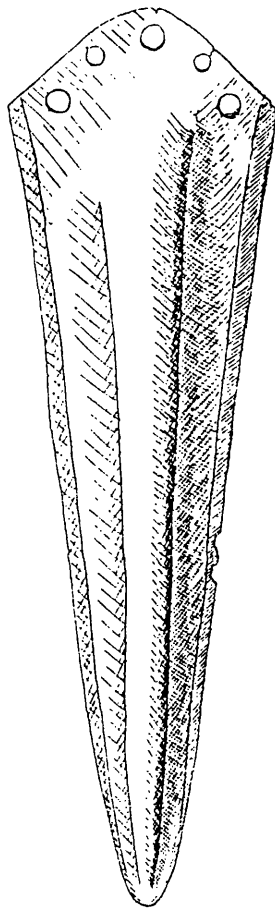
The hammer-flanged axe from Little Sark (KENDRICK 1928) is of a type which occurs right across Northern France (BRIARD 1965). The halberd from Chateau l'Etoc, Alderney (Fig.VI.12) is perhaps more interesting. Briard (1965) lists only four true halberds from Brittany, and follows O'Riordáin (1936) in suggesting that these represent imports from Ireland, where halberds are very much more common. O'Riordáin (op cit.) lists halberds from the British Isles, Central Europe and Scandinavia. All of the Breton examples are of O'Riordáin's Type 4, with three rivets, whereas the halberd from Alderney, with five rivets, belongs to Type 6. Type 6 halberds are much rarer: O'Riordáin records only fourteen known examples⁶. It is difficult to speculate on the origin of

⁴ Ville-ès-Nouaux (Fig.VI.11a), Le Mont Ubé, Les Hougues de Millais, Le Pinacle, Petit Port and La Pulente, Jersey, L'Erée, Guernsey, and Maître Ile, Les Minquiers.

⁵ The sole surviving arrowhead from Beaumont-Hague is not of classic Armorican type, and is considered by Briard (1984) to be closer to British forms.

⁶ Three of these are from Ireland, seven from the British Isles and three from Central Europe.

Fig. VI. 22. Halberd from Chateau l'Etoc (after
KENDRICK 1928).



the Alderney halberd, but it seems unlikely that it was made in Northern France, where Type 6 halberds are unknown.

One recurrent theme throughout this thesis has been the anomalous position of the Channel Islands in relation to regional patterns on the Armorican mainland. During certain periods (notably the Middle Neolithic and Chalcolithic), North-eastern Brittany and the Cotentin appear to have been essentially peripheral to cultural developments in Southern and Western Brittany. The Channel Islands, in contrast, seem in many respects to have been very much less "peripheral", as witness, for example, the distribution patterns of passage graves, vase-supports (Ch.IV) and bell beakers (Ch.V). To some extent, this pattern is repeated in the Early Bronze Age: pottery of the Armorican tumulus complex, for example, is present in the islands, but absent from North-eastern Brittany and the Cotentin. The difference, however, is not as marked as in the Middle Neolithic. The full panoply of the Armorican tumulus complex is not found on the islands: the tumuli themselves are absent, and there is no significant concentration of Early Bronze Age metalwork. There is but a single arrowhead of tumulus series A type from Jerbourg, Guernsey (BURNS 1988), and there is no amber and faience jewellery⁷. The degree of differentiation between the islands and adjacent mainland areas during the Early Bronze Age is thus considerably less than during the Middle Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, and the significance of these long-term changes will be considered further in Chapter VII.

A second recurrent theme concerns asymmetrical relations between islands: throughout much of the Neolithic period Jersey, partly due to its geographical position, seems to have had privileged access to the macro-regional interaction network (Ch.IV). This pattern

⁷ There is a single faience bead (HAWKES 1937), supposedly from Le Mont Ubé, but like the grape-cup and the Deverel II vessel mentioned above, its attribution to the site is questionable.

seems to have broken down to some extent during the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, and there is very little evidence for such asymmetry during the Early Bronze Age. Strap-handled pottery is concentrated in Jersey (there is one fragment from L'Erée, Guernsey), but in other respects this island does not stand out in relation to the others. The only known example of a tumulus series A type arrowhead is from Guernsey, and of the two Early Bronze Age metal objects known from the islands, one is from Alderney and the other from Sark. The exchange of stone axes, which has been seen as central to the development and maintenance of asymmetric relations between islands, seems to have stopped during the Chalcolithic period. The Armorican evidence (LE ROUX 1979a) suggests that production of axes of flint, fibrolite, eclogite and Type A dolerite had stopped before 2250 BC. Stone axes continued to be used in the Channel Islands, but it is interesting to note that the two axes found on the prisoner-of-war camp site, the four fragments found at La Tête des Quennevais and the axe found in a field immediately adjacent to the La Moye I settlement, are all of local material. The changing nature of inter-island relations will be considered further in section VI.v.

VI.v. Early Bronze Age society in the Channel Islands.

The model developed in Chapter V involves the collapse of the Neolithic "tribal" formation in the Channel Islands during the first half of the 3rd Millennium BC, linked to increasing competition between local elites for access to prestige objects. A similar development can be identified on the Armorican mainland, with the abandonment of large megaliths and the appearance of "prestige items" such as Grand Pressigny flint blades and objects of copper and gold. We might expect this collapse of "tribal" organisation and increasing competition for prestige goods to lead ultimately to the development of chiefdoms, and in Western Brittany this is precisely what seems to have happened during the Early Bronze Age. The

Armorican tumuli (particularly series A) provide evidence for a marked concentration of wealth in the hands of particular individuals, and for social asymmetry linked to control of prestige objects (BRIARD 1984).

In the Channel Islands, and in the Eastern part of the Armorican region, the pattern is somewhat different: high status burials are absent, and prestige objects (bronze weapons, gold, elaborate arrowheads, amber & faience jewellery) are rare. The Early Bronze Age pattern in the Channel Islands is in many respects similar to the Chalcolithic pattern, with only limited evidence for social asymmetry, probably on an intra-communal basis. The degree of ritual elaboration in the Early Bronze Age of the Channel Islands is significantly less than in earlier periods.

In attempting to understand social developments during the Early Bronze Age, it is necessary to consider the reasons for this difference between Western Brittany on the one hand, and Eastern Armorica and the Channel Islands on the other. One obvious possibility concerns the availability of metal. Copper and tin ores occur naturally in the West of Brittany (BRIARD 1965), but do not occur in significant quantities in the Channel Islands or adjacent mainland areas. The absence of locally available ores is not in itself a sufficient explanation for the observed differences between Eastern and Western Armorica. Denmark, for example, has no locally available copper or tin, yet the Danish Early Bronze Age is characterised by high status burials with bronze tools and weapons (KRISTIANSEN 1978,1984). For a region such as Denmark or Eastern Armorica, the access of the elite to metal objects and other prestige goods would depend upon their ability to appropriate a surplus of locally produced commodities which could be exchanged for prestige items. The productive capacity of Channel Island communities is likely to have been seriously affected by rises in sea-level during the late 4th Millennium BC: the loss of land will have affected food production, which in turn will have affected the ability to produce other

commodities. Reduced productive capacity would clearly impose limitations on the extent of surplus appropriation.

Friedman & Rowlands (1977) develop a model of a "prestige goods system", in which social asymmetry is based on a network of elite alliances. Local elites appropriate a surplus from their communities (of agricultural produce, livestock etc.) and give a proportion of this in tribute to higher order elites, who monopolise access to prestige objects. The relationship between the higher order elite and the local elite is essentially one of patronage: in return for tribute, the higher order elite gives prestige objects to the local elite. In many cases, prestige objects do not merely symbolise status, but actually embody it, often through mythico-religious associations. Knowledge of metal, its origins and how to work it, could be controlled in such a way as to endow metal objects with magical and religious significance. The development of a "prestige goods system" as outlined by Friedman & Rowlands presupposes two mutually interdependent conditions: the ability of the higher order elite to acquire enough prestige objects to maintain the network of alliances, and to monopolise access to these objects; and the ability of the local elites to appropriate from their own communities a surplus of sufficient size to keep the system in operation. The fulfillment of these conditions depends upon a number of factors, relating to the social formation of the communities concerned, their productive capacity and the context of exchange.

In the Channel Islands and in Eastern Armorica, these conditions appear not to have been fulfilled. Prestige items are present in Chalcolithic assemblages from the islands (Ch.V), but the circulation of these objects seems never to have developed into a "prestige goods system" as outlined by Friedman & Rowlands (1977). The Chalcolithic social formation in the Channel Islands appears to have been essentially similar to that of Western Brittany (Ch.V), yet it seems clear that during

the Early Bronze Age, fundamentally different social formations developed in the two areas. We will return to this question in the final chapter, but we should first consider the development of inter-island relations during the Early Bronze Age.

The evidence for the Middle Neolithic period (Ch.IV) suggests the existence of asymmetric relations between islands, based on the privileged access of Jersey communities to interaction networks on the Armorican mainland. This asymmetry seems to have diminished during the 3rd Millennium BC (Ch.V) and to have disappeared completely during the Early Bronze Age. Several reasons could be suggested for this development. Firstly, it is possible that developments in maritime technology made long-distance sea journeys a more viable proposition, thus destroying the privileged position of Jersey in relation to the other islands. Evidence for such developments is indirect, since no sea-going boats of this period have been recorded, but there is evidence for increasing contacts across the English Channel during the Early Bronze Age (cf O'RIORDAIN 1937, GERLOFF 1975), suggesting the development of longer distance navigation^a. Secondly, it is possible that interaction patterns changed as a result of more fundamental transformations within the social formation. This, in fact, has already been suggested in Chapter V, in relation to the collapse of the "tribal" formation during the 3rd Millennium BC and the apparent reduction in the degree of inter-island asymmetry during the same period. The Channel Islands, and Eastern Armorica more generally, seem to have been largely isolated from the regional interaction networks which developed during the Early Bronze Age, centered on Western Brittany. Whilst pottery styles testify to continued contacts between communities on the Channel Islands and those on the Armorican mainland, there is no evidence to suggest that these

^a One possibility is that this relates to a shift from oars to sails as a means of propulsion.

contacts, or the objects obtained thereby, were central to the reproduction of the social configuration, as it appears to have been during the Middle Neolithic. In interpreting the transformations which occurred at the end of the Neolithic, Renouf & Urry (1976) argue that the population of the islands declined dramatically during the 3rd Millennium BC. This argument is based essentially on the evidence for the decline of megalithic traditions during this period. The assumption of a direct correlation between declining megalithic traditions and declining population densities is itself highly questionable, and the evidence for pressure on the availability of land (Section VI.iii) during the Early Bronze Age argues against the suggestion of demographic decline during the 3rd Millennium BC. It seems more reasonable, therefore, to understand the decline of megalithic traditions in the Channel Islands in relation to social transformations.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION: SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE CHANNEL ISLAND NEOLITHIC.

At the beginning of this thesis a series of research aims were established. The first aim was necessarily to record the archaeological evidence for the Neolithic of the Channel Islands, and this was attempted in chapters III-VI. Two further interlocking aims were to examine changing relationships between the Channel Islands and the Armorican mainland, and to develop a model for socio-cultural change in Channel Island Neolithic communities. These themes were addressed at various points in chapters III-VI, but it remains necessary in this conclusion to attempt a synthesis of developments over the Neolithic period as a whole, and to look in more detail at the processes of socio-cultural change which underlie these developments.

In establishing a dialectical approach as the theoretical basis of this study, the emphasis has been placed on developing social formations during the Neolithic period, and in the discussions which follow changing social relations are considered on three levels: the intra- and inter-communal level¹, the inter-island level and the regional level. This separation, though convenient, is artificial since the three levels are completely interdependent. In section VII.iv, the articulation between the three levels is discussed in relation to another concern established at the beginning of the thesis: the effect of insularity on changing social formations. In establishing the basis of an "island socio-geography" the emphasis is placed on the social manipulation of the geographical fact of insularity, in an attempt to move beyond the ecological/geographical determinism which underlies much recent work on island archaeology (cf TERRELL 1977,

¹ Intra-communal and inter-communal levels of social organisation cannot easily be distinguished from one another on the basis of the archaeological evidence.

1986).

The theoretical approach adopted in this thesis, as outlined in Chapter I, depends upon a realist epistemology: many of the interpretations advanced in this chapter are not "testable" or "falsifiable", and may thus be rejected by some colleagues as idle speculation. These interpretations, however, do make sense of patterns which can be identified in the data, and they enable the data to be integrated into a coherent synthesis. It is argued that a positivist methodology is too restrictive, in excluding plausible explanations from consideration on the grounds that they are untestable - a clear case of the methodological tail wagging the theoretical dog, and for this reason the realist approach proposed by Wylie (1982) is preferred.

The discussions of changing social relations which are central to this thesis owe much to the "Structural Marxist" approaches which were introduced to archaeology in the late 70's (FRIEDMAN & ROWLANDS 1977, BENDER 1978), influenced by developments in French anthropology (MEILLASSOUX 1960, 1964, 1972, GODELIER 1966, TERRAY 1969). In the first chapter of this thesis, certain problems were identified in relation to such approaches. The first problem concerns the Functionalism involved in the arguments of Godelier & Deluz (1967) and Terray (1969) regarding the significance of surplus appropriation in tribal societies. According to these writers, exploitation does not exist in such societies, and social asymmetry exists to serve common interests. If accepted, this argument would effectively rule out a Marxist explanation for social change in tribal societies: a problem which Godelier (1966) only avoids by emphasising "inter-systemic" contradictions (i.e. between the forces and relations of production), regarding "intra-systemic" contradictions (i.e. class conflict) as epiphenomenal and ultimately retreating into the cul-de-sac of techno-environmental determinism. I have therefore preferred to follow Meillassoux (1960, 1964, 1972) in applying to tribal societies the same sort of analysis as

Marx applied to 19th Century European Capitalism, focussing on the material basis of social relations. Asymmetrical relations are here seen as a potential basis for conflict which, under particular circumstances, may lead to social change. A second problem is that much of the literature written within the framework of "Structural Marxism" (cf MEILLASSOUX 1964, TERRAY 1969) is characterised by an essentially ahistorical approach, focussing on the structure of the social formation in a particular society at a given moment in time. Working within the framework of "Structural Marxism", Friedman & Rowlands (1977) developed a more dynamic approach, focussing on processes of socio-cultural change. In their "epi-genetic model", which has informed much of the discussion in this thesis, the nature of a given social formation is understood in relation to structural features of the social formation which preceeded it historically.

Recent debate within archaeology (SHANKS & TILLEY 1982, 1987a,b) and in social studies more generally (SARTRE 1976, BOURDIEU 1977, GIDDENS 1979) has focussed on the relationship between social structure and praxis, and in developing a dialectical approach to prehistoric social change, it is necessary to incorporate much of this discussion. In the first chapter of this thesis (section I.iv) and elsewhere (PATTON 1986b), I have criticised "holistic" (i.e. Functionalist) approaches in social archaeology which, in ignoring praxis, give rise to models that are inauthentic to the lived reality of social life. "Individualistic" approaches, however, are equally inadequate since they involve the artificial extraction of the individual from the social field. In adopting a dialectical approach, I have opted to deconstruct Popper's (1966) individualism/holism dichotomy: praxis is the basis of human sociality, but is always situated within a context which is itself defined (and is constantly being redefined) through praxis). This context is what Sartre (1976) characterises as the "practico-inert" field: it is the inert structure,

created through praxis in the past, which constrains praxis in the present. Whilst individual subjectivity is not determined by the practico-inert, it is always constructed in relation to it. According to Sartre (1976), praxis is in essence dialectical, since it always involves the transcendence of an existing reality (the practico-inert) towards a future totalisation. I have attempted to use this dialectical approach as the basis for social explanation in this thesis: social change is therefore understood as representing the transcendence of practico-inert structures through praxis. In developing an "epi-genetic" model for social evolution, Friedman & Rowlands (1977) come close to a dialectical approach, but their model falls short of the approach outlined above. The development of a "prestige goods system" (a social formation similar to that characterised as "chiefdom" by Sahlins 1963) is seen as resulting from the structural tendency for centralisation and increasing asymmetry within the pre-existing tribal configuration. The dominant lineage within the tribal configuration thus becomes the chiefly caste. Renfrew (1979) develops a similar model to explain the centralisation of ritual practice in the later Neolithic of Orkney. Whilst Renfrew's model may well be valid in relation to the Orcadian material, Friedman & Rowlands' attempt to develop this as a general model for cultural change is perhaps more questionable. In explaining the development of the Middle Neolithic social formation in the Channel Islands, I developed a model similar to that proposed by Friedman & Rowlands, but in explaining the collapse of this formation I employed a fundamentally different argument. Social change is here seen as resulting not from the expansion and consolidation of existing power structures but rather from their collapse: the dominant lineage in this case does not become the chiefly caste, but fades into insignificance. This model is "epi-genetic", in that the nature of the Chalcolithic social formation is understood in relation to structural features of the Middle Neolithic formation, but in this

case the emphasis is on contradictions and conflict within the latter. Whilst the Friedman & Rowlands model acknowledges that the expansion of a given power structure may be halted (particularly if environmental constraints prevent the production of increasingly large surpluses), causing the collapse of a system, this is seen as an evolutionary dead-end, causing the society concerned either to stagnate or to revert to an earlier form of social organisation. Following Marx, I would like to suggest that the collapse of a system through the transcendence of social contradictions, far from being a dead-end, is a dynamic process which may give rise to entirely new social formations.

The discussion in sections VII.i-VII.iii reiterates and enlarges upon ideas developed in Chapters III-VI, placing socio-cultural developments in a broader chronological and theoretical framework, whilst section VII.iv looks at the question of insularity at a more general level.

VII.i. Intra- and inter-communal relations.

Much of this thesis has been devoted to discussions of changing ritual and funerary practice and changing patterns of exchange, and these discussions may be particularly important in considering changing social relations within and between Neolithic communities in the Channel Islands. Let us look first at the evidence for changing ritual practice.

Table VII.1 summarises the development of megalithic traditions in the Channel Island Neolithic. Looking at these developments in diachronic perspective, we can identify five important transition phases.

Table VII.1. Changing megalithic traditions in the Channel Island Neolithic.

<u>Transition phase</u>	<u>Developments</u>
1) 4600-4850 BC	*Appearance of megalithic monuments
2) 4250-4500 BC	*Appearance of passage graves
3) 3250-3500 BC	*Final phase of passage grave construction *Appearance of new monumental forms (gallery graves, megalithic cists, cists in circles).
4) 2400-2850 BC	*Systematic abandonment of passage graves and gallery graves
5) 2250-2400 BC	*Disappearance of megalithic traditions

The significance of these transformations can perhaps be understood in relation to changes in the organisation of space within monuments and in the articulation of monuments within the landscape. Looking first at the changing organisation of space, we have already seen that passage graves, particularly in the Channel Islands, are characterised by marked spatial differentiation, with internal subdivisions and lateral chambers forming discrete foci of ritual activity. The basic structure of a passage grave suggests restriction of access to ritual, since the existence of a narrow passage would limit the extent to which people standing outside the chamber could see and comprehend the ceremonies taking place within, thus giving those people who had access to the chamber a privileged status as mediators between the community and the supernatural.

The organisation of space in passage graves is in marked contrast to that of Early Neolithic and Late Neolithic monuments. The Early Neolithic monument of Les Fouaillages (Ch.III) has four discrete foci of ritual activity (a platform, a cairn, an open double chamber and a covered chamber), of which the first two were probably accessible only for a very short time, prior to the construction of the tumulus with its axe-shaped setting of stones. The double chamber, which would still have been accessible after the construction of the mound, is open to the air, whilst the covered chamber is too small for a person to enter, so that any ceremonies being

conducted in relation to these features could have been seen by people standing around the monument, even though they may not have had access to the chambers themselves. The spatial organisation of Late Neolithic gallery graves is more simple than that of passage graves, (generally the only spatial differentiation is between the main chamber and the ante-chamber), whilst the megalithic cists have no subdivisions of any form. The cists in circles, like the earlier monument of Les Fouaillages, are open, and the organisation of space is in most cases relatively simple. Where "complex" cist in circle monuments are known, as at L'Islet and Rousse Tower, Guernsey, the evidence suggests a relatively early date (Ch.V). Returning to the five transition phases identified above, the first two seem to represent a phase of increasing spatial differentiation within, and increasingly restricted access to, ritual monuments, whilst phases 3-5 seem to reflect a progressive reversal of this trend. This interpretation is to some extent supported by the evidence for mortuary practice, and by a consideration of the artistic motifs found in some megalithic monuments. Where human remains have been found in Armorican and Channel Island passage graves, the number of individuals represented is generally very small, whereas the relatively large number of individuals represented in skeletal assemblages from some gallery graves suggests that access to these monuments, at least in death, may have been less restricted. The carved motifs found in some gallery graves are both more easily visible and more explicitly representational than those associated with passage graves, and this may be linked to a more open access to ritual knowledge.

The changing articulation of monuments in the landscape has been considered in Chapters IV and V. On the basis of size differences between monuments, the location of monuments in relation to one another and petrological evidence, three levels of social organisation were tentatively recognised. These are characterised as follows:

- 1) The individual domestic group.
- 2) Second level units, comprising several domestic groups living within an area of around 5 km².
- 3) Third level units, comprising several second level groups, living within an area of 30-50 km².

The diachronic development of these social units is summarised by Fig.VII.1 and Table VII.2.

Table VII.2. Development of social units in the Channel Island Neolithic, based on the evidence of megalithic monuments.

<u>Transition phase</u>	<u>Developments</u>
1) 4600-4850 BC	*Appearance of 1st level monuments (Les Fouaillages)
2) 3500-4500 BC	*Appearance of 2nd level monuments (passage graves) and 3rd level monuments (La Hougue Bie) ²
3) 3250-3500 BC	*Abandonment of 3rd level monuments *Proliferation of 1st level monuments
4) 2400-2850 BC	*Abandonment of 2nd level monuments

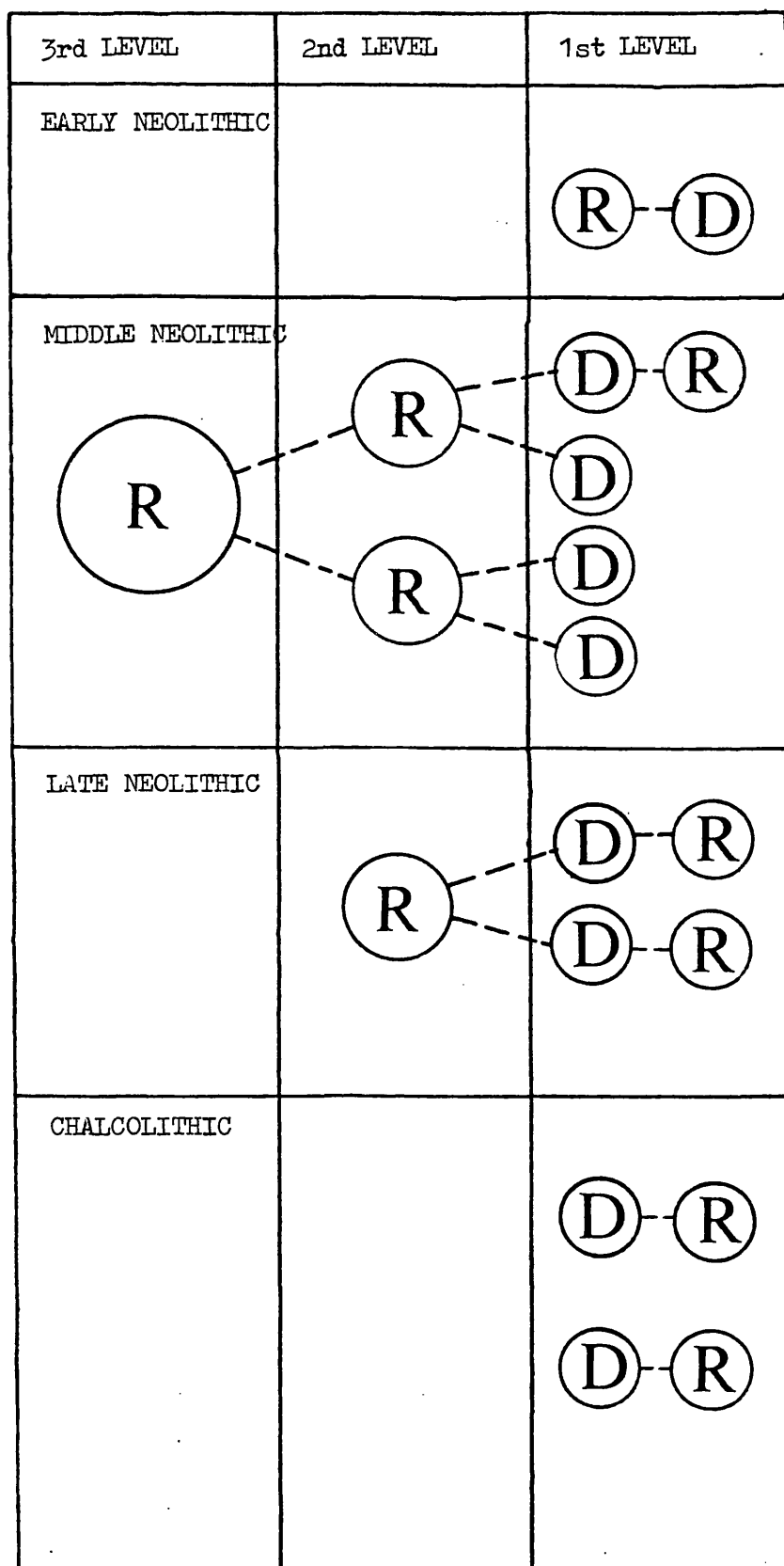
The evidence for phases 1 and 2 suggests increasing centralisation of ritual activities, whilst phases 3 and 4 seem to represent a progressive reversal of this trend. A clear relationship emerges between the developments summarised by Table VII.1 and those summarised by Table VII.2. Increasing social differentiation in ritual during the 4th and 5th Millennia BC seems to have been linked to increasing centralisation of ritual activities, whilst the decline of social differentiation in ritual and mortuary practice during the late 4th and early 3rd Millennia BC coincides with the apparent disintegration of higher level social units.

A second category of evidence relevant to these discussions relates to changing patterns of exchange. Exchange will be further considered in sections VII.2 and VII.3, but there are certain aspects which are directly relevant to a consideration of developing intra- and

² There can be little doubt that the earliest passage graves in the islands date to the period 4000-4500 BC, but the date of La Hougue Bie (the only known 3rd level monument) is less clear.

Fig.VII.1. Changing relationships between ritual and domestic sites.

R= ritual site. D= domestic site.



inter-communal relations. In Chapter V, two "modes of exchange" were identified, characterised respectively as the communal mode and the competitive mode. The communal mode involves the exchange of objects which are available in relatively large numbers. Access to these objects may be necessary if a person is to progress through socially necessary rites de passage, and this access may be restricted or controlled by particular groups who are thus able to make demands on the labour of others. The competitive mode, by contrast, involves the exchange of much rarer objects, including items of personal adornment, which are likely to have been important as symbols of individual power and status. In terms of the Channel Island Neolithic, stone axe exchange was considered to reflect the communal mode, whilst the exchange of Grand Pressigny flint, schist wristguards and metal objects was considered to reflect the competitive mode. The development of exchange systems through time is summarised by Table VII.3.

Table VII.3. Development of exchange systems in the Channel Island Neolithic.

<u>Transition phase</u>	<u>Developments</u>
1) 4000-4850 BC	*Development of communal mode
2) 3250-3500 BC (co-existence of communal and competitive modes between 3250 BC and 2850 BC)	*Development of competitive mode
3) 3000-2850 BC	*Decline of communal mode

There is a striking degree of correspondence between the transition phases identified here and those discussed above. The emergence of the communal mode of exchange coincides chronologically with the phase of increasing social differentiation and increasing centralisation of ritual activities, whilst the emergence of the competitive mode of exchange and the subsequent decline of the communal mode coincide with the phase of reduced social differentiation in ritual and mortuary practice, and with the apparent collapse of second and third level social groups.

Having isolated a series of long-term trends in the

development of ritual practice and exchange, it may be possible explain these trends in terms of changing social formations. The Early and Middle Neolithic periods seem to have been characterised by the emergence of a social formation in which power was based on control of sacred knowledge and ritual practice, and on control of access to the regional interaction network in the context of the "communal mode of exchange". It seems likely that control of sacred knowledge and control of exchange were linked to one another, and stone axes may provide the link between them. Stone axes provide the most durable evidence for exchange during the Early and Middle Neolithic periods, and although the Channel Islands have no shortage of stone suitable for the manufacture of axes, around 28% of the axes found in the islands are of stone imported from the European mainland. As well as being an item of exchange, the stone axe is an important religious symbol: ritual depositions of axes are known from a number of Breton sites (cf LE ROUZIC 1927b), and the axe is one of the most important motifs in Armorican and Paris Basin megalithic art (SHEE-TWOHIG 1981). Certain depositions and artistic representations (see section IV.v), suggest a symbolic axe:phallus association, linking the axe as means of agricultural production to the phallus as means of biological reproduction. This symbolism lends support to the suggestion (section IV.v) that control of stone axe exchange may have been linked to control of "the means of reproduction" (i.e. of young mens' access to potential wives: cf MEILLASSOUX 1972) in the context of a bridewealth system. In a more general sense, the axe can be seen as a key symbol in an encompassing ideology linking the ancestors, the elders, agricultural fertility and human reproduction by reference to ritual.

At the beginning of the Neolithic, a number of possibilities may have been open to young men as means of subverting elders' authority over them. Migration and expansion into new areas is likely to have weakened inter-generational bonds and obligations, whilst

intermarriage with indigenous Mesolithic communities (cf DENNELL 1984: p110) may have allowed young men to circumvent elders' control over their access to women. As the Neolithic way of life became more firmly established these possibilities would gradually have diminished, as the amount of land available for expansion was reduced (especially in an insular context), and as Mesolithic communities became increasingly assimilated within the Neolithic way of life. The ability of elders to make demands on the labour of young men by controlling their access to potential wives would thus have increased. From an early stage it seems clear that power relations were based on control of sacred knowledge as well as on control of the "means of reproduction", and that these two factors were linked (the earliest megalith in the islands is the site of Les Fouaillages, with its axe-shaped setting of stones). The changing organisation of space in megalithic monuments during the second half of the 5th Millennium BC suggests that access to the monuments (and by implication access to sacred knowledge) became increasingly restricted as elders consolidated their power. At the same time, the evidence suggests increasing centralisation of ritual practice, with the appearance of second and third level monuments during the Middle Neolithic. Friedman & Rowlands (1977) develop a model to explain the development of centralising tendencies in tribal societies, according to which lineages can convert an agricultural surplus into status through communal feasting, often in a ritualised context. The ability to produce a large surplus is taken as an indication of supernatural patronage, which in turn is taken to suggest a direct genealogical proximity to a founding ancestor or spirit. Since this supposed proximity may endow members of the lineage with special status involving control of initiation rites and mediation between the community and the supernatural, the model could explain the centralisation of ritual practice during the Middle Neolithic of the Channel Islands. The Friedman & Rowlands model presupposes competition between

the elders of rival lineages to produce larger surpluses and sponsor lavish communal feasts. Elders' control of the "means of reproduction" is important in this respect, since through their control of access to bridewealth valuables elders can oblige young men to produce a surplus which can be used in communal feasting. Friedman & Rowlands go on to argue that women from a successful lineage may become desirable marriage partners, as men from other groups seek to marry into the "direct" lineage: this allows such a lineage to demand high bride-prices, and to use the valuables obtained to acquire more women from other groups in the context of polygynous marriages. This increases the size of the labour pool within the "direct" lineage and may permit the production of a greater surplus, thus escalating the degree of inter-lineage differentiation. The emergence of third level ritual centres can perhaps be understood in this context.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the social formation discussed above collapsed between 3500 BC and 2500 BC. The construction of passage graves ceased in the late 4th Millennium BC (though existing monuments continued to be used until the mid 3rd Millennium BC) and new monumental forms were developed. The organisation of space in the gallery graves, megalithic cists and cists in circles of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods suggests a decline in the extent of social differentiation in ritual. The 3rd level monument of La Hougue Bie seems to have been abandoned during the latter half of the 4th Millennium BC, and this period is also marked by the proliferation of 1st level monuments (cists in circles and megalithic cists) and by the development of the competitive mode of exchange.

Taken as a whole, the evidence for the later 4th Millennium BC suggests increasing conflict between the established tribal elites and an emergent elite formation, operating at a more local level and expressing itself through competitive exchange and through new ritual practices centered on 1st level monuments. The

development of the competitive mode of exchange has been linked (Ch.V) to the emergence of "big men" (cf SAHLINS 1963), and such a development can perhaps explain the socio-cultural changes of the later 4th Millennium BC.

The social formation which developed during the Early and Middle Neolithic periods embodied a series of inter-generational and inter-lineage asymmetries which are likely to have become foci of intra- and inter-group tension. The expansionary and centralising tendencies of the Middle Neolithic social configuration are likely to have exacerbated such tensions, as tribal elites demanded the production of increasingly large surpluses. These internal tensions may have created a social environment which emergent "big men" could exploit, allowing them to attract followers to themselves more easily. Typically a "big man" gains followers by displays of generosity, sponsoring feasts and offering personal assistance. Indebtedness is thus created, and the "big man" can appropriate a surplus from his followers, which can be used to sponsor feasts, to acquire prestige items or to increase the size and productive capacity of his own household by acquiring extra wives. "Big men" may have offered young men an alternative route to independence by assisting them in acquiring the valuables necessary as a prerequisite for initiation and/or marriage. Although "big men" may initially have operated within the context of the established social formation, their interests would increasingly have come into contradiction with those of the tribal elders. As "big men" became increasingly powerful and attracted larger followings, the status of the traditional elite would have become increasingly insecure. The adoption of new religious practices associated with gallery graves can perhaps be seen, at least on one level, as reflecting a response by the established tribal elite to an escalating legitimisation crisis: access to monuments and to sacred knowledge was made more "open" in an attempt to play down the asymmetries that were at the root of societal tensions.

The first half of the 3rd Millennium BC is marked by the systematic abandonment of passage graves and gallery graves, by a further proliferation of 1st level monuments (cists in circles and megalithic cists), and by the disappearance of the communal mode of exchange. It seems, therefore, that the crisis outlined above led to the total collapse of the Neolithic tribal configuration, and that the traditional elites were replaced by emergent "big men". Returning to the model proposed by Friedman & Rowlands (1977), we can perhaps suggest reasons for this development. If the authority of lineage elders depended upon supposed supernatural patronage, manifested in material terms by the ability to produce a large surplus, the rise of "big men" will undoubtedly have brought their power into question. As young men turned to "big men" as an alternative route to independence, the ability of elders to appropriate a surplus from them would have progressively diminished. The lineage elders would thus increasingly have been unable to sponsor lavish feasts, making their claims to supernatural patronage less credible. As the traditional system collapsed, so the ability of "big men" to appropriate a surplus is likely to have increased, leading to an escalation of competitive exchange, marked in the archaeological record by the appearance of the "Beaker package" (Bell Beakers, archers' wristguards, jewellery, metal objects).

Following on from the discussion at the beginning of this chapter, we can see that the model outlined above differs from the Friedman & Rowlands model, in that social change is seen to result not from the expansion of existing power structures, but rather from the transcendence of these structures and the replacement of one elite by another. For reasons outlined above, the Middle Neolithic social configuration embodied a structural tendency for increasing social asymmetry. This tendency is likely to have given rise to social tension, bringing the interests of different groups within the community increasingly into contradiction. The Middle Neolithic social formation can be seen as a set of

practico-inert structures, which were transcended through the praxis of emergent "big men" and their followers. With the collapse of the Middle Neolithic social formation a new set of practico-inert structures emerged, and with them new forms of social asymmetry.

The socio-cultural developments outlined above seem to have occurred right across the Armorican region, and archaeological evidence from other areas of Europe (the British Isles, South Scandinavia, Central Europe, Iberia) suggest similar developments at around the same time. In Western Brittany, increasing competition between local elites seems to have led to the establishment of "chiefdoms" during the Early Bronze Age, with the Armorican series A & B tumuli (BRIARD 1984) providing evidence for a marked concentration of wealth in the hands of particular individuals, and for social asymmetry based on control of prestige objects. Such a development seems not to have taken place in the Channel Islands or in Eastern Armorica, where social asymmetry continued to operate at a very local level as in the Chalcolithic. The reasons for this are unclear, and will be further discussed in section VII.iii. Changing regional configurations may have restricted the supply of prestige objects to the area, and tensions within the social formation may have prevented any one group from appropriating a surplus large enough to establish a monopoly over the supply of these objects. In the Channel Islands, the potential for increased surplus production may well have been restricted as a result of the land lost to rising sea-levels during the late 4th Millennium BC.

VII.ii. Inter-island relations.

The communities on the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark and Herm³ seem to have been in regular contact with one another from the very beginning of the Neolithic (see

³ The status of Alderney in relation to these contacts is uncertain.

Ch.III). Whilst elements of the Neolithic way of life (agriculture, domestic animals, pottery, polished stone technology) may conceivably have been brought to Jersey by people walking across from the Cotentin at low tide (see Ch.III), the beginning of the Neolithic in the other islands must have involved sea-borne journeys. Given the positions of the islands in relation to each other and in relation to the Armorican mainland, it seems likely that Jersey may have served as a "stepping stone island" (cf MacARTHUR & WILSON 1967) between the mainland and Guernsey: this requires a maximum sea journey of only 28 km (as opposed to the 48 km direct journey between Guernsey and the Cotentin) and does not involve sailing out of sight of land at any stage. Early Neolithic assemblages from Jersey and Guernsey are remarkably similar, and there is no clear evidence for asymmetrical relations between islands during the first half of the 5th Millennium BC. The site of Le Pinnacle, Jersey has been discussed in section III.iv: there is clear evidence from this site for the production of stone axes (cf RENOUF & URRY 1976), and if it is confirmed as the source of "Type P dolerite" axes (see Appendix ii) it will be of particular interest from the point of view of developing inter-island relations. The high proportion of Type P dolerite axes in assemblages from Guernsey and Sark suggests that, if these axes were made in Jersey, they were produced primarily for exchange rather than for local use, and this could point to an early development of inter-island asymmetry.

The development of marked asymmetries between islands in the second half of the 5th Millennium BC is suggested by three categories of evidence, relating to stone axe exchange, the articulation of megalithic monuments in the landscape and the distribution of material culture forms.

The evidence relating to stone axe exchange is outlined in Appendix ii and summarised in Chapter IV. Axes made of rock imported from the European mainland constitute an important element of Middle and Late Neolithic assemblages from the Channel Islands. There is,

however, a marked fall-off between Jersey and Guernsey in terms of the proportion of imported axes, and a further fall-off between Guernsey and Sark⁴. This fall-off suggests that Neolithic communities in Guernsey may have acquired mainland axes through exchange with Jersey communities, rather than through direct contact with groups on the Armorican mainland, and that communities in Sark may in turn have acquired such axes via Guernsey. This pattern can perhaps be understood in relation to the navigational factors outlined in Chapter II: a direct sea journey between Guernsey and the Cotentin would present serious practical problems, whereas the shorter journeys between the Cotentin and Jersey, and between Jersey and Guernsey are considerably less hazardous. The differential access of Middle Neolithic communities in Jersey and Guernsey to mainland axes has important social implications which will be discussed in section VII.iv.

Turning to the evidence of megalithic monuments, it has been noted (Ch.IV) that Middle Neolithic monuments in Jersey are consistently located on higher land, and in more prominent locations than those on the other islands. The passage grave of La Hougue Bie, Jersey is very much larger than any of the other monuments in the Channel Islands, and it is located in a more central position and on higher land than any of the other passage graves. In Chapter IV, La Hougue Bie is identified as a 3rd level monument, and it is interesting to note that none of the monuments on the other islands are comparable in terms of size or location.

In terms of material culture distribution, vase-supports constitute an important element of Middle Neolithic assemblages from passage graves in Jersey, but are completely absent in assemblages from the other Channel Islands. All passage grave assemblages from Jersey (except that from La Sergenté) include vase-supports, but the assemblage from La Hougue Bie (which

⁴ Mainland axes constitute 43% of the total assemblage from Jersey, 27% of the assemblage from Guernsey and 13% of that from Sark (see App.ii).

consists almost exclusively of vase-supports) includes a particularly large number (at least 21 vessels).

The evidence summarised above suggests that Middle Neolithic communities in Jersey enjoyed a privileged status in relation to communities in the other islands. The geographical position of Jersey may have given communities on this island an advantage, in terms of controlling interaction between the Channel Islands and the Armorican mainland. Whilst geography is likely to have been a major factor in shaping the nature of inter-island relations, it is by no means a sufficient explanation. The inter-island asymmetries which developed during the Middle Neolithic period seem to have broken down during the first half of the 3rd Millennium BC. There is no significant difference between Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic monuments in Jersey and those in Guernsey, either in terms of their form, their size or their articulation in the landscape. Similarly, the distribution patterns of Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic material culture elements (S.O.M. pottery, Beakers, wristguards, metal objects) suggest no consistent differentiation between islands. After the decline of stone axe exchange at the beginning of the 3rd Millennium BC, there is no reason to suggest a privileged status for Jersey communities in terms of controlling access to the regional interaction network.

Summarising the evidence for changing inter-island relations, we can identify two main transition phases: the first, between 4500 BC and 4000 BC, is marked by the development of asymmetric relations, with communities in Jersey occupying a privileged position in relation to those in other islands, whilst the second, between 3000 BC and 2850 BC, is marked by the collapse of these asymmetries. In chronological terms, these transition phases coincide with important developments discussed in the previous section. The first coincides with a phase marked by increasing centralisation of, and increasing social differentiation in ritual practice, and by the development of the communal mode of exchange, whilst the

540

second coincides with the decline of social differentiation in ritual, the apparent disintegration of higher level social units and the disappearance of the communal mode of exchange. Given this chronological coincidence, it seems reasonable to suggest a link between the developments outlined above and those discussed in the previous section, and this is a question to which we shall return in section VII.iv.

VII.iii. Changing regional configurations.

Most of the socio-cultural developments discussed in this thesis are not unique to the Channel Islands, and in many cases it is possible to relate them to broad patterns of development which can be identified over a wider area. This is particularly the case with the long-term processes of social change discussed in section VII.i. Whilst a detailed discussion of developments on the Armorican mainland is beyond the scope of the present work, it is necessary to examine the way in which insular developments relate to changing regional configurations.

The archaeological evidence suggests that throughout the Neolithic period, communities in the Channel Islands, Brittany, Western Normandy and the Paris Basin were linked to one another by extensive networks of contact and alliance, involving the exchange of objects, marriage partners and information. This is suggested by the distribution of exchange objects (polished stone rings, axes, Grand Pressigny flint) and by similarities in pottery styles and megalithic traditions (see Chapters III-VI).

The earliest Neolithic of the Channel Islands clearly relates to the Cerny complex (Ch.III), centered on Normandy and North-eastern France, with an extension in Southern Brittany. The archaeological evidence from North-western Brittany, by contrast, is characterised by the Carn complex, with a different range of material culture elements and ritual practices. Whilst the Cerny complex in Armorica seems, in most respects, to be an intrusive phenomenon, the Carn complex must be seen as a

largely local development with its own characteristic material culture forms and its own ritual practices, quite unlike those found further East. In Chapter III it was suggested that the marked differences between these two complexes may relate to regional differences in the social formations of indigenous Mesolithic communities. The limited evidence available for the Armorican Late Mesolithic suggests that, by the end of the 6th Millennium BC, communities in Western Brittany were living in large, permanent coastal settlements, and that these communities were characterised by a much greater degree of social differentiation than those in Eastern Armorica and the Channel Islands. Interaction with intrusive Neolithic groups may have become an important factor in establishing and maintaining social relations within indigenous communities in Western Brittany, and this may have encouraged the adoption by such communities of some aspects of the Neolithic life-style.

The Middle Neolithic pattern is somewhat different. In terms of the distribution of passage graves, and of particular material culture elements (most notably vase-supports), the Channel Island evidence compares most closely with that from Southern and Western Brittany, and contrasts markedly with the evidence from the mainland areas closest to the islands, North-eastern Brittany and the Cotentin. The Middle Neolithic of these areas is not well understood: most of the evidence for the Middle Neolithic in the Armorican area as a whole relates to passage graves, and these monuments are almost completely absent in North-eastern Brittany and the Cotentin. The distribution of stone tools leaves no doubt that these areas were occupied by Middle Neolithic communities, and this is confirmed by sporadic finds of pottery. What seems clear is that Middle Neolithic communities in these areas, unlike those in Southern and Western Brittany and the Channel Islands, did not build megalithic monuments. The emergence of these regional differences coincides chronologically with the development of the "tribal configuration" in the Channel Islands, discussed in

section VII.i.

The regional pattern which developed during the Middle Neolithic period broke down in the second half of the 4th Millennium BC. The evidence for the Late Neolithic S.O.M. complex in Armorica and Northern France is characterised by a remarkable homogeneity in terms of material culture and ritual practice.

In some respects, the Middle Neolithic regional pattern seems to re-emerge in the Chalcolithic period (see Ch.V), but this is probably a factor of collection bias, relating to the Chalcolithic practice of depositing objects in earlier monuments. The distribution of Bell Beakers and related material culture items reflects the distribution of passage graves, simply because a high proportion of these objects were found in such monuments (L'HELGOUACH 1963).

During the Early Bronze Age, communities in the Channel Islands and adjacent areas of the Armorican mainland became increasingly peripheral to developments in Western Brittany. The evidence from Western Brittany suggests a greater degree of social differentiation, based on control of prestige items (objects of bronze and gold, amber & jet jewellery, elaborate flint arrowheads), and expressed through lavish mortuary deposition (BRIARD 1984). Small numbers of these prestige items have been found in the Channel Islands (Ch.VI), but the full panoply of the "Tumulus complex" is clearly absent. The Early Bronze Age regional configuration can be seen as a classic "core/periphery" situation (cf ROWLANDS 1987), with communities on the periphery (the Eastern part of Armorica, including the Channel Islands) receiving small quantities of prestige goods in return for tribute. The dominance of Western Brittany in this case may be partly due to the fact that Armorican ore sources are concentrated in this area (BRIARD 1965), thus enabling local elites to monopolise the supply of bronze to the surrounding region. The position of Jersey in relation to the other Channel Islands can also be seen as a core/periphery situation, though in the context of a

different type of social formation, and we will return to this in the following section.

Throughout the Neolithic period, and despite their participation in extensive networks of contact and exchange, Channel Island communities maintained a distinctive local identity. Whereas in the Early Neolithic period this is not particularly marked, and we can point only to minor variations in pottery decoration, a stronger insular tradition developed during the Middle Neolithic, marked by variations in passage grave design (the proliferation of internal compartments and lateral chambers, the existence of "arena chambers"), ritual practice (the deposition of limpet shells with human remains) and material culture (pottery decoration synthesising elements of Breton, Norman and Paris Basin designs). The evidence for the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods suggests a comparable insular tradition, with distinctively local monument forms (cists in circles) and material culture elements (Jersey Bowls).

VII.iv. Insularity and social relations.

In the previous sections of this chapter, a series of long-term trends have been identified in terms of changing social relations in Channel Island Neolithic communities. We have seen that developments in terms of intra- and inter-communal relations correspond chronologically to other developments in terms of inter-island relations and changing regional configurations. Given the degree of chronological correspondence, it seems reasonable to suggest a close interdependence between these developments, and it is necessary at this stage to explore the nature of this interdependence. One approach to this problem is to return to the question of insularity, which was established in Chapter I as one of the main themes of this thesis. The question of insularity was first addressed in an archaeological context in two papers by Evans (1973, 1977), and these were followed by a series of publications covering island archaeology in the Mediterranean (CHERRY 1981) and the

Pacific (TERRELL 1977, 1986). The work of Cherry and Terrell is inspired by the "Theory of island biogeography" of MacArthur & Wilson (1967), and relies ultimately on ecological and geographical determinism. The intention in this thesis has been to move beyond this deterministic framework, towards the development of an "island socio-geography", focussing on the social manipulation of the geographical fact of insularity.

Evans (1977) has contrasted island archaeology in the Mediterranean and the Pacific, arguing that the Mediterranean pattern is one of interaction between one island and another, and between islands and mainland areas, rather than development in isolation. The Channel Island evidence is, in this respect, essentially similar, and any discussion of the effect of insularity on the development of Neolithic society in the Channel Islands must focus on these interactions; how they change through time and their importance in creating and maintaining particular social configurations. In Chapter I, some preliminary suggestions were made regarding possible ways in which insularity might be relevant to considerations of changing social organisation in prehistoric communities. It was suggested that control of access to boats and knowledge of how to sail them may have allowed insular elites to exercise a greater degree of control over access to the regional interaction network as compared with their mainland counterparts. It was also suggested that communities on certain islands may have been well placed to control the access of communities on other islands to the regional interaction network. Both of these factors could contribute to the development of greater social differentiation in island communities when compared to mainland societies, and this may go some way towards explaining the tendency, noted by Evans (1977), for elaborate ritual traditions to emerge in insular contexts.

Let us look in detail at the Channel Island evidence. At first glance, the Early Neolithic evidence suggests only a limited degree of differentiation between mainland

and insular developments, but some interesting patterns do emerge. Megalithic monuments are absent from the Cerny complex on the North French mainland, yet one is known from Guernsey (Les Fouaillages). The evidence from the site of Le Pinacle, Jersey, suggests an early development of stone axe exchange, and the distribution of "Type P" dolerite axes (see App.ii) suggests (assuming that Le Pinacle is confirmed as the source) that these axes were made in Jersey primarily for exchange rather than for local use. In Chapters III and IV it is argued that stone axe exchange in the Armorican area was linked to elders' control of young mens' access to potential wives in the context of a bridewealth system. If the acquisition of axes made in Jersey became important to the social reproduction of communities in other islands, this may suggest an emergent "core/periphery" situation (cf ROWLANDS 1987), with Jersey assuming a privileged position in relation to the other islands. The Middle Neolithic period is marked by an escalation of this inter-island differentiation (see section VII.ii).

In discussing the social formation of Middle Neolithic communities in the Channel Islands, Friedman & Rowlands' (1977) model of a tribal configuration was employed, and we may now be in a position to develop this model further by looking at the way in which such a system operates in a specifically insular context. In the Friedman & Rowlands model, status depends upon supposed supernatural patronage, expressed in material terms by the ability to produce a large surplus which is used to sponsor communal feasts. A successful lineage may acquire control over aspects of ritual practice, and may also demand high bride-prices, using the valuables obtained to acquire more women in the context of polygynous marriages, thus increasing the size of its labour pool and its capacity to produce a surplus⁵. In the Channel island context, it seems clear that other factors were involved, and control

⁵ See Ch.IV (section IV.v) for a more detailed discussion of the Friedman & Rowlands model.

of access to the regional interaction network seems to have been particularly important. The marked fall-off between Jersey and Guernsey in terms of the proportions of imported axes suggests that communities in Jersey may have been able to control the access of Guernsey communities to the regional interaction network, and this can perhaps be explained in relation to the navigational factors discussed in Chapter II. If Jersey communities were able to control the access of communities on the other islands to bridewealth valuables, they could conduct transactions on terms beneficial to themselves, keeping bridewealth in the other islands at a relatively low level and thus increasing their own potential for acquiring women in the context of polygynous marriages. The extra women thus acquired would increase the size of the available labour-pool in Jersey, and enable communities in that island to produce a larger surplus. In the Friedman & Rowlands model, communal feasting is the principal means by which an agricultural surplus is converted into status. Whilst communal feasting may have been important in the Channel Island context, it seems that much of the surplus produced was used to sponsor the construction of megalithic monuments. This is perhaps unsurprising, since the Friedman & Rowlands model does stress the mediation of power relations through ritual. In Chapter IV it is argued that communities in the Eastern part of Jersey developed effective control of interaction between the Channel Islands and the Armorican mainland, and the significance of the monument of La Hougue Bie can perhaps be understood in relation to this. The construction of such a large monument would require the production of a considerable agricultural surplus, which would be needed to support the people engaged in building the monument. Control over mainland/island interaction may have facilitated the production of such a surplus. The existence of such an impressive monument, which may well have been visible from the coast of the Cotentin, would add considerably to the prestige and status of communities in the Eastern part of Jersey, and

may have enabled them to demand high bride-prices, thus increasing the flow of valuables into the community and enabling them to acquire yet more women and increase their productive capacity still further.

It seems clear that the La Hougue Bie "clan" (see section IV.v) had a privileged position in relation to the control of ritual practice as well as the control of inter-island and island/mainland interaction. Their ability to produce a large surplus must be understood in terms of supernatural patronage and genealogical proximity to a founding ancestor or spirit: their power resides in control over the "imaginary conditions of production". La Hougue Bie is the only third level monument in the Channel Islands: it is set apart from other passage graves not only by its size and location, but also by the concentration of vase-supports found in the monument (indeed, the assemblage from La Hougue Bie consists almost exclusively of these vessels). Vase-supports have been found in smaller numbers in the other Jersey passage graves, but are completely absent in assemblages from Guernsey and the other Channel Islands. We may suggest, therefore, that in the Channel Island context, vase-supports had some specific association with the La Hougue Bie "clan", and the absence of these vessels on the other islands suggests some form of "taboo", excluding communities not affiliated to this dominant group.

The Middle Neolithic configuration can be characterised as a core/periphery situation (cf ROWLANDS 1987), with communities in Guernsey and Sark dependent upon Jersey communities for the supply of objects necessary to their social reproduction. If communities in Guernsey and Sark were dependent on communities in Jersey, we might expect that these communities in turn were dependent on Cotentin communities. We might therefore expect to see evidence for asymmetrical relations between Cotentin and Jersey communities, and for a greater degree of social differentiation in Cotentin communities. In fact this is not the case:

Jersey can in no sense be seen as peripheral to the Cotentin during the Middle Neolithic, and the degree of social differentiation in Channel Island communities seems to have been significantly greater than in Cotentin communities. This may, to a large extent, be due to the insularity factors discussed above. Control of access to boats and maritime knowledge may have facilitated the development of a greater degree of social differentiation in island as compared with mainland communities, whilst the ability of Jersey communities to control interaction between the other Channel Islands and the Armorican mainland may have enabled them to produce a sufficiently large surplus to give them a high status in relation to Cotentin communities as well as in relation to the other Channel Islands.

The Middle Neolithic configuration broke down between 3500 BC and 2500 BC, and after 2500 BC there is little evidence for significant asymmetry either between one island and another or between islands and the mainland. There seems to have been a close link between the nature of inter-island and island/mainland interaction and the internal social configurations of the communities concerned. If intra-communal power relations depend upon control of access to bridewealth valuables, and if one community is able to control the flow of these valuables to other communities, then the possibility exists for inter-communal (and inter-island) asymmetry. When the Middle Neolithic social formation collapsed, however, these possibilities were greatly diminished, and consequently inter-island asymmetries broke down.

During the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, inter-island and island/mainland interaction continued, but the context of exchange changed dramatically, and no one group or community seems to have been able to control this interaction. The pattern rather suggests competitive exchange between emergent "big men", all operating on a relatively local scale. Intra-communal asymmetry is evident, but inter-communal and inter-island asymmetry far less so. The exchange networks which developed during

the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods involved the circulation of prestige items (Grand Pressigny flint, metal objects), and this interaction was not central to the reproduction of the social formation in the way that Middle Neolithic axe exchange networks had been. Whereas in the Middle Neolithic, access to imported axes was probably the basis of elders' control of the "means of reproduction", possession of prestige items is unlikely to have been the basis of power for Chalcolithic "big men" (albeit that it would have added to their status and attracted more followers).

During the Early Bronze Age a new regional configuration developed with Eastern Armorica (including the Channel Islands) occupying a peripheral position in relation to developments in Western Brittany. This core/periphery situation does seem to have been based on control of access to prestige items, but in a context where one group of communities had secured a monopoly over the supply of these objects, leading to the development of a "prestige goods system" of the type outlined by Friedman & Rowlands (1977). This also occurred in the context of a social formation in which authority was more permanent and stable than in the Chalcolithic, and in which the control of prestige goods was more central to the establishment and maintenance of power relations.

The model outlined above stresses the importance of inter-island and island/mainland interaction, and the close inter-relation between the nature of this interaction and the social configurations of the communities concerned. My own attempt to develop the basis for an island socio-geography is partly motivated by a sense of dissatisfaction with the existing literature on island archaeology. Those studies which are directly inspired by MacArthur & Wilson's (1967) "Theory of island bio-geography" tend to rely on a rather mechanistic determinism, whilst other studies have tended either to look at islands in isolation, without detailed consideration of island/mainland relations (e.g. RENFREW

1979, HEDGES 1984), or to subsume island and mainland evidence together, without addressing the question of insularity (e.g. HIBBS 1983). In this thesis, I have set out to understand the development of Neolithic communities in an insular context by focussing on changing relationships between one island and another and between islands and the mainland. The discussions in this section give some indication as to how insularity may influence the development of prehistoric communities. It is important to stress that geographical factors such as insularity do not determine the development of the social formation in a given society, but form part of the context in which the social formation is defined. Such factors create possibilities which, under particular social and historical circumstances, may be exploited by certain groups to their own advantage. If the social formation undergoes a significant transformation, these factors may become less important, as seems to have happened in the Channel Island case.

APPENDIX i.

FLINT ASSEMBLAGES FROM THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

Flint assemblages from the Channel Islands have never been the subject of a detailed study. Kendrick (1928) and Hawkes (1937) identified a number of "flint chipping areas" (i.e. surface scatters of flints not associated with identified features), but confined themselves to listing these and illustrating a few tools of particular intrinsic interest. These and other similar sites may be of considerable importance in understanding the Neolithic of the Channel Islands, since they provide evidence relating to domestic and productive aspects of life, whilst other evidence is dominated by ritual and ceremonial activities. Since the flint assemblages from the Channel Islands (excluding the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic assemblages from La Cotte de Saint Brelade and La Cotte à La Chèvre, Jersey), span a period of at least 6000 years, from Mesolithic to Early Bronze Age, so that the establishment of some form of sequence, however crude, is an essential prerequisite for any meaningful discussion. The development of such a sequence, however, is hampered by recovery factors. Early excavators did not recover flint systematically, and kept only those flints which they recognised as tools. The extent of this problem is demonstrated by the excavations at La Hougue des Géonnais, Jersey: the original excavators (BAAL & GODFRAY 1930) recovered only 15 flints, whereas over 4000 flints were recovered from their spoil during recent re-excavation (PATTON in FORREST & RAULT forthcoming). Because of this problem of recovery, the flint collections from most of the major dated sites in the islands comprise only a few pieces, useless for any form of metrical or statistical analysis. In the absence of a secure typological sequence based on assemblages from stratified sites, discussions of chronology have had to depend upon the presence or absence of particular type-fossils, such as barbed and tanged arrowheads.

The nature of the raw material available to

prehistoric flint workers in the Channel Islands adds greatly to this problem. Since there are no outcrops of flint in the Channel Islands, beach pebbles provided the only locally available source of flint: the small size of the available pebbles (rarely more than 8 cm in diameter) greatly restricts the ways in which the flint can be worked, and hence limits potential chronological variation between assemblages.

Recent excavations and survey projects have added important new information in the light of which Channel Island flint assemblages can be reconsidered. The stratified and dated sites of Les Blanches Banques, La Moye I and La Hougue des Géonnais, Jersey and Les Fouaillages, Guernsey, have all provided significant flint assemblages¹, on the basis of which a preliminary sequence can perhaps be developed, whilst systematic surveys by the archaeological sections of La Société Jersiaise and La Société Guernesiaise have revealed further surface scatters.

The analysis presented here attempts firstly to quantify variation in Channel Island flint assemblages, and secondly to separate diachronic from other forms of variation (e.g. functional variation between sites or variation reflecting recovery bias).

The data-base.

The analysis presented here is based upon the following assemblages:

Stratified sites.

- JER 13a. Les Blanches Banques 1978 (Chalcolithic).
- JER 13b. Les Blanches Banques 1979 (Chalcolithic).
- JER 26. La Moye I (Early Bronze Age).
- JER 33a. Le Pinacle I (Early Neolithic).
- JER 33b. Le Pinacle II (Chalcolithic).
- JER 35a. La Hougue des Géonnais chamber backfill
(Probably mixed).
- JER 35b. La Hougue des Géonnais layer 10 (Middle

¹ The data from Les Fouaillages is not yet available.

Neolithic)².

- GUE 10. Banque à Barque (Chalcolithic).
- GUE 13. Les Grandes Rocques (unknown).
- GUE 17. L'Erée layer 2 (Early Bronze Age).
- GUE 26. Chateau des Marais (unknown).

Surface scatters.

- JER 8. Field 1226, Almorah.
- JER 32. Field 575, Beauport.
- JER 38. Plémont.
- JER 39. Grosnez Common.
- JER 42. Le Squez (North side).
- JER 43. Le Squez (South side).
- JER 45. Col de la Rocque.
- JER 46. Les Marionneux.
- JER 49. L'Etaquerel, Trinity.
- JER 50. Catel de Rozel.
- JER 60. Bagatelle Farm.
- GUE 11. Pembroke Point.
- GUE 14. Albecq.
- GUE 18. Lihou.
- GUE 20. Crève Coeur.
- GUE 21. La Corbière.
- GUE 34. Field E482, Les Prévosts.
- GUE 35. La Ruelle des Norgiots.
- ALD 6. Sylt.
- ALD 7. L'Emauve.
- ALD 8. Les Pourciaux/Mannez.
- ALD 9. Plat Cotil.
- ALD 10. Rond But.

Fig.i.1 shows the location of these sites. This list includes all assemblages which fulfil the following criteria:

- 1) A collection of at least 100 flints.
- 2) A secure provenance³.

The scope of the analysis covered existing collections only (in the Museums of La Société Jersiaise, the States of Guernsey and the Alderney Society). Limitations of time and resources did not permit a programme of field

² Layer 10 is a deposit which runs beneath the cairn. The deposit itself is of Middle Neolithic date (decorated Middle Neolithic pottery was found in situ within it), but the flints within the layer may be redeposited.

³ In some cases, several locations on an island may share one name (there are, for example, two L'Etaquerels in Jersey and two Mont Durands in Guernsey), and it may be unclear to which location a collection belongs: in such cases the assemblages have been excluded from consideration.

survey to be undertaken.

There are a number of problems with the sites listed above. Firstly, as regards the stratified assemblages, although the conditions under which these collections were made have in general been more controlled than is the case with the surface collections, the circumstances of recovery are by no means uniform. The assemblage from L'Erée was collected on the foreshore following coastal erosion, whereas all the other assemblages in this category were collected in the course of archaeological excavations. Godfray & Burdo (1949,1950) make it clear that they did not collect all of the flints found at Le Pinnacle: anything regarded as debitage was discarded. This assemblage cannot, therefore, be considered as unbiased. Even with modern excavations the conditions of recovery are variable: at La Hougue des Géonnais, the excavation directors adopted the time-intensive policy of sieving 100% of the soil, a procedure that has not been followed on any of the other excavated sites in the islands. These differences in terms of recovery mean that the assemblages are not easily comparable with one another.

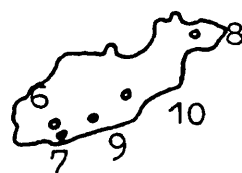
The problems involved in studying the surface collections are, of course, much greater. These collections were made by different individuals at various times over a period of around 100 years, and in most cases the circumstances of collection have not been recorded. Some assemblages reflect casual collection by an individual over a period of a decade or more, whilst others reflect organised fieldwork: often one simply does not know the circumstances. Collectors vary enormously in their approach (some keeping every flint, others collecting only recognisable tools), and in their ability to spot artefacts on the ground (cf HODDER & MALONE 1984). Whatever the circumstances of recovery, surface collections by definition relate to eroded sites: some of these sites may have been occupied during more than one period, and flints of different dates may be mixed. Often the provenance given is imprecise, a local name such as

Le Col de la Rocque or Grosnez Common may cover a large area, potentially incorporating several sites of different dates. A few collections are reliable, and recent fieldwork at Le Squez, Jersey, by Brian Phillipps is particularly commendable (all visible flints collected, and accompanied by precise documentation). Once again, the essential problem is one of comparability. Analysis will inevitably reveal variations which have no archaeological significance as well as those which may be highly significant.

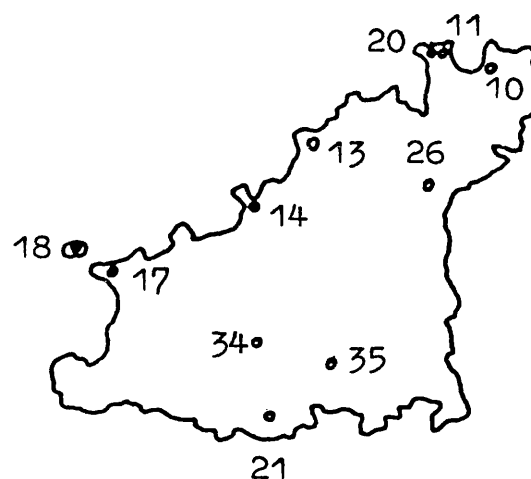
Table i.1 shows the number of flints in each assemblage included in the analysis.

Fig.i.1. Flint assemblages from the Channel Islands.
Numbering refers to the inventory of sites given in
Appendix i.

Alderney



Guernsey



Jersey

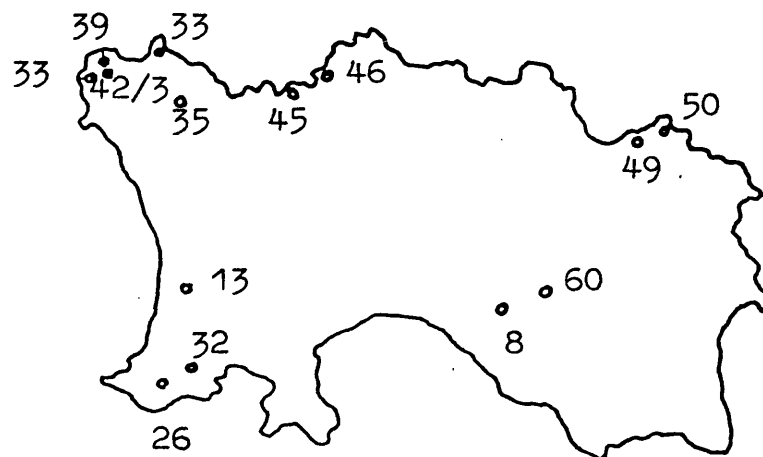


Table i.1. Number of flints in Channel Island assemblages.

	<u>Flakes</u>	<u>Cores</u>	<u>Tools</u>
<u>Stratified sites.</u>			
JER 13a.	260	10	4
JER 13b.	206	18	4
JER 26.	164	41	6
JER 33a.	118	197	831
JER 33b.	135	55	445
JER 35a.	2059	47	15
JER 35b.	129	3	2
GUE 10.	740	17	19
GUE 13.	963	18	10
GUE 17.	283	14	4
GUE 26.	135	5	5
<u>Surface collections.</u>			
JER 8.	116	0	9
JER 32.	617	0	23
JER 38.	156	19	10
JER 39.	121	9	3
JER 42.	215	3	0
JER 43.	1233	6	8
JER 45.	529	60	68
JER 46.	350	0	6
JER 49.	119	1	1
JER 50.	239	63	28
JER 60.	124	5	7
GUE 11.	112	0	0
GUE 14.	108	0	0
GUE 18.	371	15	0
GUE 20.	288	0	3
GUE 21.	270	0	0
GUE 34.	117	0	9
GUE 35.	394	12	31
ALD 6.	202	21	11
ALD 7.	840	34	25
ALD 8.	326	10	16
ALD 9.	345	41	10
ALD 10.	239	20	27

Methodology.

The flints from the above sites were analysed in three categories: flakes (including debitage), cores and tools (including all retouched pieces).

Flakes.

Length and breadth measurements were recorded for all unbroken flakes, and length and length/breadth indices were tabulated (see below).

Cores.

Cores were classified on the basis of the number and relative position of striking platforms. Six types were

identified:

- C1. 1 platform, flaked right around the circumference of the core (Fig.i.2a).
- C2. 1 platform flaked part of the way around (Fig.i.2b).
- C3. 2 platforms opposite one another (Fig.i.2c).
- C4. 2 platforms set at oblique angles to one another (Fig.i.2d).
- C5. 2 platforms set at right angles to one another (Fig.i.2e).
- C6. 3 or more platforms (Fig.i.2f).

With the exception of Le Pinnacle (JER 33), none of the assemblages listed above includes a sufficient number of cores to permit statistical analysis. Consequently, assemblages have been studied on the basis of the presence or absence of the above types. Metrical data (length and breadth) were recorded in the case of the Le Pinnacle cores, in order to compare the assemblages from the Early Neolithic and Chalcolithic levels of the site (JER 33a and b respectively).

Tools.

Scrapers constitute the largest category of flint tools, and these were classified according to the position of retouch:

- S1. Retouch on one end only (Fig.i.3a).
- S2. Retouch on one side only (Fig.i.3b).
- S3. Retouch on one end and one side (Fig.i.3c).
- S4. Retouch on both ends (Fig.i.3d).
- S5. Retouch on both sides (Fig.i.3e).
- S6. Retouch on both ends and both sides (Fig.i.3f).
- S7. Concave scraper ("spokeshave": Fig.i.3g).
- S8. Retouch on one end and two sides (Fig.i.3h).

Once again, because of the small size of the sample, the assemblages have been studied on the basis of the presence or absence of these types. The assemblage from Le Pinnacle (JER 33) is exceptional in terms of the number of scrapers (see Table i.1), and in this case statistical and metrical data were recorded.

Other tools were classified as follows:

- F1. Flake with dorsal retouch (Fig.i.4a).
- F2. Flake with ventral retouch (Fig.i.4b).
- T1. Transverse arrowhead (Fig.i.4c).
- T2. Barbed and tanged arrowhead (Fig.i.4d).
- T3. Tanged point (Fig.i.4e).
- T4. Borer (Fig.i.4f).
- T5. Microdenticulate (Fig.i.4g).
- T6. Blunted-backed blade (Fig.i.4h).

- T7. Burin (Fig.i.4i).
T8. Trapeze (Fig.i.4j).
T9. "Fabricator"⁴ (Fig.i.5a).
T10. "Knives" of Grand Pressigny flint (Fig.i.5b).

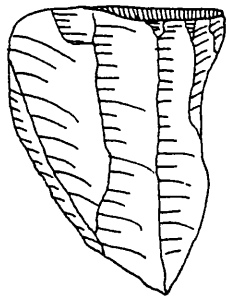
In the analysis that follows, assemblages are first classified on the basis of the metrical data relating to flint flakes, and then in terms of the presence or absence of the core and tool types identified above.

Analysis.

Table i.2 shows the length of unbroken flakes from the assemblages listed above: all figures are shown as percentage of assemblage.

Table i.3 shows the length/breadth indices of unbroken flint flakes from the assemblages under consideration: again, all figures are shown as percentage of the assemblage.

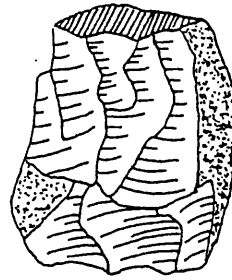
⁴ These are elongated flint pebbles fractured longitudinally to give a long, thin platform. Broad flakes have been removed along the platform, which has subsequently been subjected to repeated battering (cf GODFRAY & BURDO 1949,1950). It is suggested (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming) that these may have been used to produce sparks and ignite fires.



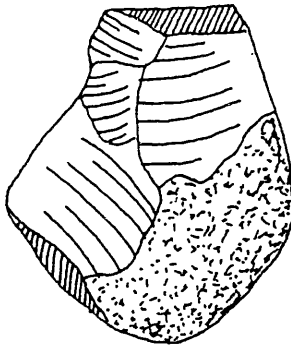
a



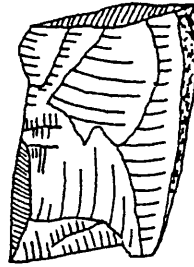
b



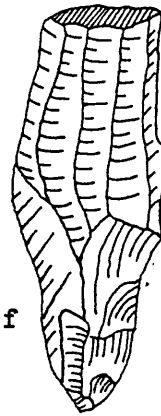
c



d



e



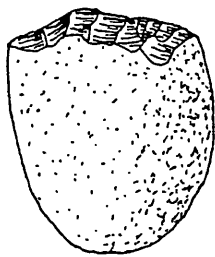
f



0

5 cm.

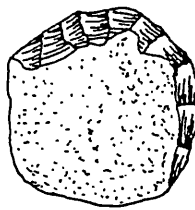
Fig.i.3. Flint scrapers.



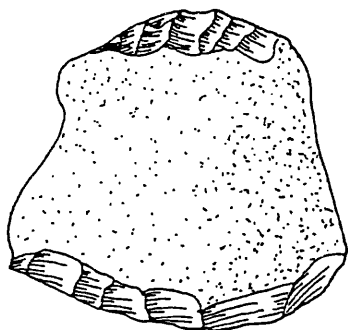
a



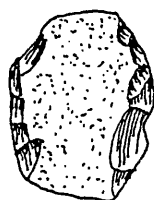
b



c



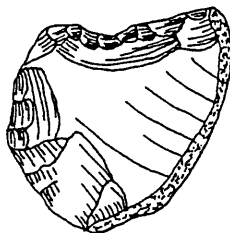
d



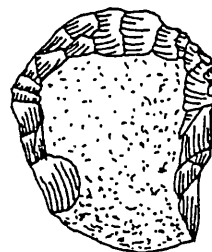
e



f



g



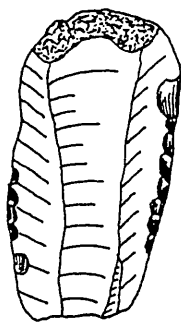
h



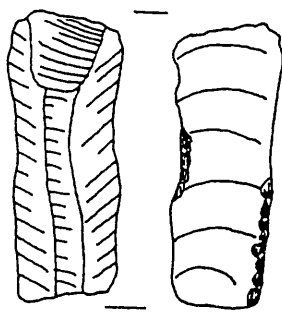
0

5 cm.

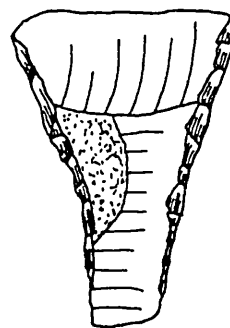
Fig.i.4. Flint tools.



a



b



c



d



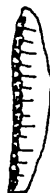
e



f



g



h

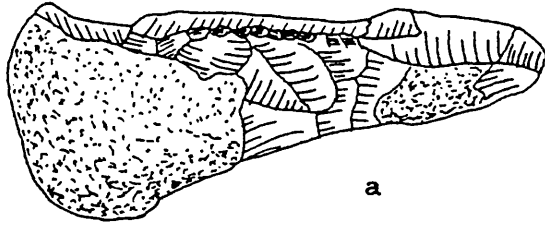


i

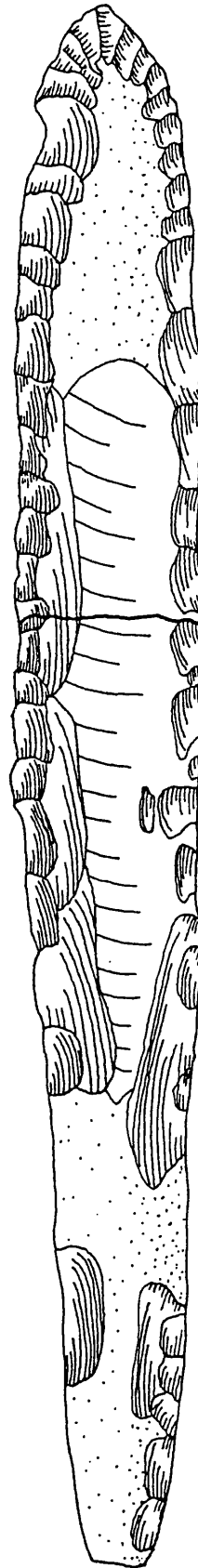


j





b



0

5 cm.

Table i.2: Length of unbroken flakes (cm).

	<2	2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10
JER 8	23.3	69.8	6.9	0	0
JER 13a	34	61.3	4.7	0	0
JER 13b	41.6	52.1	6.3	0	0
JER 26	34.8	51.3	13	0.9	0
JER 32	26	69.7	4.3	0	0
JER 33a	0	32.2	56.8	8.5	2.5
JER 33b	6.3	68.6	24.5	0.7	0
JER 35a	70.9	28	1.1	0	0
JER 35b	79.1	18.6	2.3	0	0
JER 38	34	59	7	0	0
JER 39	29.8	63.6	5.8	0.8	0
JER 42	54.8	41.4	2.9	0.9	0
JER 43	67.5	29.8	2.4	0.2	0.1
JER 45	25.6	64.1	9.9	0.2	0.2
JER 46	60.5	39.2	0.3	0	0
JER 49	28.8	66.9	4.2	0	0
JER 50	13.7	73.8	12	0.4	0
JER 60	0	11.4	54.5	31.7	2.4
GUE 10	52.2	43.7	4	0.1	0
GUE 11	9.8	72.5	14.7	2.9	0
GUE 13	46.9	47.8	5.3	0	0
GUE 14	25.9	64.8	9.3	0	0
GUE 17	42	52.4	5.6	0	0
GUE 18	47.9	48.4	3.2	0.5	0
GUE 20	41.2	54	4.8	0	0
GUE 21	25.3	59.6	14	1.1	0
GUE 26	16	71.8	11.9	0	0
GUE 34	17.1	76.9	6	0	0
GUE 35	17.8	74	8.2	0	0
ALD 6	7.1	76.1	16.8	0	0
ALD 7	14.6	65.1	19.3	1	0
ALD 8	10.2	74.5	14.9	0.3	0
ALD 9	4.9	68.2	25.7	0.9	0.3
ALD 10	3.3	77	19.7	0	0

Table 1.3: Length/Breadth indices of flint flakes.

	<0.5	0.5-1	1-1.5	1.5-2	2-2.5	2.5-3	3-3.5	3.5-4	>4
JER 8.	0	15.5	52.5	22.4	6	3.4	0	0	0
JER 13a.	0	8.7	48.6	28.1	11.1	2	0.8	0.4	0.4
JER 13b.	0	8.9	43.8	31.3	9.4	4.7	1.6	0.5	0
JER 26.	0	14.4	45.4	28.9	9.8	0.5	0.5	0.3	0
JER 32.	0	15.1	53.7	23	6	1.9	0.3	0	0
JER 33a.	0	6.6	33.3	24.8	21.4	6.8	4.3	0.9	1.7
JER 33b.	0	2.7	4	17.3	12	33.3	16	4	10.7
JER 35a.	0.1	9.3	54.3	25.4	7.6	2	0.5	0.1	0.2
JER 35b.	1.6	10.9	51.2	20.2	14.7	0.8	0.8	0	0
JER 38.	0	2.6	14.1	23.7	29.5	19.2	7.7	1.9	1.3
JER 39.	0.8	5.8	10.7	29.8	23.1	16.5	9.9	1.7	1.7
JER 42.	0	14.3	45.2	24.3	13.8	1.4	0.5	0.5	0
JER 43.	0	4	45.7	30.8	12.2	4.2	2.1	0.6	0.4
JER 45.	0.2	9.2	26.1	27.1	17.6	10.6	5.5	1.4	2
JER 46.	0.3	9	45.5	27.2	12.9	3.7	1.1	0.3	0
JER 49.	0	0	10.3	42.1	31.8	9.3	2.8	0.9	2.8
JER 50.	0	3.5	21.2	22.5	27.3	16.9	6.1	1.3	1.3
JER 60.	0	4	7.3	16.1	22.6	24.2	13.7	5.6	6.5
GUE 10.	0.3	15.6	42.2	25.1	11.1	3.8	1.1	0.4	0.4
GUE 11.	1.8	12.3	27.2	32.5	9.6	4.4	3.5	5.3	3.5
GUE 13.	0.2	12.4	47.3	26	10.1	2.5	0.7	0.6	0.1
GUE 14.	0	6.3	50.9	20.4	12	5.6	1.9	0	0.9
GUE 17.	0.3	14.7	45.8	26.9	8.7	2.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
GUE 18.	1.6	10.6	27.9	30	14.6	8	3.2	1.6	2.7
GUE 20.	0.3	6.9	29.2	25.8	19.2	8.9	5.2	1.7	0.7
GUE 21.	0.4	1.9	14.2	20.6	23.2	20.6	10.5	4.9	3.7
GUE 26.	0	8	48.8	29.6	8.8	3.2	1.6	0	0
GUE 34.	0	6	55.6	29.9	6.8	1.7	0	0	0
GUE 35.	0	10.7	34.3	24.8	8.7	1.2	0	0	0.2
ALD 6.	0	8.1	57.9	27.4	5.1	1.5	0	0	0
ALD 7.	0	6.6	38.9	28.6	16.2	6.7	2.1	0.5	0.2
ALD 8.	0	5.9	37	32.9	17.4	4.3	1.6	0.3	0.6
ALD 9.	0	9.1	46.3	32.3	9.1	2.3	0.9	0	0
ALD 10.	0	6.7	57.7	23.8	10.5	0.4	0.8	0	0

For each variable (length and length/breadth index), a matrix of maximum similarity was produced, comparing every assemblage with every other: these matrices were used as the basis for single linkage cluster analyses, using the Institute of Archaeology data analysis package (DUNCAN *et al.* 1988). The resulting dendrograms are shown on Figs 1.6 and 1.7. The numbering of assemblages on the dendrograms is as follows:

1. Le Pinacle I.
2. Le Pinacle II.
3. Bagatelle.
4. L'Etaquerel.
5. Grosnez Common.
6. Plémont.
7. Le Catel de Rozel.
8. La Corbière.
9. Le Col de la Rocque.
10. Crève Coeur.
11. Lihou.
12. Pembroke Point.
13. L'Emauve.
14. Les Pourciaux/Mannez.
15. Le Squez (South).
16. Les Marionneux.
17. Albecq.
18. Les Grandes Rocques.
19. Banque à Barque.
20. Les Blanches Banques 1978.
21. Les Blanches Banques 1979.
22. Le Squez (North).
23. L'Erée.
24. La Moye I.
25. Géonnais chamber backfill.
26. Géonnais layer 10.
27. Almorah.
28. Field 575, Beauport.
29. Chateau des Marais.
30. Les Prévosts.
31. Ruelle des Norgiots.
32. Sylt.
33. Plat Coutil.
34. Rond But.

Fig.i.6. Cluster analysis: length of flint flakes. -

Single Linkage dendrogram (maximum similarity)

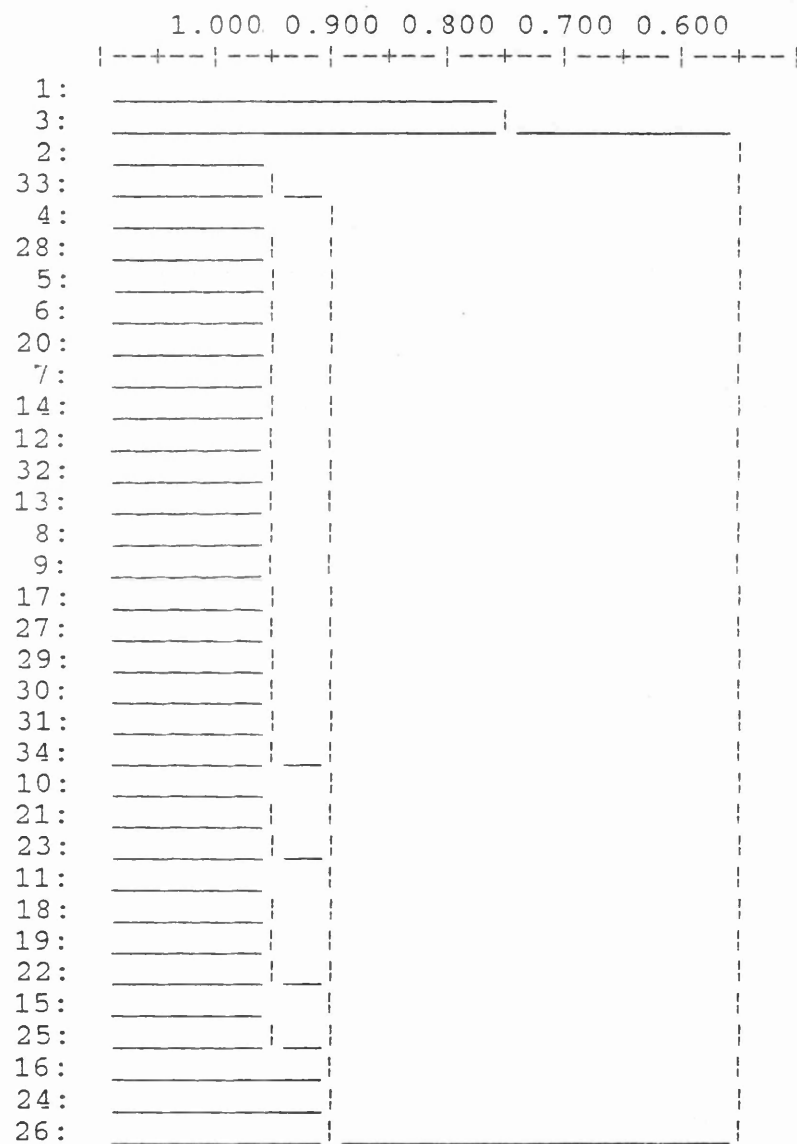
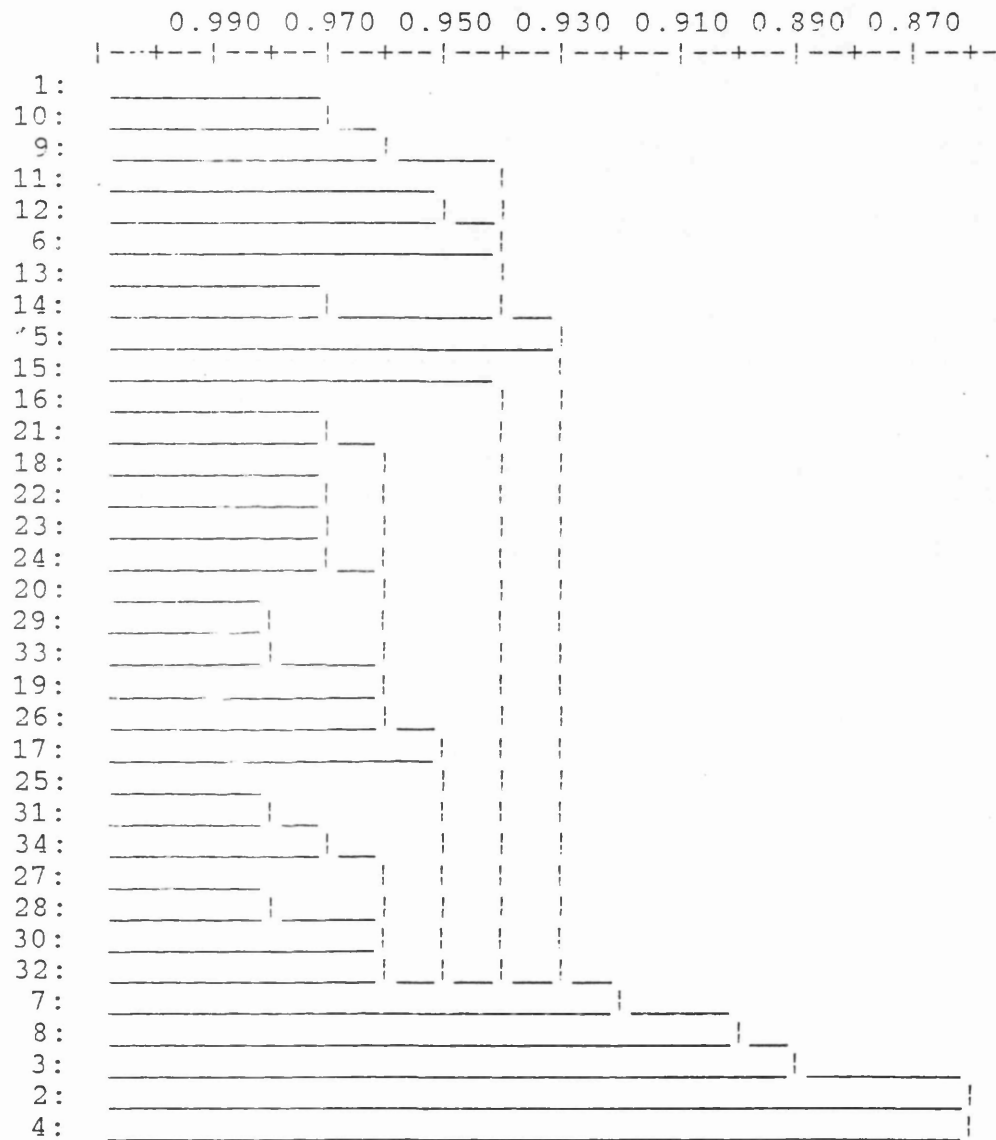


Fig.1.7. Cluster analysis: length/breadth indices of flint flakes.

Single Linkage dendrogram (maximum similarity)



If we look first at the dendrogram for length of flint flakes (Fig.i.6), we see that at the 0.9 level of similarity, there is one major grouping of 18 assemblages: (L'Etaquerel, Beauport, Grosnez, Plémont, Blanches Banques 1978, Catel de Rozel, Les Pourciaux/Mannez, Pembroke, Sylt, L'Emauve, Corbière, Col de la Rocque, Albecq, Almorah, Chateau des Marais, Les Prévosts, Ruelle des Norgiots and Rond But). There is a further grouping of 4 assemblages (Lihou, Grandes Rocques, Banque à Barque and Le Squez North), one of 3 assemblages (Crève Coeur, Blanches Banques 1979 and L'Erée) and two groupings of 2 assemblages (Le Squez South/Géonnais Chamber Backfill and Le Pinnacle II/Plat Cotel). The assemblages from Le Pinnacle I, Bagatelle, Les Marionneux, La Moye I and Géonnais L10 stand outside these groupings: Le Pinnacle I and Bagatelle are grouped together at the 0.7 level, and all 34 assemblages form a single group at the 0.5 level.

Turning to the dendrogram for length/breadth index of flakes (Fig.i.7), a more complex pattern emerges. At the 0.9 level of similarity, all but 5 of the assemblages (Catel de Rozel, Corbière, Bagatelle, Le Pinnacle II and L'Etaquerel) fall within a single group. At the 0.93 level two main groupings can be identified, the first including 8 assemblages (Le Pinnacle I, Crève Coeur, Col de la Rocque, Lihou, Pembroke, Plémont, L'Emauve and Pourciaux/Mannez) and the second including 20 assemblages (Le Squez South, Les Marionneux, Blanches Banques 1979, Grandes Rocques, Le Squez North, L'Erée, La Moye I, Blanches Banques 1978, Chateau des Marais, Plat Cotel, Banque à Barque, Géonnais L10, Albecq, Géonnais Chamber Backfill, Ruelle des Norgiots, Rond But, Almorah, Field 575, Rue des Prévosts and Sylt). At the 0.95 level, the first of these groups breaks down into three main groupings, and the second into two groupings.

Direct comparison between the two dendrograms is difficult. On the first dendrogram, five distinct clusters can be identified at the 0.9 level of similarity, whereas on the second dendrogram, all but

five of the assemblages fall within a single group at this level: on the first dendrogram, no two sites are grouped together at the 0.95 level, whilst on the second dendrogram there are five groupings at this level including one of 11 assemblages and one of 7.

Despite these problems of comparison, it is clear that the grouping of assemblages on the first dendrogram is quite different from that on the second. The second dendrogram seems, at least on first glance, to provide a better index of chronological variation than the first. Of the assemblages included in the analysis, four are known to be of Chalcolithic date (2:Le Pinnacle II, 19:Banque à Barque, 20/21:Blanches Banques 1978/79) and two are known to be of Early Bronze Age date (23:L'Erée, 24:La Moye I). On the first dendrogram, no particular grouping between these sites can be observed whereas on the second dendrogram these sites (with the exception of Le Pinnacle II) form a distinct group at the 0.95 level of similarity (together with the sites of Les Marionneux, Grandes Rocques, Le Squez North, Chateau des Marais and Géonnais L10).

The groupings shown on the second dendrogram (Fig.i.7) at the 0.95 level of similarity were used as the basis for Table i.4, which shows the presence/absence of the particular core and tool types listed above. The groupings identified from the dendrogram are indicated at the right-hand side of the table, listed as A-D. Table i.4 suggests a degree of correspondence between the groupings identified in the cluster analysis and the occurrence of particular core and tool types. Cores of type C1 are found in groups A and D but not in B or C. Scrapers of type S7 are found in group D but not in groups A-C. Flakes with ventral retouch (F2) are found in groups C-D but not in group A. Transverse arrowheads (T1) are found in groups A,C and D but not in group B, whereas barbed and tanged arrowheads (T2) are found in group C but not in groups A,B or D. Blunted-backed blades (T6) are found in groups B and C but not in groups A or D, whilst borers (T4) occur in groups A and C but not in

Table 1.41: Presence/Absence of core and tool types.

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7	S8	F1	F2	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10
Le Pinacle I	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Creve Coeur	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Col de la Rocque	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Lihou	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pembrooke	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Plémont	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
L'Emauve	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pourciaux/Mannez	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Grosnez	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Le Squez South	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Les Marionneux	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Blanches Banques 1979	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Grandes Rocques	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Le Squez North	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
L'Erée	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
La Moye I	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Blanches Banques 1978	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Chateau des Marais	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Plat Cottl	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Banque à Barque	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Géonnais L10	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Albecq	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Géonnais Chamber backfill	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ruette des Norjots	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rond But	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Almorah	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Field 375	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rue des Prévosts	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sylt	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Catel de Rozel	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Corbière	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bagatelle	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pinacle II	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
L'Etaquerel	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

A

B

C

D

groups B or D.

Chronological variation.

Having identified a series of variations in the composition of Channel Island flint assemblages, it may be possible to develop the basis for a chronology. Cluster analysis of data relating to the length/breadth indices of flakes separated four distinct groups of assemblages at the 0.95 level of similarity: at the 0.93 level, these coalesce into two groups, with A and B falling into one and C and D falling into the other. Table i.4 suggests some correspondence between this grouping of assemblages and the occurrence of particular core and tool types.

Group A.

Group A is characterised by the presence of all core types (including C1). Scrapers, borers and transverse arrowheads are present, but blunted-backed blades, barbed and tanged arrowheads and flakes with ventral retouch are absent. One of the assemblages, Le Pinnacle I, is from a stratified context of Early Neolithic date (see Ch.III). A second assemblage, Col de la Rocque, includes characteristic Mesolithic elements, notably microdenticulates (T5) and a tanged point (T3). Chancerel (pers.comm) has noted that in the Cotentin, cores of type C1 are a particular feature of Mesolithic sites, occurring only rarely on later sites.

Group B.

Group B is characterised by the presence of transverse arrowheads and backed blades, and the absence of barbed and tanged arrowheads, borers and type C1 cores. One of the assemblages, from L'Emauve includes two microlithic trapezes. Both trapezes and backed blades are characteristic Mesolithic elements (KAYSER 1984, FOSSE et al. 1986).

Group C.

Group C includes 5 assemblages from stratified contexts: of these, one is from a probable Middle Neolithic context (Géonnais L10), three are from Chalcolithic contexts (Banque à Barque and Les Blanches

Banques 1978 and 1979) and two are from Early Bronze Age contexts (L'Erée L2 and La Moye I). Barbed and tanged arrowheads, which are absent from groups A,B and D, occur in two group C assemblages. Group C assemblages are characterised by the presence of borers and the absence of type C1 cores. Blunted-backed blades, surprisingly, are present in two of the assemblages, Les Marionneux and Les Grandes Rocques (neither is a securely sealed assemblage). The evidence suggests that a significant proportion of group C sites are of Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age date. Layer 10 at Géonnais is of Middle Neolithic date, and the assemblage from this deposit has a Terminus ante Quem of around 3500 BC. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assign group C assemblages to the period 4200-1500 BC (Middle Neolithic-Early Bronze Age). The presence of blunted-backed blades is anomalous in this context, but may represent redeposition.

Group D.

Group D assemblages are characterised by an abundance of scrapers: two of the assemblages include concave scrapers (S7), which are absent from groups A-C. Apart from scrapers, however, there are virtually no tools (there are transverse arrowheads from Géonnais and Rue des Prévosts and a single fabricator from Rond But). Cores are present including type C1. None of the assemblages are from stratified contexts, and in the absence of dateable type-fossils, it is not possible to assign assemblages of this group to a particular date.

Eleven of the assemblages considered in the analysis fall outside the four groups identified from the cluster analysis (Fig.i.7) at the 0.95 level of similarity. Most of these assemblages include no dateable elements, but some are of particular interest. The assemblage from the South side of Le Squez includes six blunted-backed blades, suggesting a Mesolithic date: the presence of microburins and a number of fine, narrow unretouched blades is similarly suggestive. It is surprising, therefore, that in the cluster analysis (Fig.i.7) the

assemblage is linked, at the 0.93 level of similarity, to groups C and D rather than A and B. This anomaly can probably be related to collection bias: the Le Squez assemblage, like many of those from groups C and D, results from controlled and highly meticulous collection, whereas most of the assemblages in groups A and B represent more selective (and therefore biased) collection. Waste flakes (characteristically small and amorphous) are probably under-represented in group A and B assemblages, and the proportion of blades (i.e. flakes with a length/breadth index of 2 or more: see Table i.3) greatly exaggerated. In terms of the tools present, the Le Squez South assemblage can be linked to group B. The assemblage from Le Catel de Rozel is comparable to that from Le Col de la Rocque in terms of the presence of microdenticulates, and can perhaps be linked to group A on this basis.

The assemblage from Le Pinnacle II is from a sealed Chalcolithic context (see Ch.V), and includes blades of Grand Pressigny flint and 38 barbed and tanged arrowheads. The assemblage also includes, however, certain characteristic Mesolithic elements: a high proportion of type C1 cores (17.9% of the cores in the assemblage), a high proportion of blades (Table ii.3) and two blunted-backed blades. The deposit itself is an artificial one (see Ch.V), with evidence for reversed stratigraphy, and it is likely that Mesolithic material was redeposited during the Chalcolithic period, and mixed with the later assemblage.

In view of the evidence discussed above, it seems reasonable to suggest a Mesolithic date for most assemblages in groups A and B, and a Neolithic, Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age date for most assemblages in groups C and D. One of the assemblages in group A, Le Pinnacle I, is from a sealed Early Neolithic context. The inclusion of this site in group A, alongside the unquestionably Mesolithic assemblage of Le Col de la Rocque, could be taken to suggest a degree of continuity in flint-working between the Mesolithic and the Early

Neolithic. Caution is necessary here, however, since the Pinnacle I assemblage is clearly a biased one (flints which were regarded as waste were systematically discarded by the excavators), and certainly there is no evidence for continuity in terms of tool types: microliths are completely absent from the Pinnacle I assemblage. It is possible that groups A and B represent different phases within the Mesolithic sequence, but it is difficult to establish this on present evidence. Recent research in the Cotentin has revealed a series of Mesolithic assemblages (AUDOUARD 1986, FOSSE et al. 1986), all dating to the "Middle stage". Backed blades and microburins are present in these assemblages, but trapezes and microdenticulates are absent. The assemblages in group B are in some respects comparable: backed blades form an important component, and microdenticulates are absent. The assemblage from Le Squez South, which should probably be linked to group B (see above), includes a number of microburins, and Chancerel and Locard (pers.comm) have noted the similarity between this assemblage and the Cotentin material. Trapezes are also present, however, in one group B assemblage (L'Emauve), and also in an assemblage from Grosnez Hurel, Jersey (see Ch.III). Trapezes do not occur in Cotentin assemblages and are more characteristically a feature of Breton Mesolithic assemblages (ROZOV 1978, KAYSER 1984). All of the Channel Island trapezes are essentially symmetrical, and are not of the Type Tévécien (ROZOV 1978) specific to the Final Mesolithic of Southern Brittany. Trapezes are often considered as a feature of the Breton Late Mesolithic, and certainly they occur in greatest numbers in the Tévécien facies: they do occur, however, in "Middle stage" assemblages, as at Kerjouannou à Arzon, Morbihan (ROZOV 1978). On balance, it seems most reasonable to assign group B assemblages to the "Middle stage" rather than to the Late Mesolithic: blunted-backed blades and microburins are completely absent from Tévécien assemblages. The assemblage from Le Col de la Rocque has

no direct Armorican parallels (microdenticulates and tanged points are not a feature of Breton or Norman assemblages), and it is difficult to relate the group A assemblages to the Armorican sequence. One problem is that the Armorican Mesolithic is still not well understood: important research is currently in progress (by Chancerel in the Cotentin, by Gouletquer in Northern Brittany and by Kayser in Southern Brittany), and the Channel Island material will have to be reconsidered in the light of this.

It has not been possible at this stage to distinguish particular phases within the Neolithic sequence on any systematic basis. The presence of barbed and tanged arrowheads or Grand Pressigny flint in a sealed assemblage is, of course, indicative of a Chalcolithic date, but in all other respects, the Middle Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age assemblages considered in the analysis are similar to one another. The single assemblage of demonstrably Early Neolithic date (Le Pinnacle I) is quite different to these assemblages in terms of the length/breadth indices of flakes, but the significance of this is ambiguous, owing to the circumstances of collection. In terms of the occurrence of particular tool types, the assemblage from Le Pinnacle I is entirely comparable with other Neolithic assemblages, and quite different from the Col de la Rocque assemblage with which it is grouped in the cluster analysis.

Variations in the availability of resources.

Since there are no outcrops of flint in the Channel Islands, beach pebbles provided the main source of flint throughout most of the Neolithic period. Outcrops of flint do occur beneath what is now the English Channel, and these would have been accessible during the earlier Mesolithic. During the Neolithic, some flint was imported from the French mainland: flint axes found in the islands were probably made in Normandy, and Grand Pressigny flint from Central France is known from several Chalcolithic sites in the islands. Beach pebble flint, however, is

clearly the basis of most Channel Island assemblages. As sea-levels rose during the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, the distance between the islands and the submerged outcrops of flint increased: this would have reduced the supply of flint pebbles to the beaches of the islands, and probably also the size of available pebbles (since smaller pebbles may be expected to travel greater distances along the sea-bed than larger ones). We might expect these changes in the availability of resources to be reflected in the flint assemblages recovered from archaeological sites, and the evidence from the site of Le Pinnacle appears to corroborate this. The site of Le Pinnacle has produced two discrete assemblages, one from a sealed Early Neolithic context, the other from a Chalcolithic context⁵. These assemblages have produced a particularly large number of cores and tools, and it has been possible to compare the two assemblages on the basis of metrical analysis.

Table i.4 shows the maximum dimensions of cores recovered from horizons I (Early Neolithic) and II (Chalcolithic) at Le Pinnacle: all figures are shown as % of assemblage⁶.

Table i.4: Maximum dimensions (cm) of cores from Le Pinnacle.

	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8
H.I.	0	0	23.8	51.8	16.1	4.7	3.1	0.5
H.II.	0	0	14.5	74.5	9.1	1.8	0	0

This suggests a significant reduction in the size of cores from horizon I to horizon II: 24.4% of the horizon I cores have maximum dimensions over 4 cm, compared with only 10.9% in horizon II. The mean dimension of the cores from horizon I is 3.32 cm, compared with 2.26 cm for the horizon II cores. A similarly marked decrease can be noted in terms of the maximum length of flint flakes (see

⁵ The Chalcolithic assemblage is from a redeposited layer and may incorporate residual Mesolithic elements.

⁶ Based on a sample of 197 cores from horizon I and 55 from horizon II.

Table i.2). Transverse arrowheads are found in both horizons, and there is a significant decrease in the size of these between horizons I and II (see Table i.5).

Table i.5: Length (cm) of transverse arrowheads from Le Pinnacle.⁷

	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5
H.I.	0	11.9	66.1	20.2	1.8
H.II.	0	18.4	71	7.9	2.6

Surprisingly, however, this pattern is not repeated in the dimensions of scrapers (Table i.6).

Table i.6: Maximum dimensions (cm) of scrapers from Le Pinnacle.⁸

	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8
H.I.	0	0	25.2	61	11.7	1.7	0	0.4
H.II.	0	0	11.4	65.9	19.5	3.3	0	0

Functional variation.

The discussion so far has concentrated on chronological variation in Channel Island flint assemblages, but functional variation between sites may also have been important. If we accept that assemblages of group B probably date to the "Middle stage" of the Mesolithic, and that assemblages of group C span the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, we are left with the problem of explaining the significance of groups A and D: one possibility is that they represent functionally specific assemblages. One approach to the question of functional variation is reduction stage analysis (PATTON 1988a). Flints are classified into the following categories, based on the stages involved in the process of "reducing" a pebble to a core.

Stage I flake: a flake struck from the top of a pebble to create a platform; characterised by the absence of a platform and the presence of one non-cortical face and no non-cortical edges.

⁷ Based on a sample of 111 arrowheads from horizon I and 47 from horizon II.

⁸ Based on a sample of 572 scrapers from horizon I and 124 from horizon II.

Stage II flake: a flake struck from the side of a pebble in order to remove the cortex; characterised by the presence of a platform and of one non-cortical face and no non-cortical edges.

Stage III flake: a flake with at least one non-cortical edge.

Debitage flake: an amorphous small flake, accidentally struck in the course of removing a larger flake.

Tool: any retouched implement.

Core: a nodule from which flakes have been deliberately removed.

An assemblage can be analysed in terms of the relative proportions of the categories listed above (cf PATTON 1988a), and this may serve as a guide to the nature of flint-working activity on particular sites (e.g. a site which was used for the manufacture of flint tools might be expected to have a high proportion ofdebitage and cores, whereas a site where flint tools were used will have a higher proportion of tools). An analysis of this type, however, would be meaningless if applied to most of the assemblages included in this analysis: in selective collections (including the assemblages from Le Pinnacle and virtually all the surface collections),debitage and stage I and II flakes will be systematically under-represented. Table i.7 shows the relative proportions of these categories in three assemblages, Géonnais chamber backfill, Géonnais layer 10 (PATTON in FORREST & RAULT forthcoming) and La Moye I (PATTON 1988a). A control collection is also included: this is an assemblage produced experimentally by James Knight from 15 Jersey beach pebbles. This control collection consists of 854 fragments in all (i.e. an average of 57 flints from each core), and shows the pattern which might be expected on a flint working site, assuming that no flints were removed and dumped elsewhere.

Table i.7: composition of flint assemblages (all figures shown as % of assemblage).

	Géo.C.B.	Géo.L.10.	La Moye.	Control.
Stage I.	0.8	0	5.5	2.6
Stage II.	4.8	12.5	10.7	12.4
Stage III.	10.5	11.1	29.1	7.8
Debitage.	80.8	72.9	23.9	74.9
Tools.	0.9	1.4	2.5	-
Cores.	2.2	2.1	17.5	2.1

The table shows a marked difference between the Géonnais assemblage and the La Moye I assemblage: the Géonnais assemblages have a much higher proportion ofdebitage and a lower proportion of cores and stage I and III flakes. The low proportion ofdebitage in the La Moye I assemblage has been interpreted (PATTON 1988a) as suggesting that waste was deliberately taken out of the settlement area for disposal: the Géonnais assemblages can be seen as complementary to the La Moye I assemblage, and could perhaps be regarded as reflecting the disposal of waste flint. The evidence from these sites does suggest a degree of functional variation between Channel Island flint assemblages, but owing to the inadequacies of the data it has not been possible to relate these discussions to the other Channel Island assemblages. Recent excavations at Les Blanches Banques, Jersey (FINLAISON & PATTON forthcoming) and at Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (KINNES forthcoming) have produced important assemblages, and analysis of these should provide further information.

APPENDIX ii.

STONE AXES OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS: PETROLOGY AND TYPOLOGY.

Stone axes constitute an important category of evidence with regard to the Channel Island Neolithic, but it has proved difficult to incorporate this evidence in general discussions. On the one hand, the relatively few axes found in context cover a wide time range, (c4800-2250 BC), but exhibit little chronological variation. On the other, the vast majority of axes from the islands are without secure contexts so that, in the absence of any clear morphological sequence, they cannot be dated. This chronological problem is the primary reason for considering the stone axes of the islands in an appendix, rather than in the body of the thesis.

Sample and methodology.

The discussion which follows is based on a sample¹ of 345 axes, (of which 159 from Jersey, 126 from Guernsey, 39 from Sark, 17 from Alderney and 4 from Herm). This sample does not include axes of doubtful provenance, with labels such as "presumed Jersey provenance", or axes that are recognisably exotic, (there are, for example, a number of characteristic Maori axes in the Jersey collection). In many cases the provenance is imprecise but all of the axes included in the sample can be assigned with relative certainty to a particular island.

Petrological and metrical data were recorded for every axe in the sample. Petrological identification was by eye, since funds were not available for thin section or spectroscopic analysis, (nine of the Jersey axes, however, have already been confirmed as jadeite by thin-section analysis: JONES et al. 1977, BISHOP & WOOLLEY

¹ The sample comprises all axes which can be assigned with reasonable certainty to a particular island. Axes that have been omitted are those which may not be of Channel Island provenance. The sample thus constituted represents approximately 60% of the stone axes of claimed Channel Island provenance.

1978). The axes were examined independently and on separate occasions by M. C-T Le Roux (Directeur des Antiquités Préhistoriques de Bretagne) and by myself. The Jersey axes had also been identified independently by Dr. A.E. Maurant, and the Guernsey axes by Mr. A. Howell. In cases where the three identifications were at variance, the axes were re-examined by Dr. Maurant or Mr. Howell and myself in order to reach a consensus.

On this basis, the axes were classified into the following petrological groups:

Rocks available in the Channel Islands.

Fine-grained dolerite.

Dolerite "type P"²

Diorite.

Grauwacke.

Granite.

Volcanic rocks.

Metamorphic rocks.

Rocks not available in the Channel Islands.

Dolerite Type A (cf LE ROUX 1979a).

Jadeite/Eclogite.

Fibrolite.

Flint.

Three measurements were recorded for each axe: maximum length, width of blade and maximum thickness.

Petrology.

Table ii.1 shows the breakdown of axes in the sample into petrological groups. All figures are shown as a percentage of the total sample within a particular island. Figures for Alderney and Herm are not shown because the samples from these islands are too small to be considered reliable, but petrological groups are shown as being present (P) or absent (A) from these assemblages.

² This group was defined by the author. "Dolerite P" is distinguished by the abundance of plagioclase microphenocrysts, and was first identified in the stone tool assemblage from the Early Neolithic horizon at Le Pinacle, Jersey.

Table ii.1: Petrology of Channel Island Stone Axes.

	<u>JER</u>	<u>GUE</u>	<u>SAR</u>	<u>ALD</u>	<u>HER</u>
Fine-grained dolerite	30.8	18.3	17.9	A	P
Dolerite "Type P"	15.7	31	20.5	P	P
Diorite	5	10.3	7.7	A	A
Grauwacke	0.6	0	0	A	A
Granite	0	0.8	0	A	A
Volcanic	3.1	0	0	A	A
Metamorphic	1.3	11.9	41	P	P
Dolerite Type A	15.1	11.1	2.6	A	A
Jadeite/Eclogite	10.1	4.8	5.1	P	A
Fibrolite	2.5	3.2	0	A	A
Flint	15.7	7.9	5.1	P	A

Local sources and production.

Most of the axes of locally available rock cannot be pinned down to a specific source. Below is a list of rock types with notes on their occurrence.

Fine-grained dolerite: Dykes around the North-Western, South-Western and South-Eastern parts of Jersey, around the Southern and Western parts of Guernsey and in Alderney and Sark.

Dolerite "Type P": See below.

Diorite: South-Eastern part of Jersey, Northern part of Guernsey, Alderney.

Grauwacke: In Brioverian sedimentary series of Jersey and Guernsey.

Granite: Southern and Western parts of Jersey.

Volcanic rocks: Eastern part of Jersey.

Metamorphic rocks: Extensively in Guernsey, Alderney and Sark.

Two important dolerite sills are known in the immediate vicinity of the site of Le Pinnacle (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949,1950), the first is immediately below the site, whilst the second outcrops on the slopes to the South. The dolerite from these sills is characterised by an abundance of plagioclase microphenocrysts, and is indistinguishable to the naked eye from the material of the axes classified above as dolerite "Type P". Le Pinnacle is an important multi-phase site with levels ranging from Early Neolithic to Gallo-Roman. The assemblage from the Early Neolithic level (see Ch.III) includes partially finished stone axes (all of dolerite "Type P"), polishing tools and a unique series of stone picks and hammers which may have been used in the

extraction of dolerite³. It seems likely that the site of Le Pinnacle functioned as an axe production centre (cf RENOUF & URRY 1976), and this is particularly interesting, since not only would it be the first production centre known from the Channel Islands, but the association with Cerny pottery (c4300-4800 BC) would also make it one of the earliest axe production centres in North-Western Europe (see Ch.III). It is not possible at this stage to be certain that all Channel Island axes of dolerite "Type P" are from Le Pinnacle since similar material can be obtained elsewhere in the Channel Islands. There is no evidence for any Middle Neolithic activity at Le Pinnacle, so it seems that the production centre had either moved or ceased to function before the beginning of the 4th Millennium BC.

Continental Sources and production.

Approximately 32% of the axes found in the Channel Islands are of rock types that do not occur naturally in the Channel Islands. The most significant of the imported groups are Type A dolerite and flint.

Axes of Type A dolerite can be traced to the production centre of Séledin en Plussulien, Côtes-du-Nord (LE ROUX 1970). These axes are widely distributed in the Armorican region, constituting over 40% of axes from mainland Brittany and 20-40% of axes from the Cotentin (LE ROUX 1979a).

Flint axes, by contrast, are rare in Brittany, forming less than 5% of the total stone axe assemblage (COGNE & GIOT 1952). There is no naturally occurring flint in Brittany or the Channel Islands, and the beach pebbles which form the basis of Armorican prehistoric flint assemblages are generally unsuitable for the manufacture of axes. Detailed information on axe petrology is not available for Normandy, but flint axes become more common

³ Petrological analysis has been carried out on ten of these implements, and the dolerite of these tools closely matches that of the sill which runs beneath Le Pinnacle (WOOLLEY IN FINLAISON & PATTON eds forthcoming). A preliminary analysis of ten "Type P" axes from other locations in Jersey provided inconclusive results.

as one moves eastwards from the département of Manche into Calvados. A Norman origin seems probable for flint axes found in the Channel Islands: Neolithic flint mines are known at Soignolles, Les Carrières (Soumont-St-Quentin), Potignay and Bretteville-le-Rabet in Calvados (EDEINE 1961, VERRON 1981, DESLOGES 1986).

Cogné & Giot (1952) estimate that axes of jadeite and eclogite constitute around 5% of the Breton total. It may be significant that Jersey has a much higher proportion of jadeite/eclogite axes (10.1%). Jadeite and eclogite have been considered together in this study, since it is often difficult to distinguish them by eye: in fact nine of the Jersey axes have been confirmed as jadeite (BISHOP & WOOLLEY 1978). The source of jadeite is uncertain: an Alpine origin seems likely on geological grounds, and this suggestion is strengthened by the distribution of jadeite axes in Europe (CAMPBELL-SMITH 1965), but Le Roux (1979) suggests the possibility of a Breton source, near to the Ile de Groix, Morbihan. Eclogites occur naturally in South-Eastern Brittany (LASNIER 1970).

Fibrolite axes constitute around 22% of the Breton total (COGNE & GIOT 1952) but the distribution of fibrolite axes shows considerable regional variation, with major concentrations in Morbihan, the Northern part of Ille-et-Vilaine and in North-Western and South-Western Finistère. Fibrolite occurs naturally in Morbihan and North-Western Finistère. A particularly large number of broken and unbroken fibrolite axes were found on the site of Er Lannic, Morbihan (LE ROUZIC 1930a), and it seems likely that this site, with its double stone circle, functioned as a distribution centre for axes from the Morbihan fibrolite source (in the area of Port-Navalo). A similar association between stone circles and axe exchange has been suggested for the British Neolithic (BURL 1976).

Typology.

Figures ii.1 & ii.2 show the length/width ratios of axes within the above petrological groups. Axes of grauwacke, granite and volcanic rocks are omitted, since

Fig.ii.1. Length/width ratios of locally produced axes.

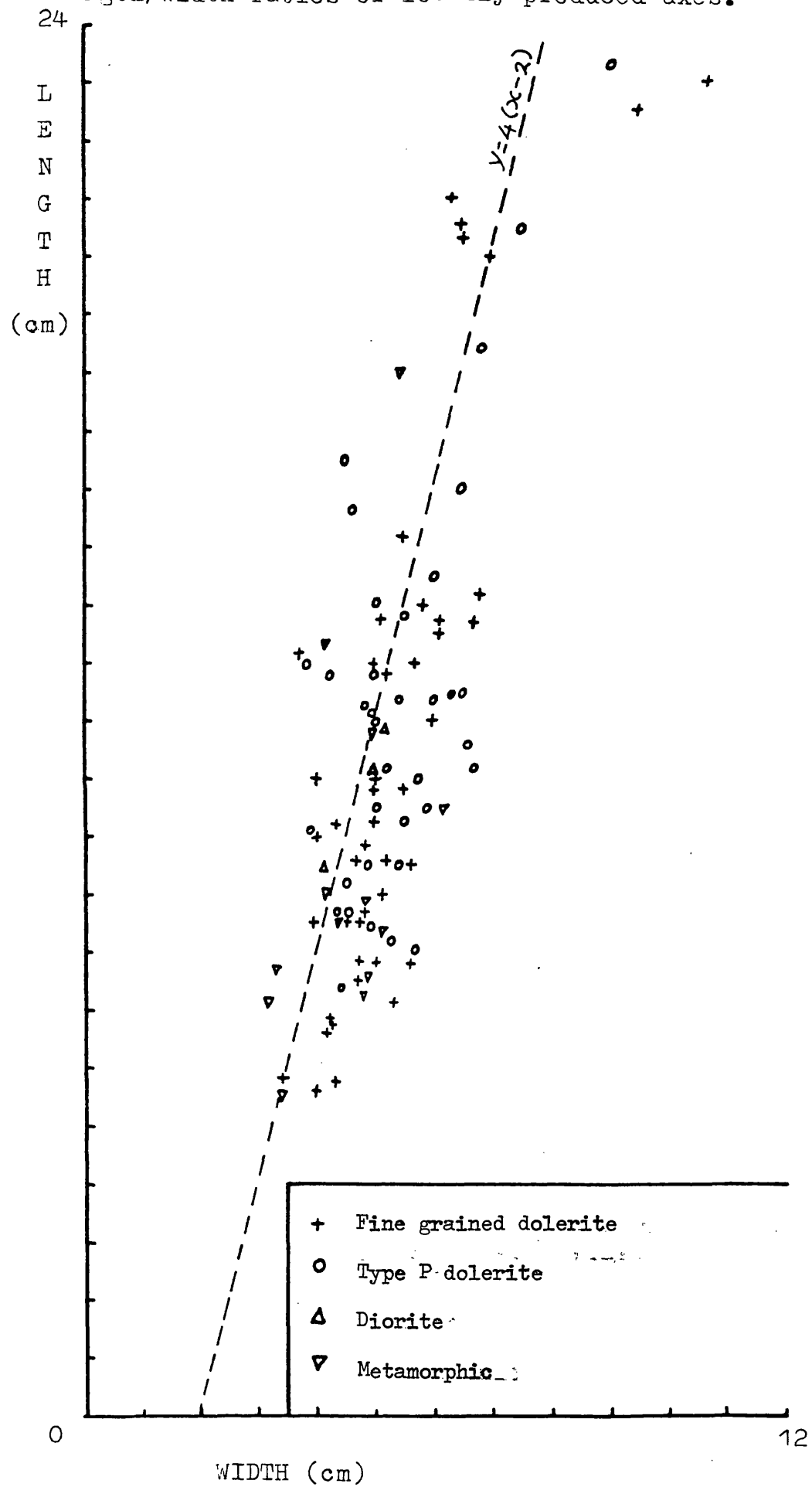


Fig.ii.2. Length/width ratios of imported axes.

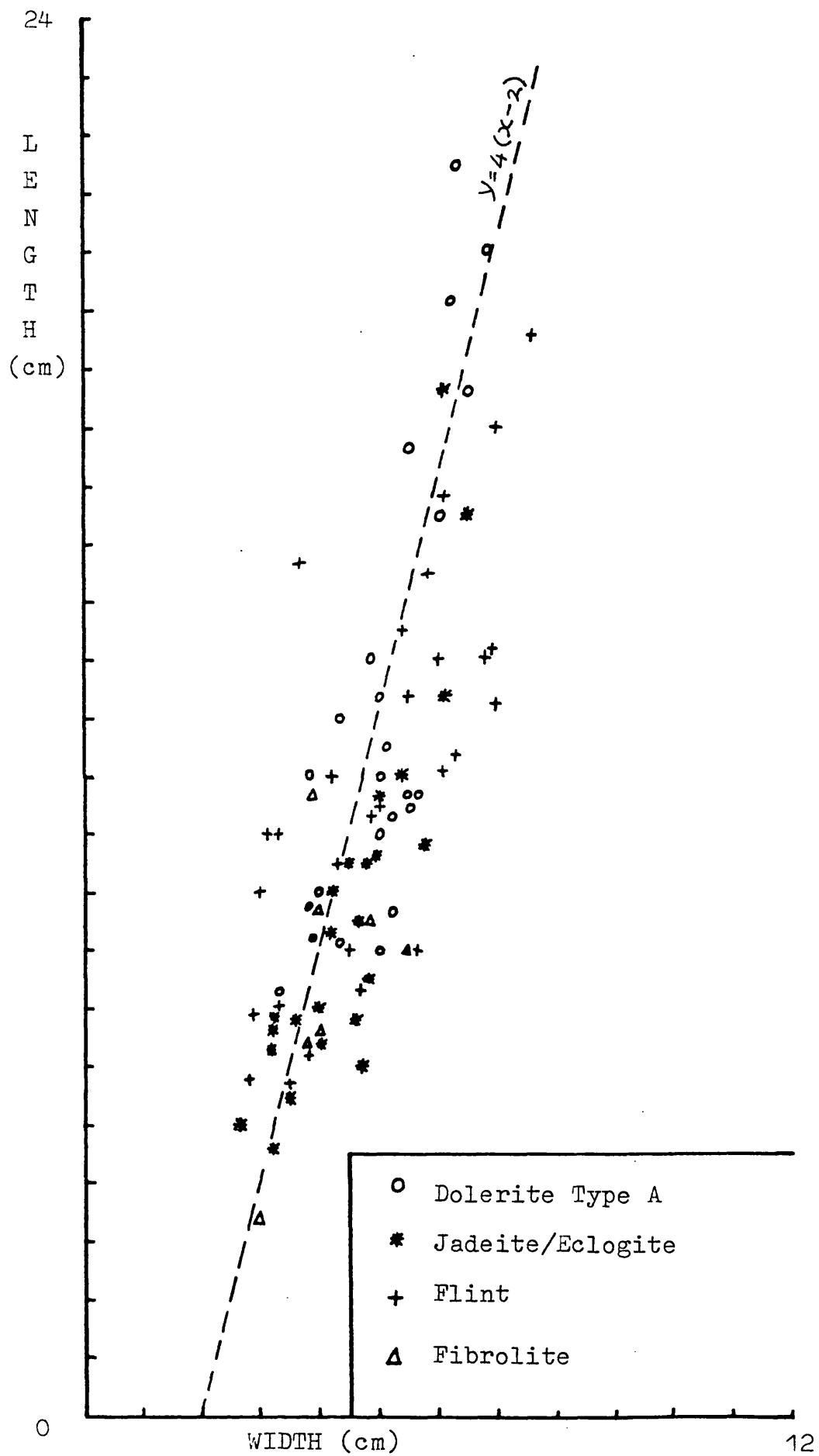


Fig.ii.3. Width/thickness ratios of locally produced axes.

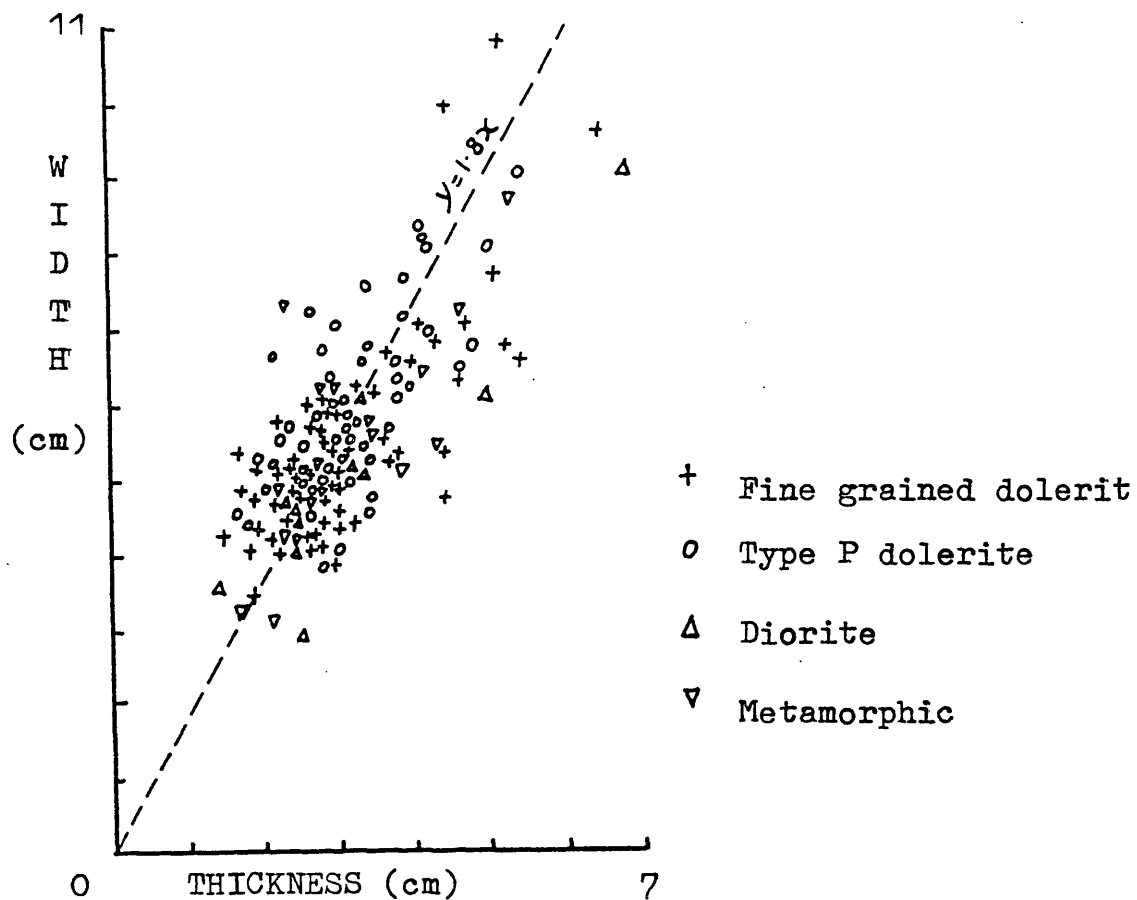


Fig.ii.4. Width/thickness ratios of imported axes.

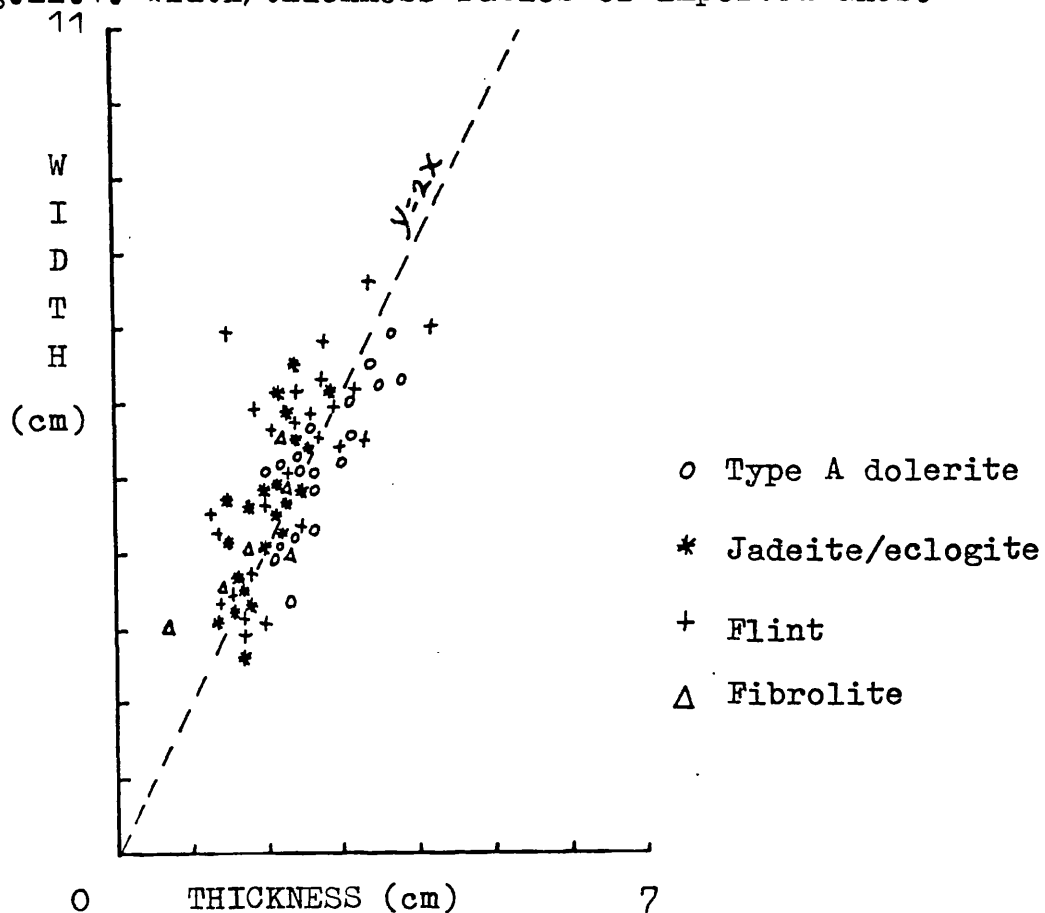
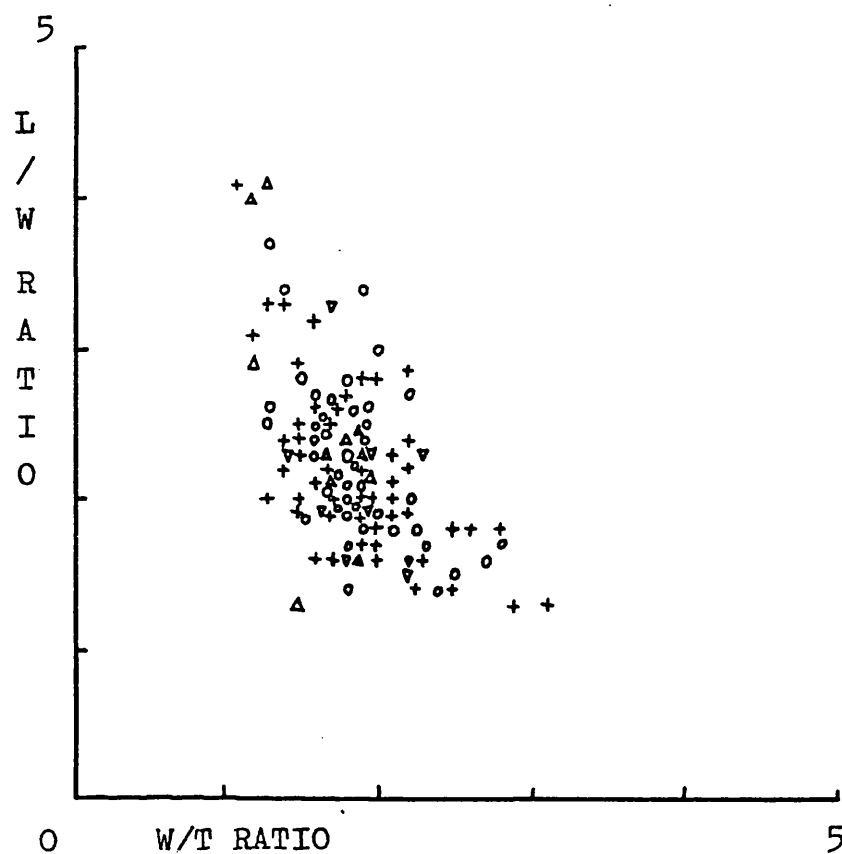


Fig.ii.5. Locally produced axes: length/width ratio plotted against width/thickness ratio.



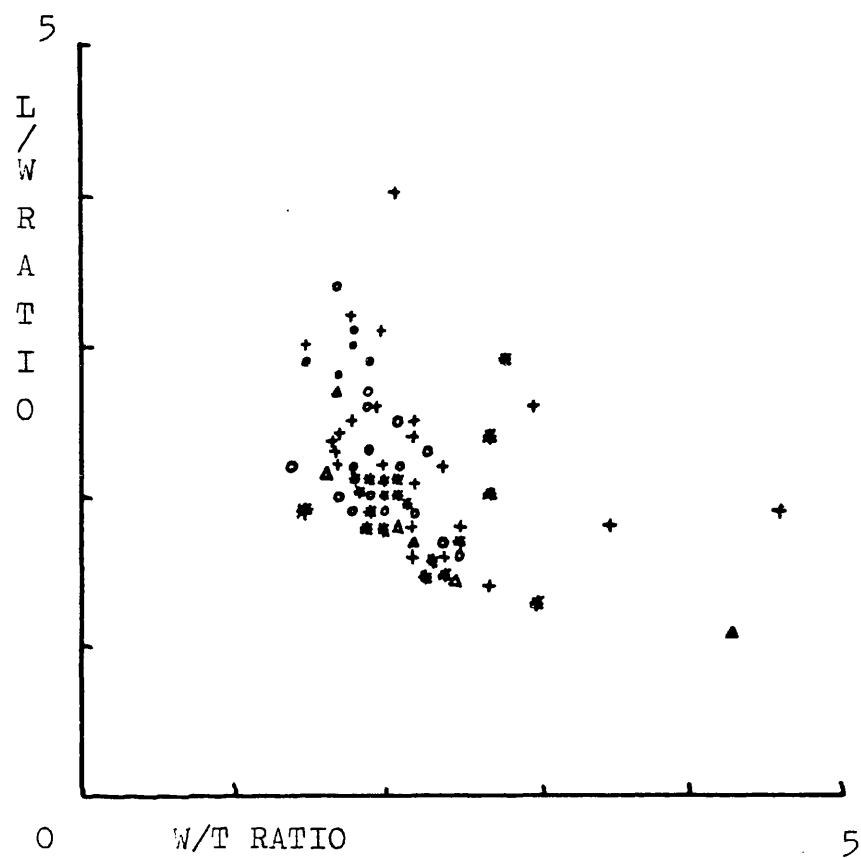
+ Fine grained dolerite

O Type P dolerite

Δ Diorite

▽ Metamorphic

Fig.ii.6. Imported axes: Length/width ratio plotted against width/thickness ratio.



- Dolerite Type A
- * Jadeite/Eclogite
- + Flint
- Δ Fibrolite

these categories include only a very small number of axes, from which general conclusions should not be drawn. These graphs do not show any great variation in terms of axe shape: the points are all distributed around the line $Y=4(X-2)$, where X =width of blade and Y =maximum length of axe. Length varies from 3 to 37 cm and blade width from 3 to 11 cm. There is a degree of clustering in terms of size. Axes of fine-grained dolerite have a bimodal distribution with one group having lengths between 5 and 14 cm and another group having lengths between 20 and 28 cm. Axes of jadeite, fibrolite, diorite and metamorphic rocks cluster around the lower end of the scale, mostly with lengths less than 14 cm, whilst axes of "Type P" dolerite cluster in the middle, with lengths between 7 and 17 cm. Axes of flint and dolerite Type A are evenly distributed within the general range.

Figures ii.3 and ii.4 show the width/thickness ratios of axes in the sample. These graphs show a slight distinction between axes of local rock (ii.3) and those of imported rock (ii.4): the local axes cluster around the line $Y=1.8X$, whereas the imported ones cluster around the line $Y=2X$, (where X =maximum thickness of axe and Y =width of blade). The assemblage of local axes includes "thick" forms that are entirely absent from the imported assemblage.

Figures ii.5 and ii.6 show length/width ratio plotted against width/thickness ratio (cf BISHOP et al 1978). There are no obvious groupings among the axes of local rocks (Fig.ii.5), but there is a degree of clustering among imported axes (Fig.ii.6). There are two distinct clusters of jadeite/eclogite axes and all but four of the jadeite/eclogite axes fall into one of these.

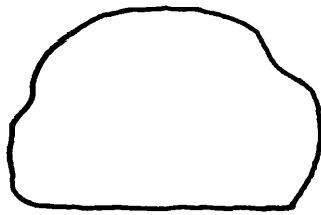
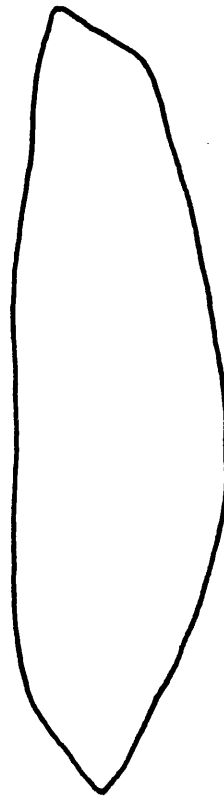
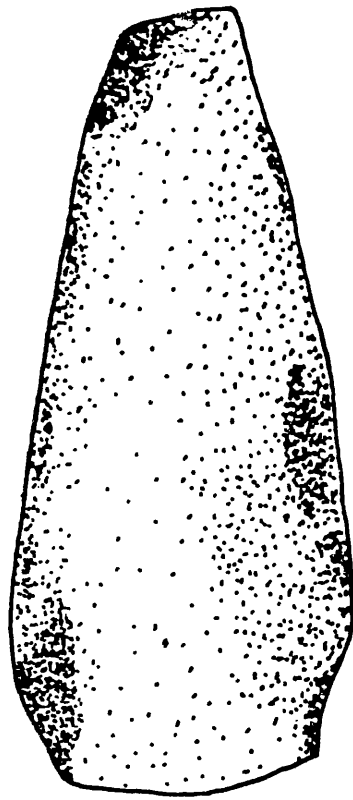
Special forms.

The sample includes a number of axes of special forms known from the Armorican mainland.

a) Shoe-last celts.

No distinction has been made in this appendix between axes and adzes: in many cases it is difficult to establish the manner in which a blade was hafted. The shoe-last

Fig. iv.7



0

5 cm.

celts, however, are undoubtedly adzes rather than axes. They are characterised (Fig.ii.7) by an asymmetrical cross-section with one flat face. These are of particular interest from the point of view of chronology, since on the mainland of Central and Western Europe they are specifically associated with the Early Neolithic Bandkeramik and epi-Bandkeramik complexes. One of the Jersey examples (from Le Pinnacle) was stratified with Cerny pottery (epi-Bandkeramik).

Below is a list of shoe-last celts from the Channel Islands.

Jersey.

- 1) Le Pinnacle, St.Ouen (fine-grained dolerite).
- 2) Bonne Nuit, St.John (volcanic). SJMJ733⁴
- 3) Precise provenance unknown: in Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, (Jadeite/eclogite. PATTON 1987d). 1884:123:583.

Guernsey.

- 4) Les Ozouets, St.Peter-Port (metamorphic). GMAG2704.

Alderney.

- 5) Precise provenance unknown (fine grained dolerite). GMAG2532.

These adzes are discussed in more detail in Ch.III.

b) Button-axes.

These axes, characterised by a button on the butt-end (Fig.ii.8) are well known in Brittany. Almost all are of Type A dolerite. Evidence from Brittany suggests that they date to the Late Neolithic (GIOT et al. 1979). Below is a list of button-axes from the Channel Islands.

Jersey.

- 1) Beaumont, St.Peter. SJMJ20.
- 2) Mont à l'Abbé, St.Helier. SJMJ25.
- 3) Le Mont Ubé, St.Clement. SJMJ2225.
- 4) St.Brelade. SJMJ370.

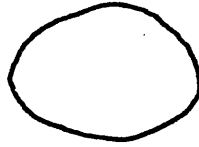
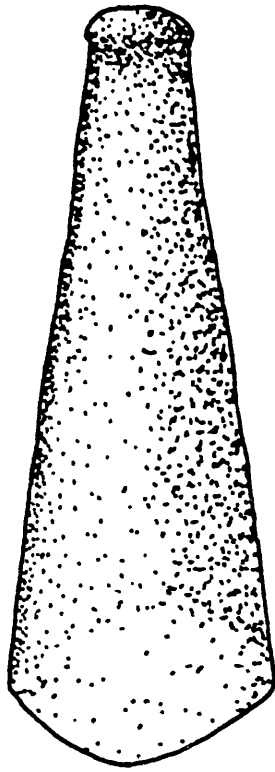
Guernsey.

- 5) Les Déhussets, Castel. GMAG2595.
- 6) St.John's, St.Peter-Port. GMAGGA JW-554.

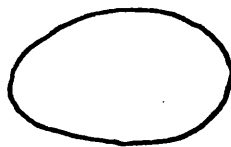
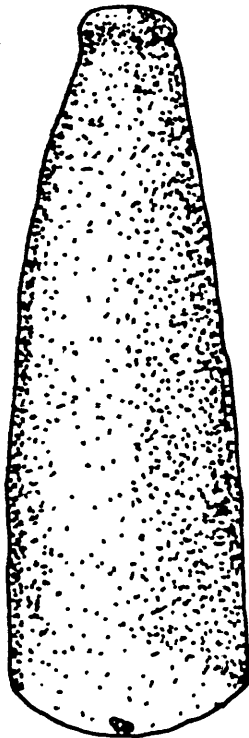
⁴ For reference purposes, the museum catalogue numbers are quoted for specific artefacts. References starting SJM relate to artefacts in the collection of La Société Jersiaise, those starting GMAG to artefacts in the collection of the Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery. References starting 1884: relate to artefacts in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Fig.ii.8

a)



b)



7) Le Crocq, St.Saviour.

Sark.

8) Precise provenance unknown. GMAG2603.

(N.B. all of the Channel Island button axes are of Type A dolerite).

These axes are discussed in more detail in Ch.V.

c) Fluted axe.

A single axe from La Hougue Bouillon, St.Clair, St.Sampson, Guernsey, is of unusual form, with a wide groove running down both flat faces, from butt to blade (KENDRICK 1928: Fig.15ii). This is particularly remarkable, since the axe is of flint which would be especially difficult to work in this manner. There are no obvious parallels for this axe.

Chronology.

The earliest polished axes in the Channel Islands probably date to around 4800 BC, coinciding with the earliest Neolithic occupation of the islands. It is possible that the latest axes date to the Chalcolithic period, (2850-2250 BC), although the existence of a sandstone polisher at La Moye I (PATTON 1988b) suggests that the manufacture and use of stone axes may have continued into the Early Bronze Age.

If the site of Le Pinnacle is accepted as the source of "Type P" dolerite axes, then these must be considered to date to the period 4300-4800 BC, though it is possible that such axes were subsequently made elsewhere. Le Roux (1979a) notes that axes of Type A dolerite do not occur in the earliest Breton passage graves (c4300-4700 BC), and the radiocarbon dates from the production centre of Plussulien calibrate between 2670 and 4120 BC⁵ (BENDER 1986). Fibrolite axes are found in the earliest Breton passage graves, but also in later monuments, and it seems that fibrolite was used in Armorica throughout the Neolithic period. Flint, likewise was probably used throughout the Neolithic period: an early date is

⁵ Using the calibration curve given by Pearson et al. 1986, the earliest dates from Plussulien of 3390±60 bc (GrN-1966) and 3320±140 bc (Gif-1877) calibrate at 4220 and 4210 BC respectively. This calibration curve was published after the publication of Bender 1986.

suggested by the radiocarbon date from the mine at Bretteville-le-Rabet⁴ (DESLOGES 1986), but flint axes are also found in the Late Neolithic gallery graves of the Paris Basin (BAILLOUD 1964). The dating of jadeite axes is uncertain, since there are so few examples from secure contexts: one from the Somerset Levels (COLES *et al.* 1974) was associated with a wooden track-way (the Sweet Track), and the radiocarbon dates from the preserved wood (COLES *et al.* 1973) calibrate between 3630 BC and 4220 BC.

Conclusions.

The evidence suggests that stone axe exchange took place between Jersey and Guernsey, and between the islands and the Armorican mainland throughout the Neolithic period. The relatively high proportion of flint axes in the Channel Island assemblages suggests that axes were obtained from communities on the adjacent coast of Normandy, rather than from Brittany. It is interesting to note that the assemblage from Jersey includes a much higher proportion of imported axes than the assemblages from Guernsey and Sark, and given Jersey's geographical position (see Fig.I.1) close to the Cotentin coast, it seems possible that communities in Guernsey and Sark may have acquired mainland axes from communities in Jersey, rather than directly from Normandy. The significance of axe exchange during the Channel Island Neolithic is discussed in Chapters III-V and in Ch.VII.

⁴ 3710±190 bc = 4340-4770 BC (LY-3680).

APPENDIX iii.

EARLY NEOLITHIC POTTERY FROM THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

In discussing the Early Neolithic pottery from the Channel Islands, three sites stand out as being of particular importance: Le Pinacle (GODFRAY & BURDO 1949) and Le Mont Orgueil (BARTON 1984), Jersey, and Les Fouaillages, Guernsey (KINNES 1982 & forthcoming). The first of these assemblages relates to a probable axe-production site, the second is an unstratified assemblage revealed in the course of excavations at a Medieval castle, and the third is from a recently excavated megalithic complex (see Ch.III). Sherds of Early Neolithic pottery have also been found in peat-beds at St.Ouen's Bay and St.Helier (Tunnel Street), Jersey, in deposits exposed by coastal erosion at L'Erée, Guernsey (KINNES pers.comm), and on Les Ecréhous and Les Minquiers. The assemblages from St.Ouen's Bay, St.Helier, Les Ecréhous and Les Minquiers amount to only a few sherds. The assemblage from L'Erée is potentially more important, as it may represent an Early Neolithic settlement (see Ch.III), but most of the sherds have regrettably found their way into private collections, and some have been removed to the U.K.

The Early/Middle Neolithic transition (Ch.III/IV) in the Channel Islands is defined largely on the basis of ceramic typology. Early Neolithic assemblages are characterised by decorated vessels, with clear affinities in the epi-Rubané sequence of Northern France (CONSTANTIN 1985), and specifically in the Cerny style of Normandy and the Paris Basin. Middle Neolithic assemblages, by contrast (see Appendix iv), are characterised by vase-supports and by undecorated globular and hemispherical bowls. Most of the Middle Neolithic assemblages from the islands are from passage graves. Pottery of Cerny type has never been found in a Channel Island passage grave, and all the indications (see Ch.III) both from the Channel Islands and from the French mainland, are that the Cerny complex is earlier in date than the passage

graves.

Typology of Channel Island Cerny assemblages.

Most of the vessels from the Channel Island assemblages are represented only by a few sherds, and the shape and size of vessels cannot in most cases be reconstructed with any accuracy. A single vessel from Le Pinacle (Fig.ii.1b) is preserved almost intact, but most of the reconstructed vessels shown by Godfray & Burdo (1949) must be regarded with considerable suspicion. Even the number of vessels is difficult to estimate from an assemblage such as that from Le Pinacle, with over 200 decorated sherds, less than 20% of which can be refitted.

In the analysis that follows, the Channel Island assemblages are considered on the basis of form and decoration. Because the precise form of vessels can in most cases not be ascertained, Constantin's (1985:Tableaux 84/85) classificatory scheme for form must be greatly simplified. The following scheme was adopted:

- F1 Hemispherical vessels (Constantin's Types 11 & 12).
- F2 Globular vessels (Constantin's Type 22).
- F3 Small bowls (Constantin's Type 41).
- F4 Carinated vessels.

The following decorative motifs were identified:

D1. Decoration on the rim.

- a Incisions around the rim (Fig.iii.14).
- b Circular impressions around the rim (Fig.iii.15d).

D2. Decoration on the neck of the vessel.

- a Single or multiple bands of repoussé buttons (Fig.iii.1a,iii.5).
- b Single or multiple bands of simple impressions (Fig.iii.1b,iii.12i).
- c Narrow applied cordons decorated with vertical incisions (Fig.iii.3).
- d Shallow grooves flanked by impressions¹ (Fig.iii.13).

D3. Decoration on the body of the vessel.

- a "Sun" motif (Fig.iii.2a-e).
- b Narrow applied cordons decorated with vertical incisions (Fig.iii.3a,c).
- c Double incised horizontal band infilled with vertical incisions or with simple impressions (Fig.iii.4f-j).
- d Single or multiple band of simple impressions (Fig.iii.7-iii.12).

¹ The "sillon encoché" of Constantin (1985).

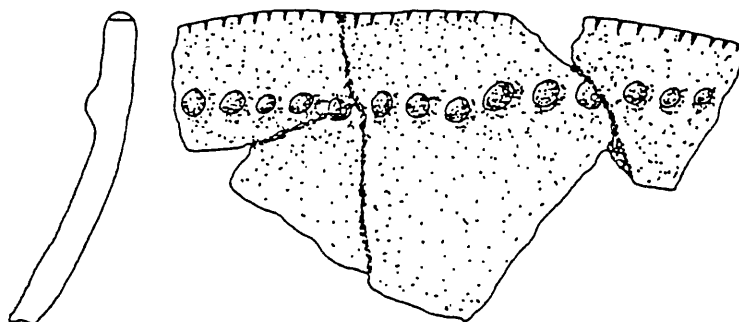
- 555
- e Shallow grooves flanked by impressions (Fig.iii.13h,i).
 - f Garlands of impressions (Fig.iii.19c,e).
 - g Circles of impressions (Fig.iii.12a).
 - h Vertical line of impressions (Fig.iii.17f).

In addition to the decorative traits, the existence of lugs and applied buttons on many of the vessels is significant. These may be classified as follows:

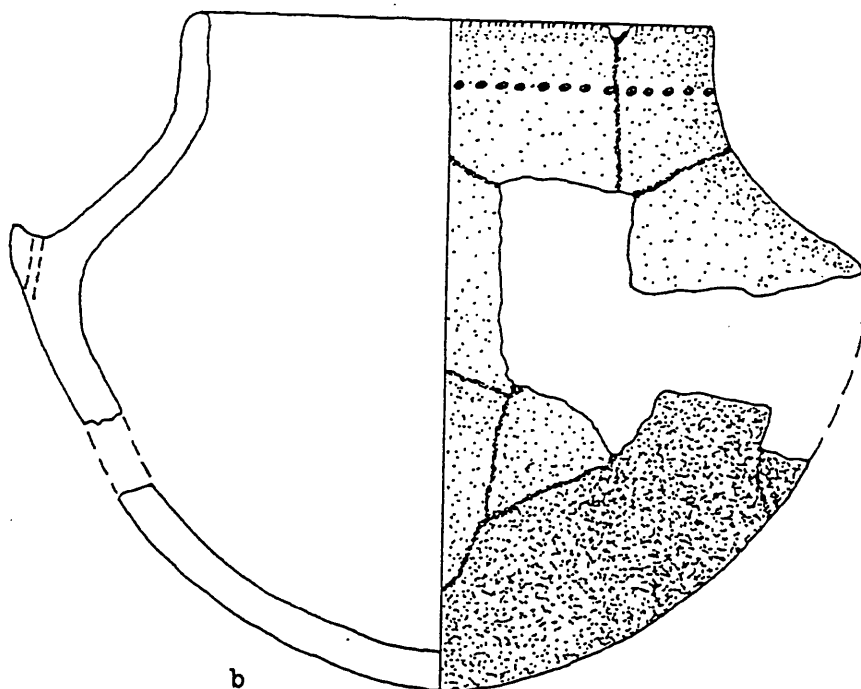
- A1 Unperforated applied buttons (Fig.iii.2c,iii.17g,h,iii.19).
- A2 Applied buttons with vertical or angled perforations (Fig.iii.15k,iii.16a).
- A3 Horizontal elongated lug with vertical perforation (Fig.iii.16b,c).
- A4 Horizontal elongated lug without perforation (Fig.iii.17a) or with incomplete perforation (Fig.iii.17e).
- A5 Vertical elongated lug or handle with horizontal perforation (Fig.iii.17b-d,iii.18).
- A6 Horizontally perforated handle with vertical groove (Fig.iii.15l).

The complete assemblage of decorated pottery from Le Pinacle is illustrated on Figs iii.1-20. These illustrations have been included because the sherds have not been satisfactorily illustrated elsewhere, and because the material from Le Pinacle constitutes the key assemblage for defining the Early Neolithic of the Channel Islands in terms of ceramic typology. The assemblage from Le Mont Orgueil has been well illustrated in Barton's (1984) report, and a selection of these illustrations is reproduced here for comparative purposes (Fig.iii.21).

Fig.iii.1. Pottery from Le Pinacle.



a



b

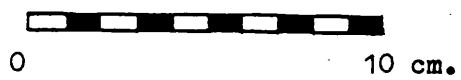
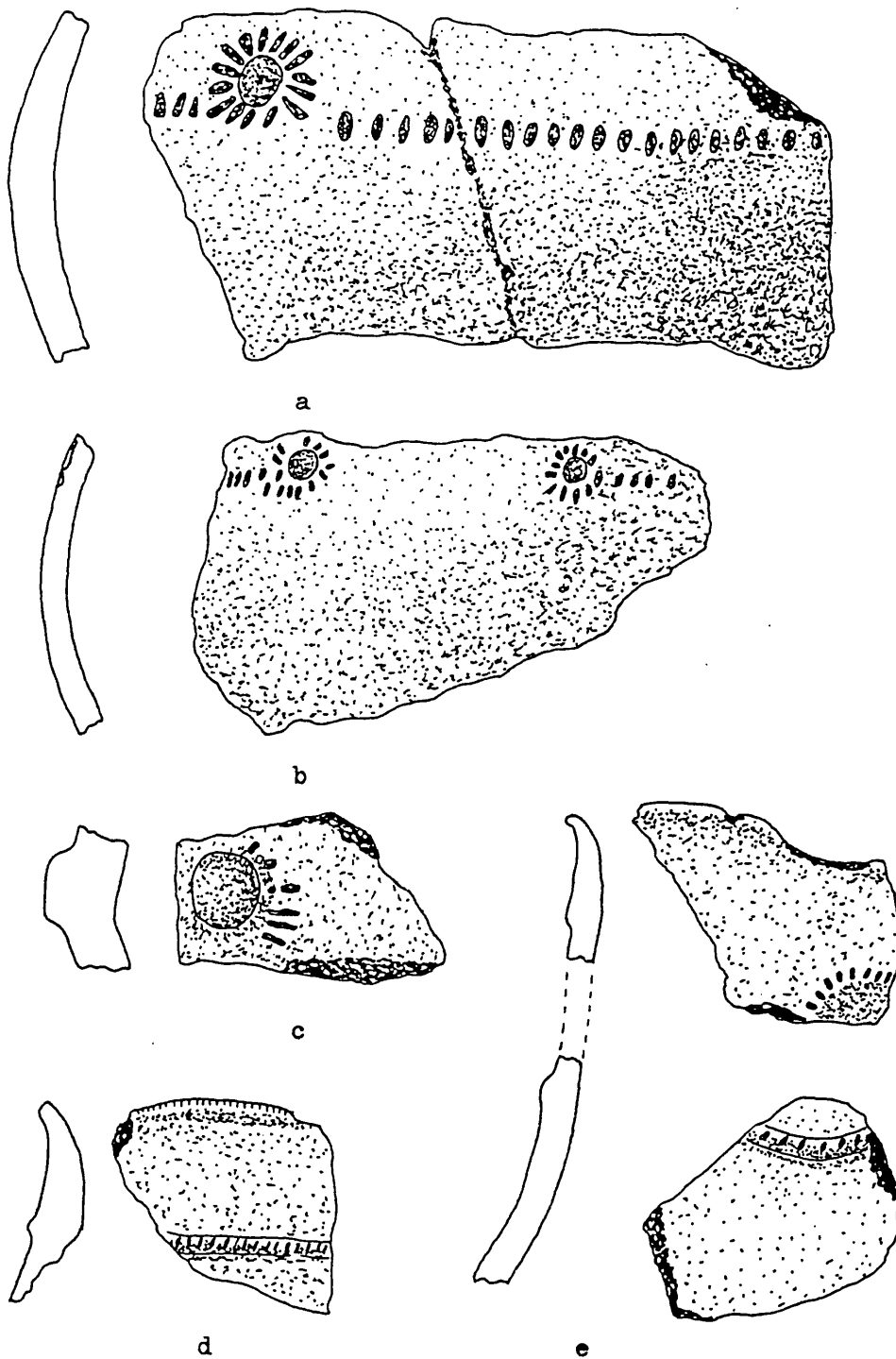
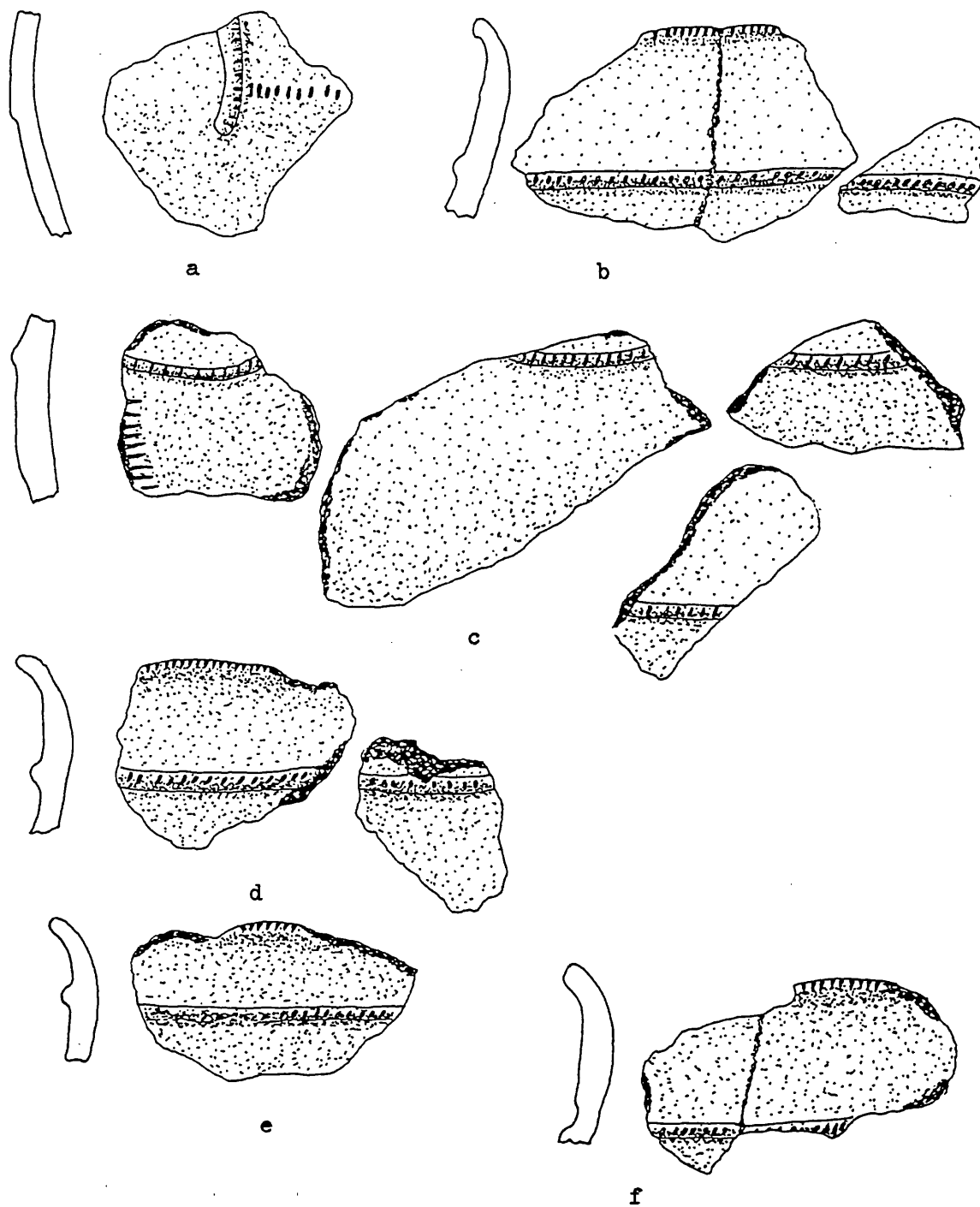


Fig.iii.2. Pottery from Le Pinacle.



0 5 cm.

Fig.iii.3. Pottery from Le Pinacle.



0 5 cm.

Fig.iii.4. Pottery from Le Pinacle.

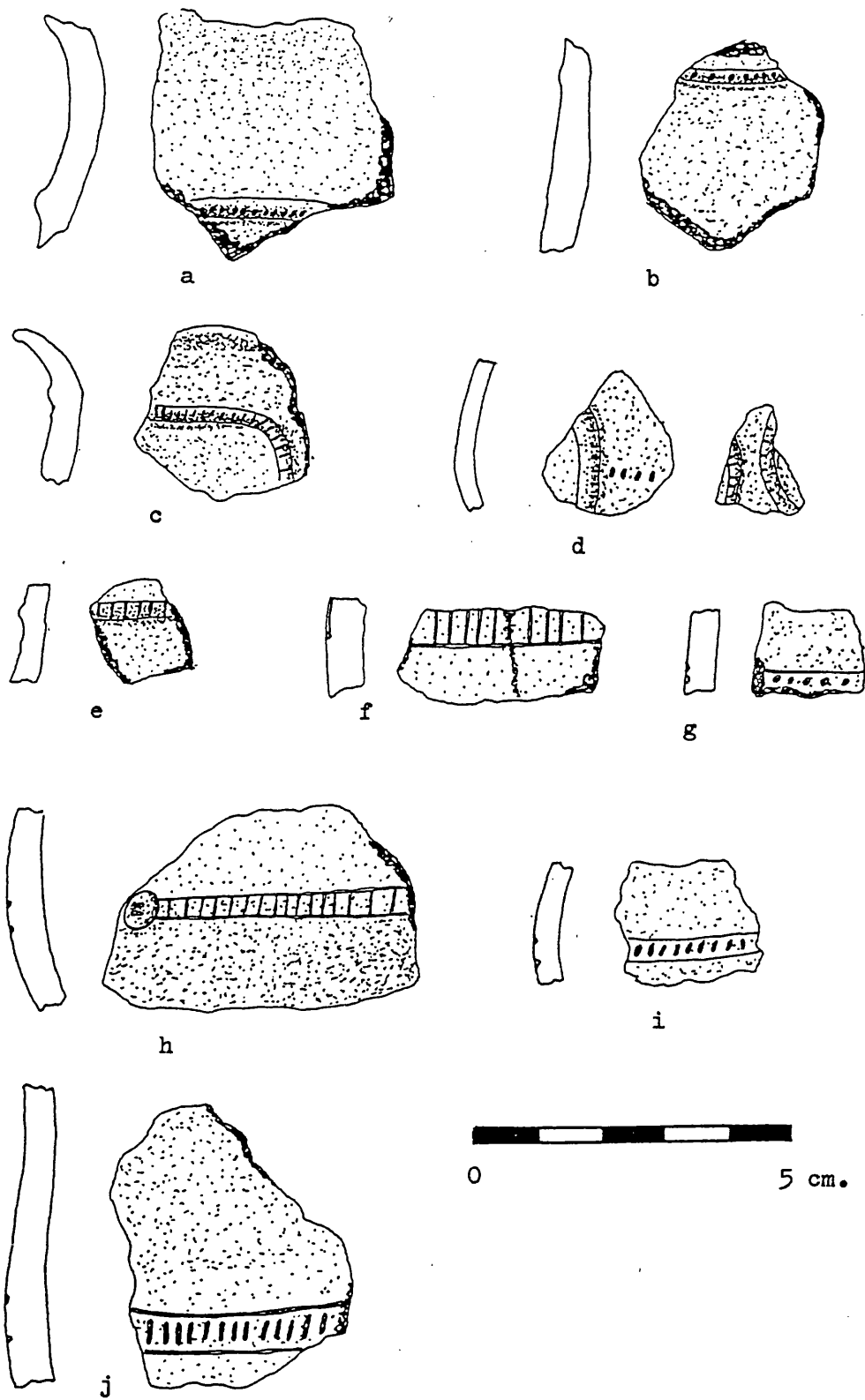


Fig.iii.5. Pottery from Le Pinacle.

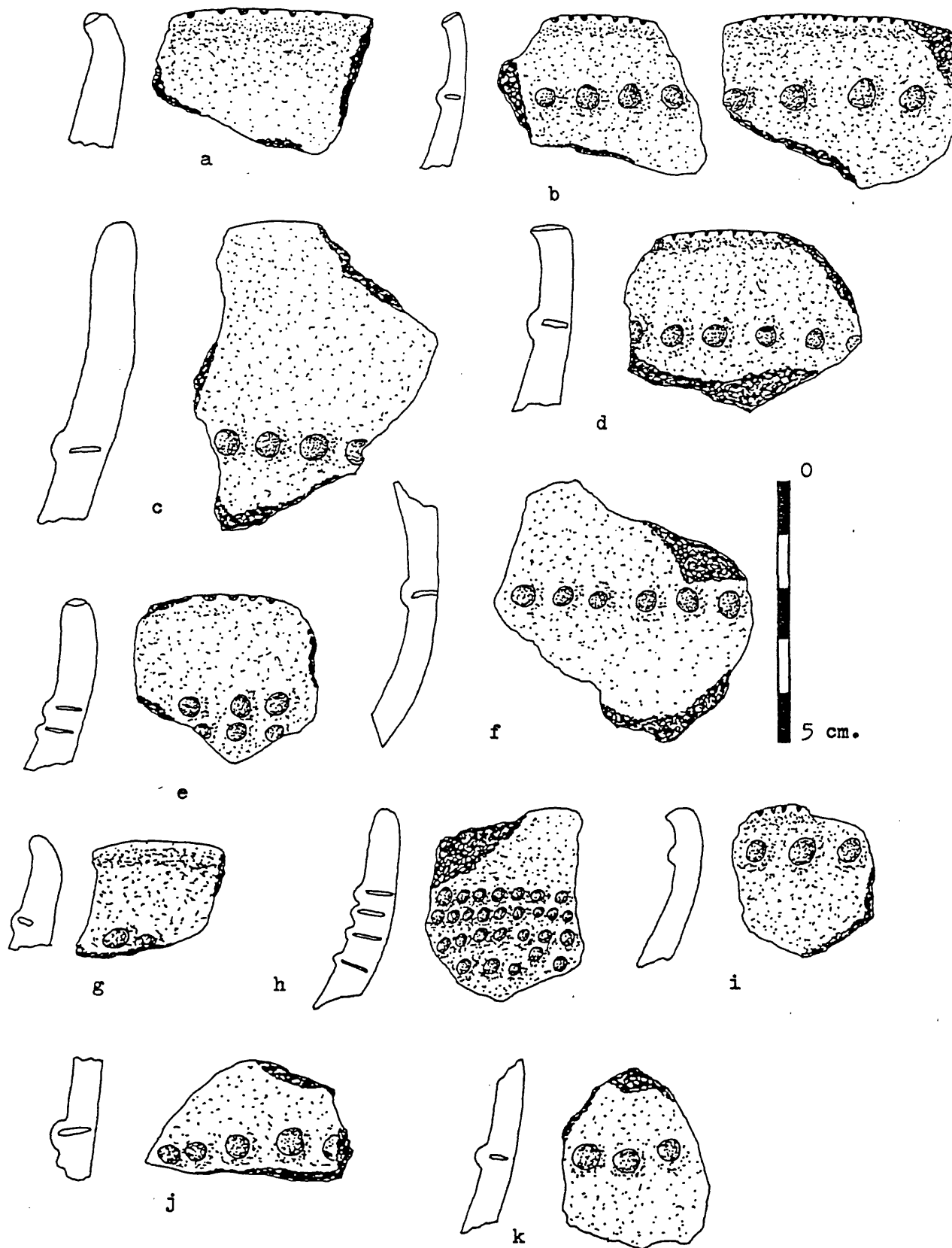


Fig.iii.6. Pottery from Le Pinacle.

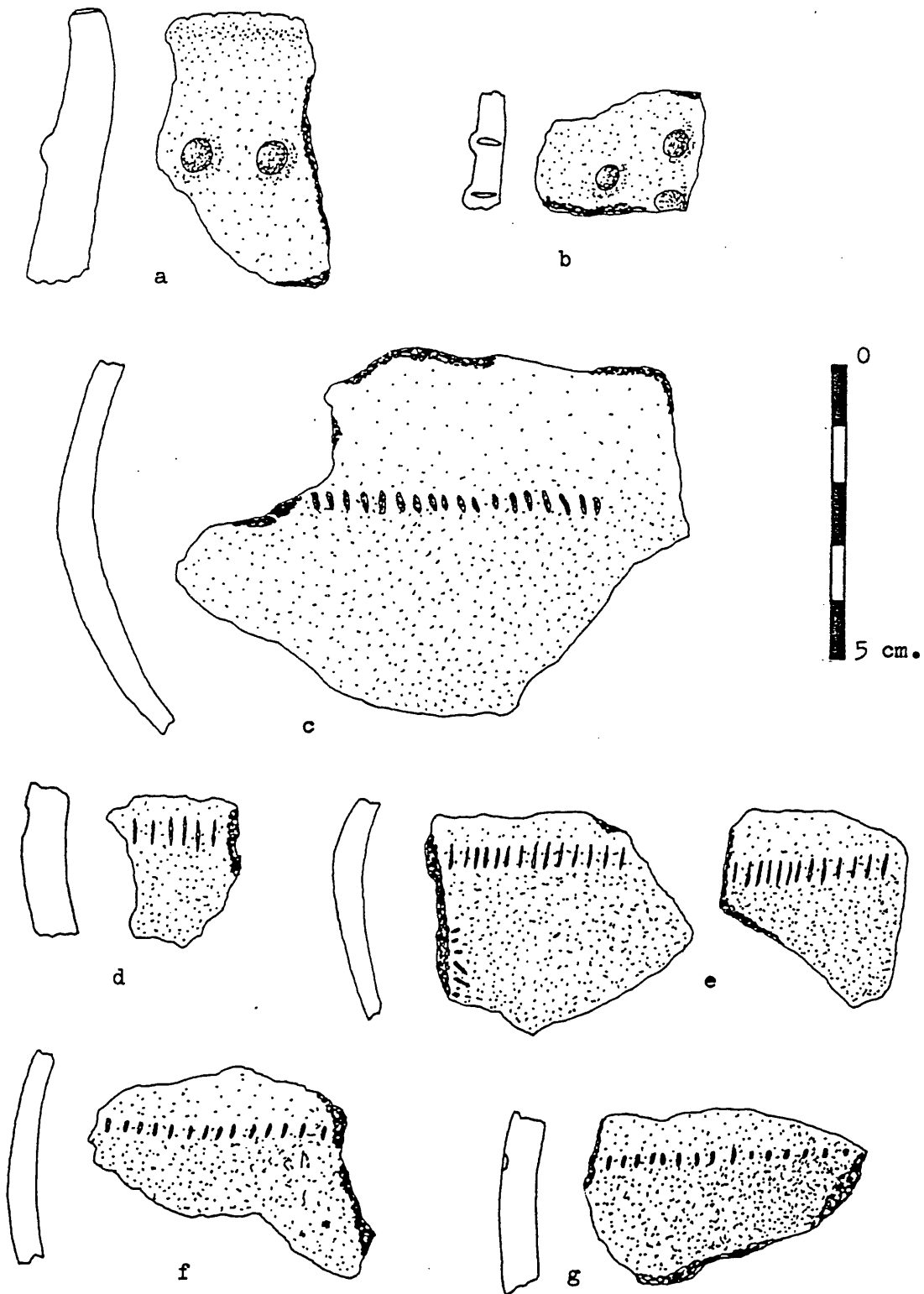
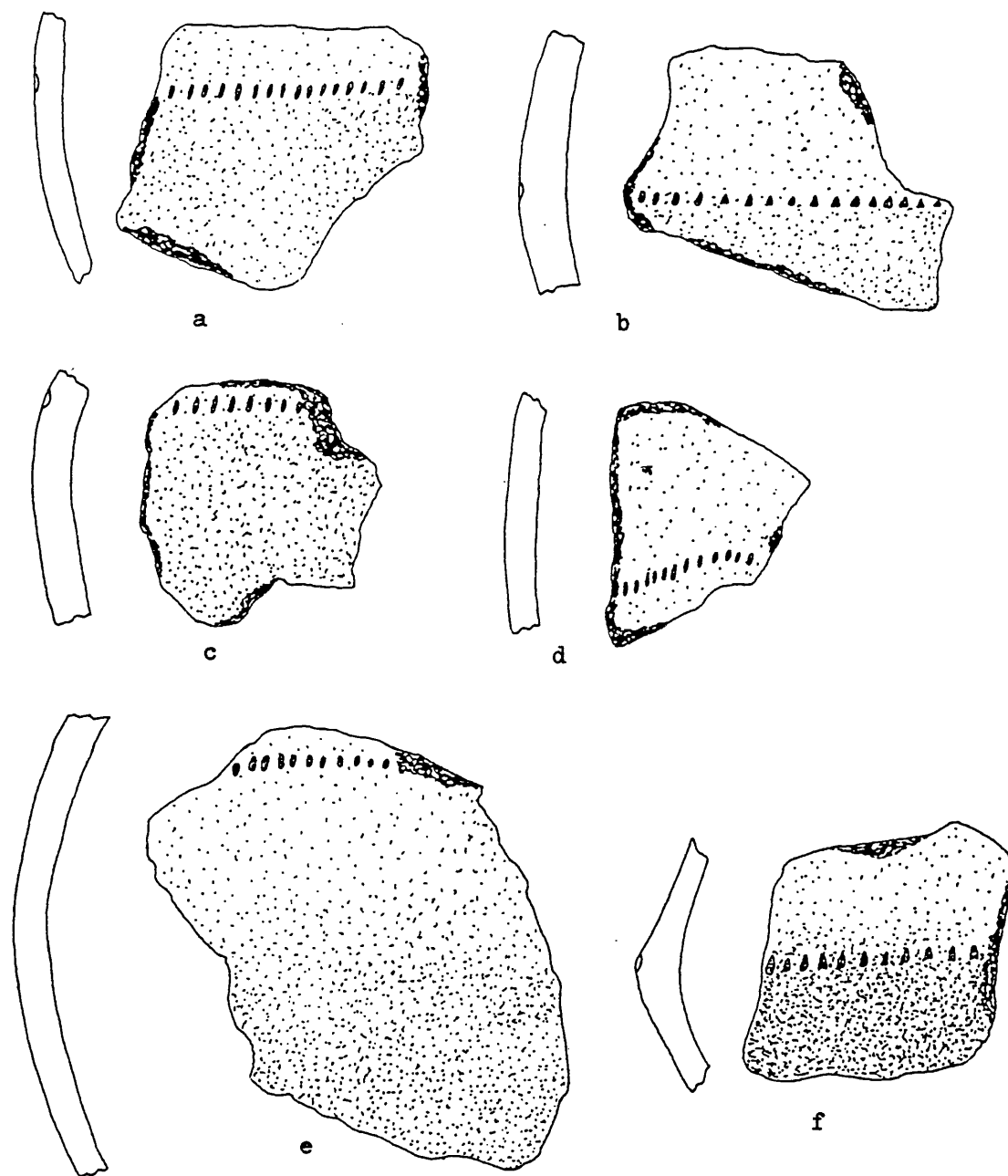
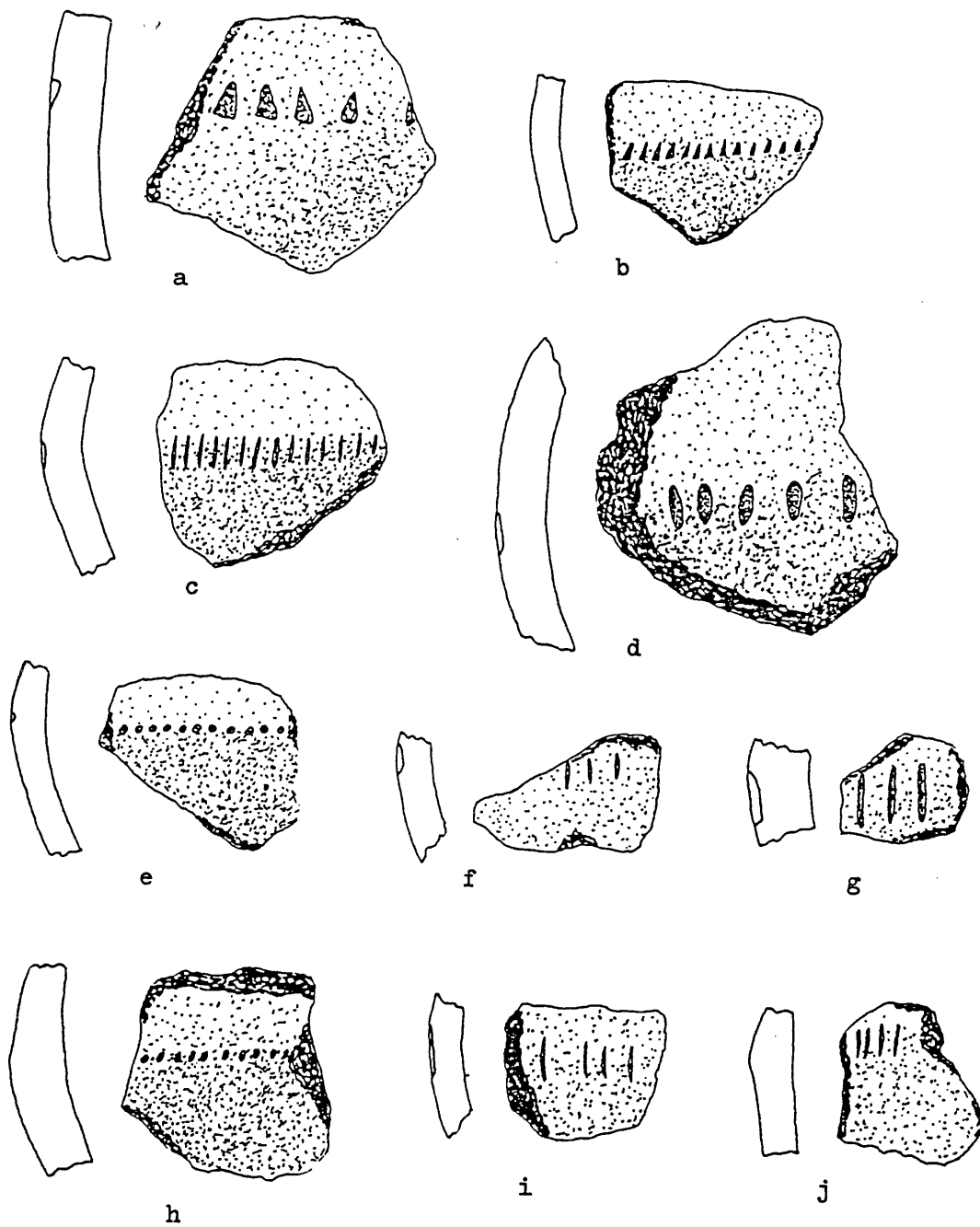


Fig.iii.7. Pottery from Le Pinacle.



0 5 cm.

Fig.iii.8. Pottery from Le Pinacle.



0 5 cm.

Fig.iii.9. Pottery from Le Pinacle.

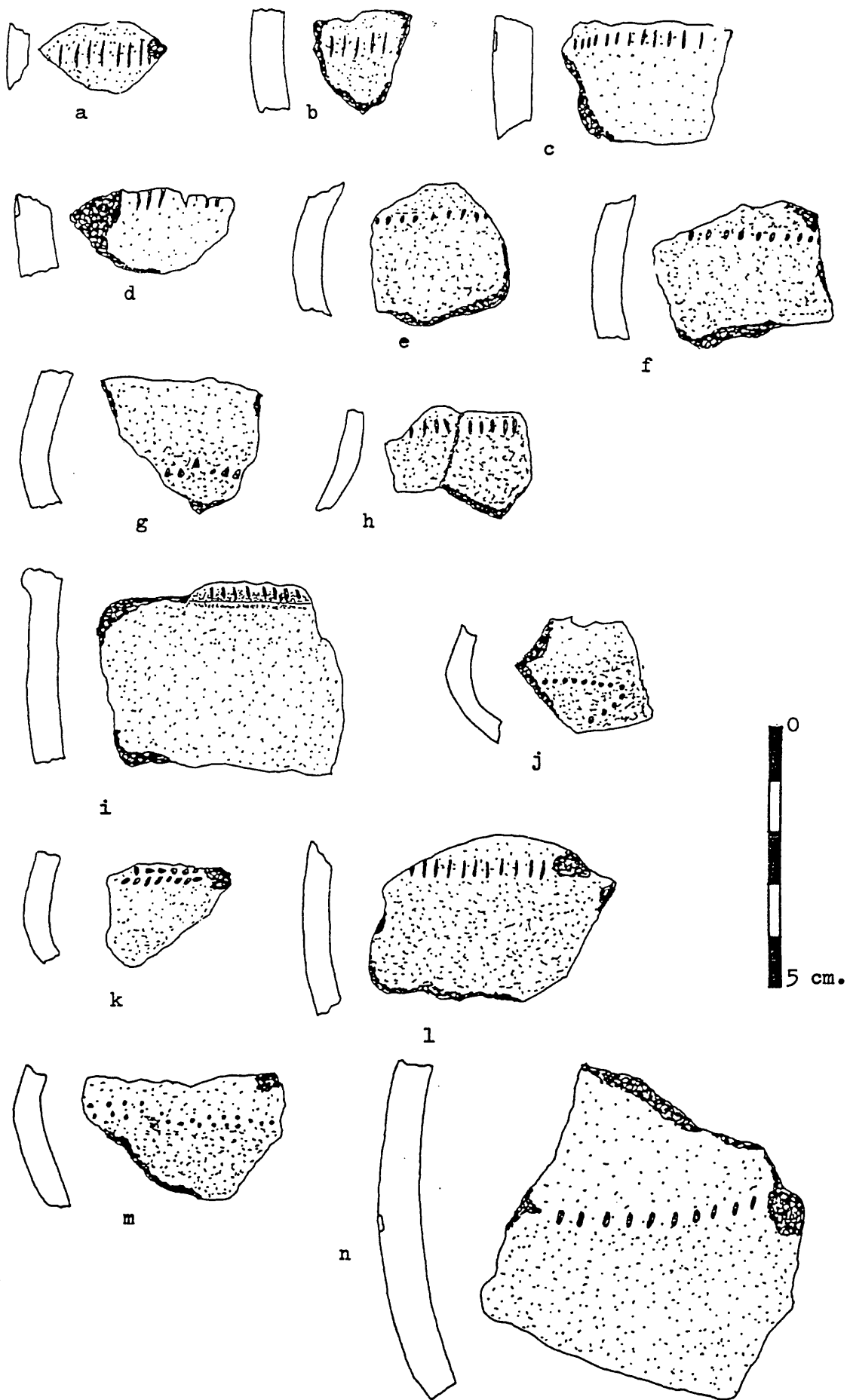


Fig.iii.10. Pottery from Le Pinacle.

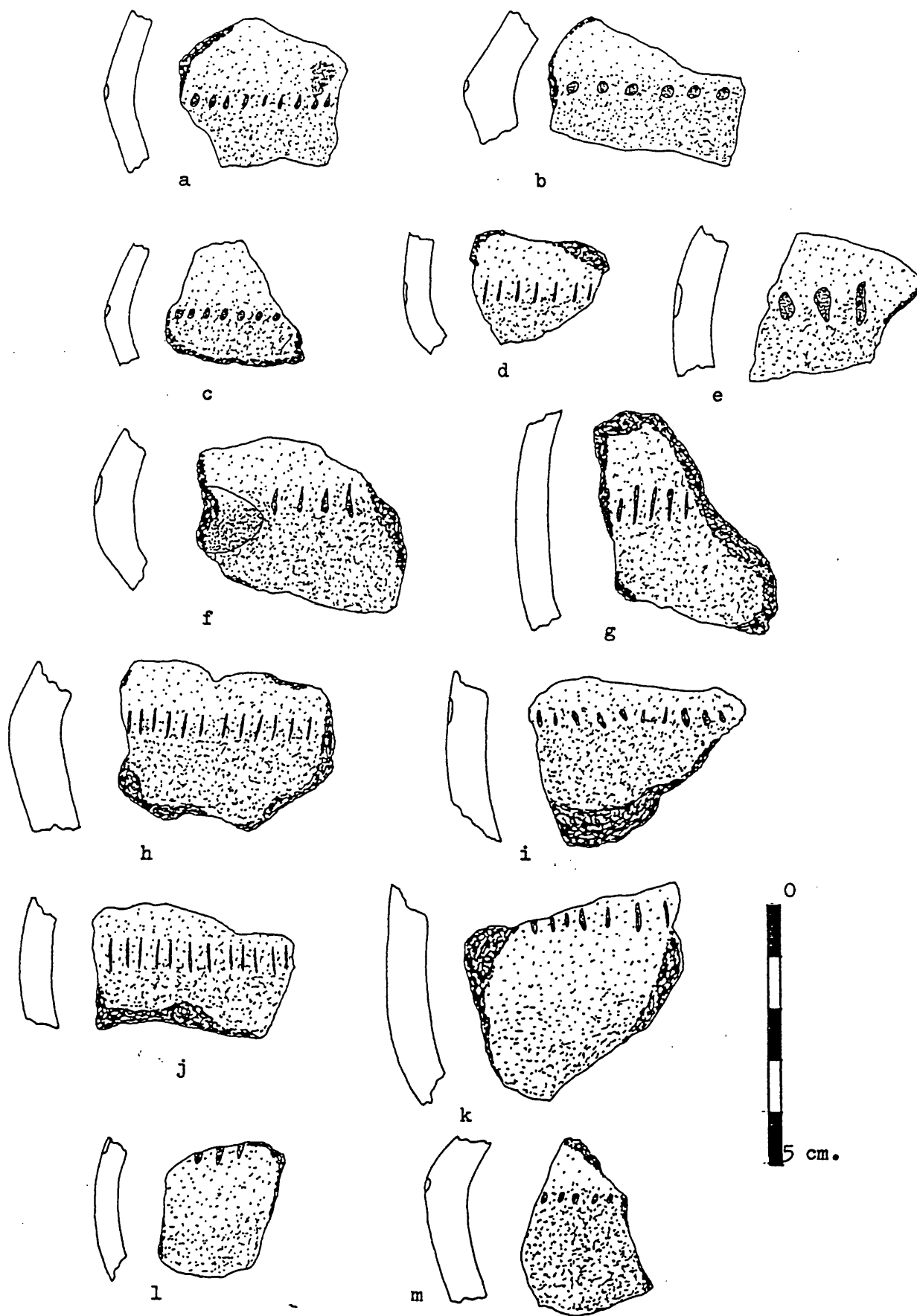
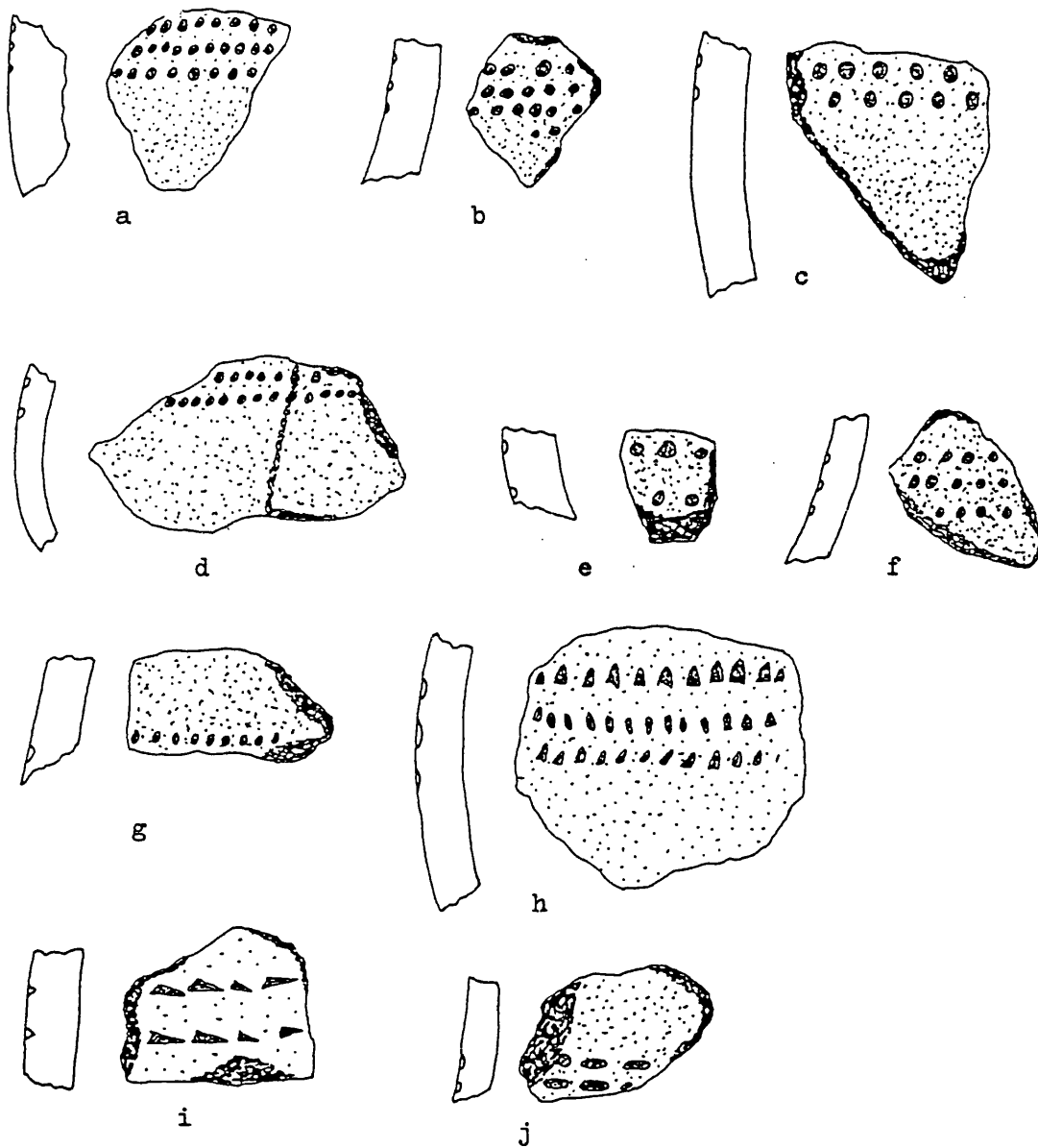
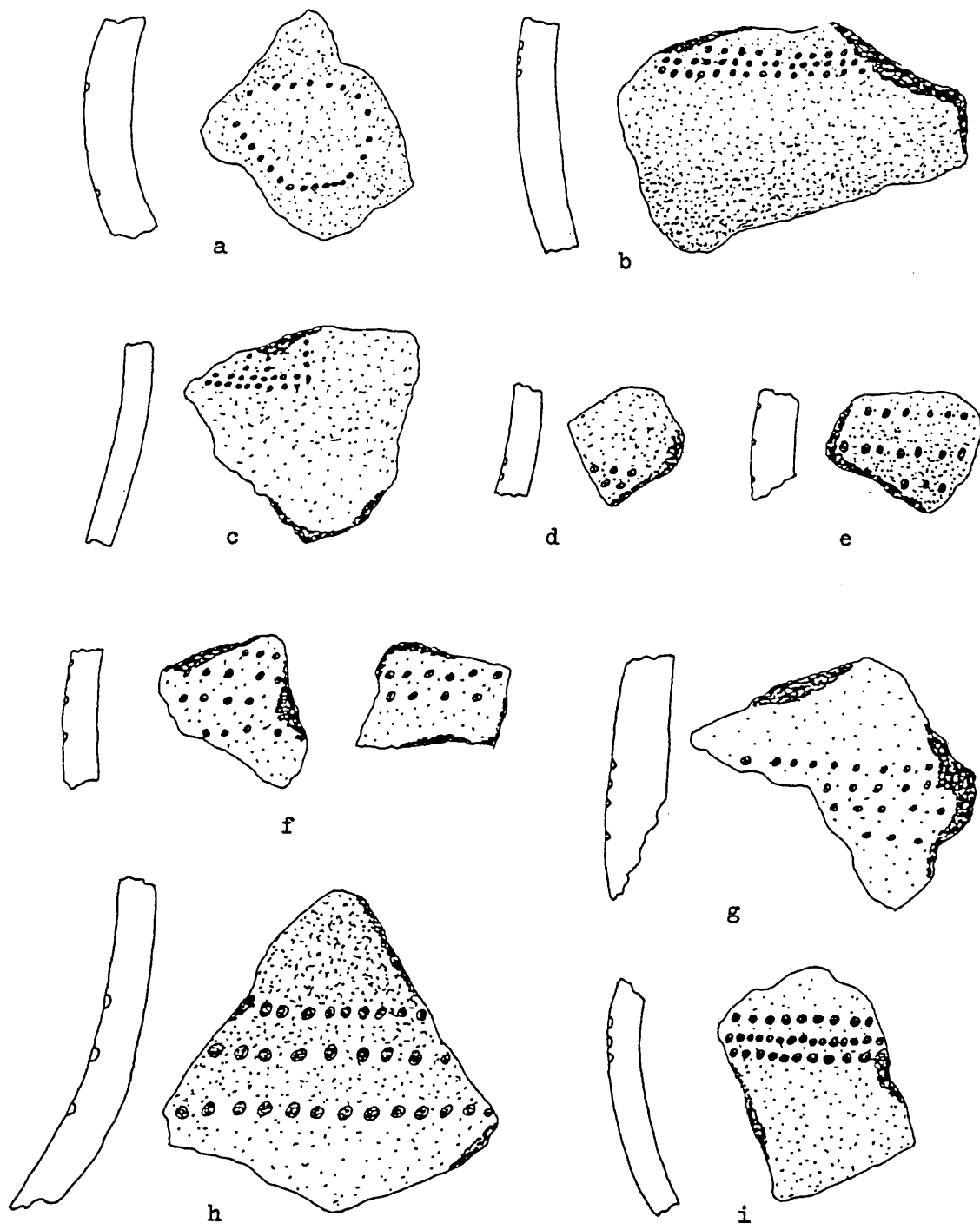


Fig.iii.11. Pottery from Le Pinacle.



0 5 cm.



0 5 cm.

Fig.iii.13. Pottery from Le Pinnacle.

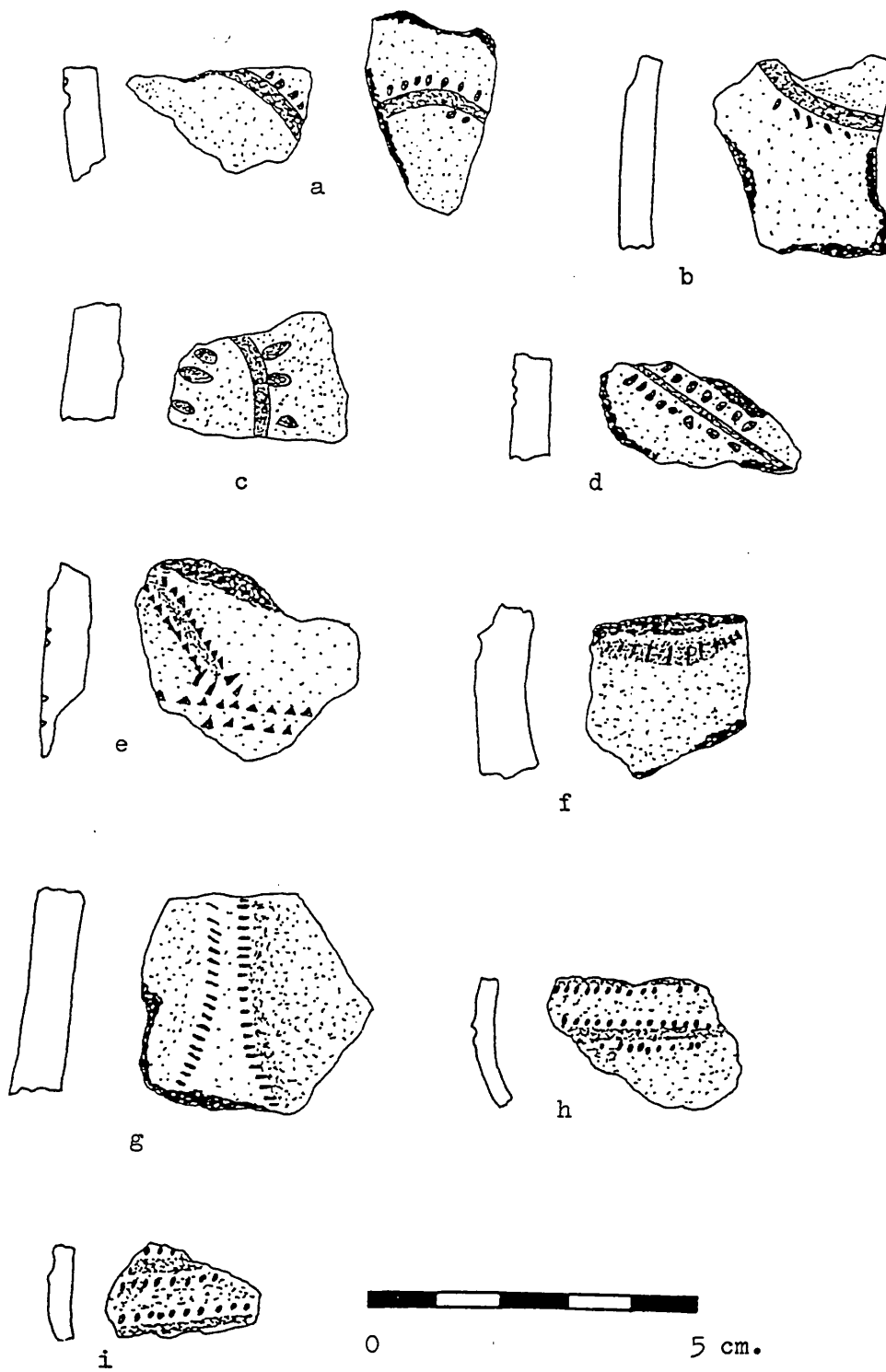
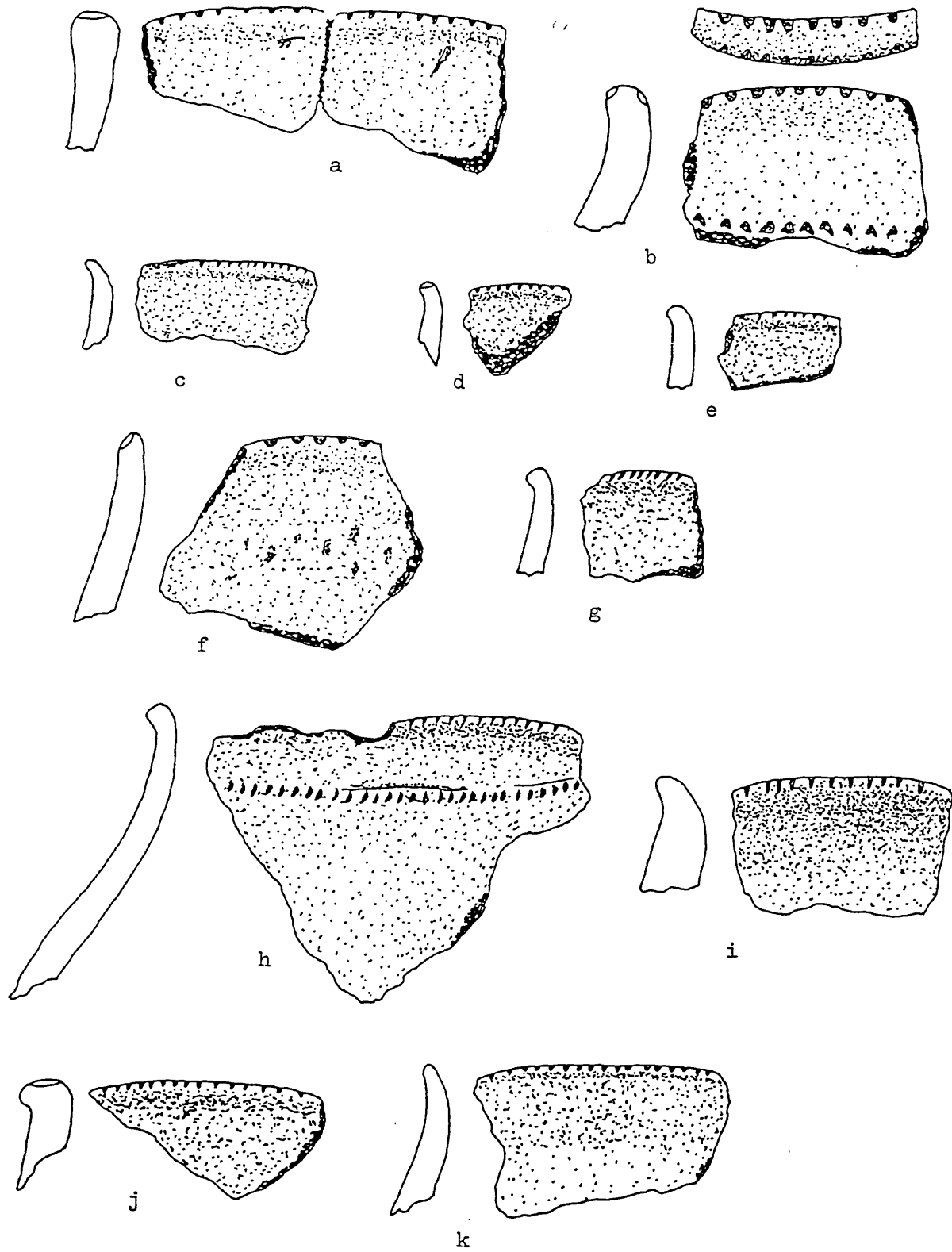


Fig.iii.14. Pottery from Le Pinacle.



0 5 cm.

Fig.iii.15. Pottery from Le Pinnacle.

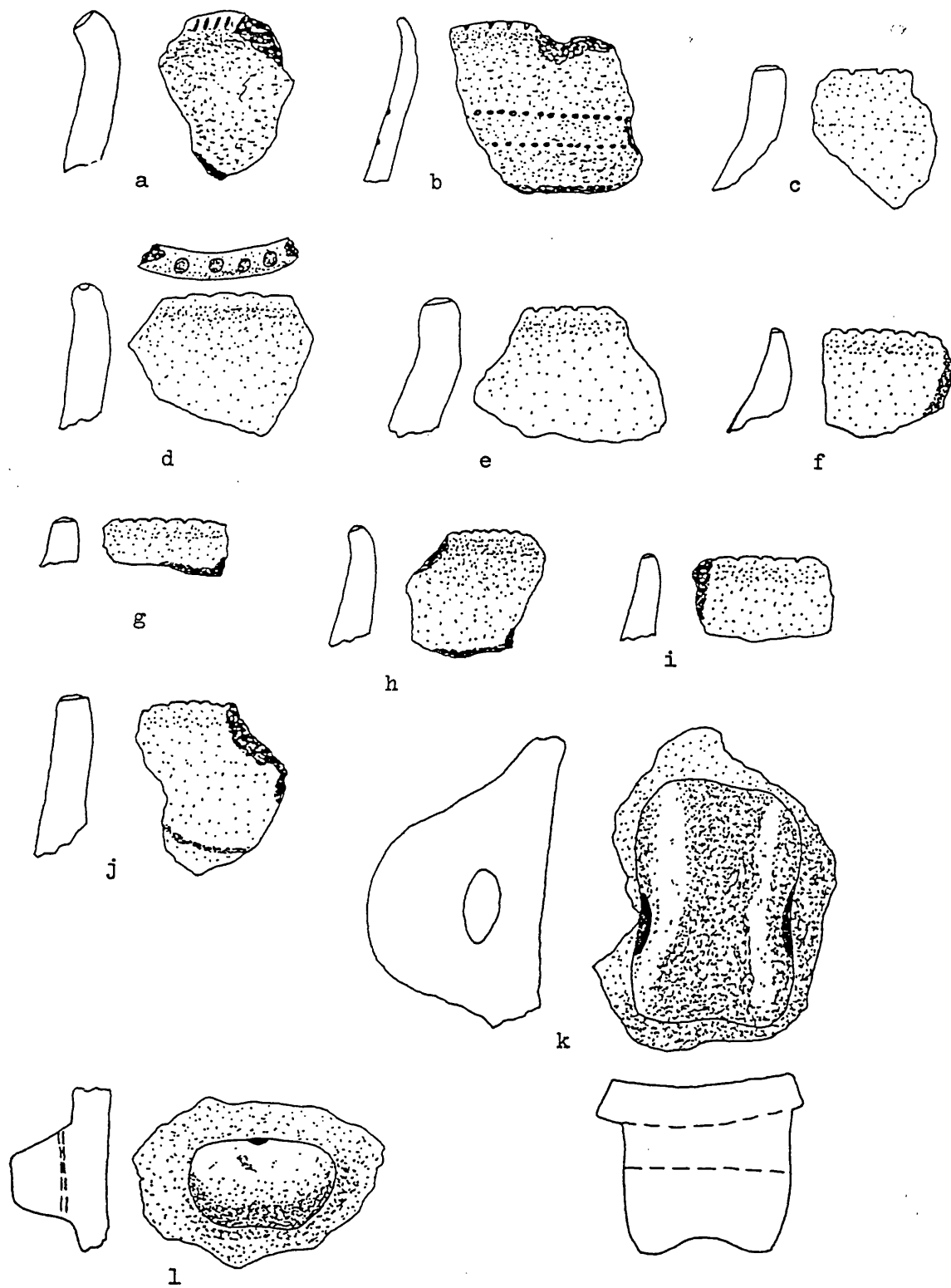
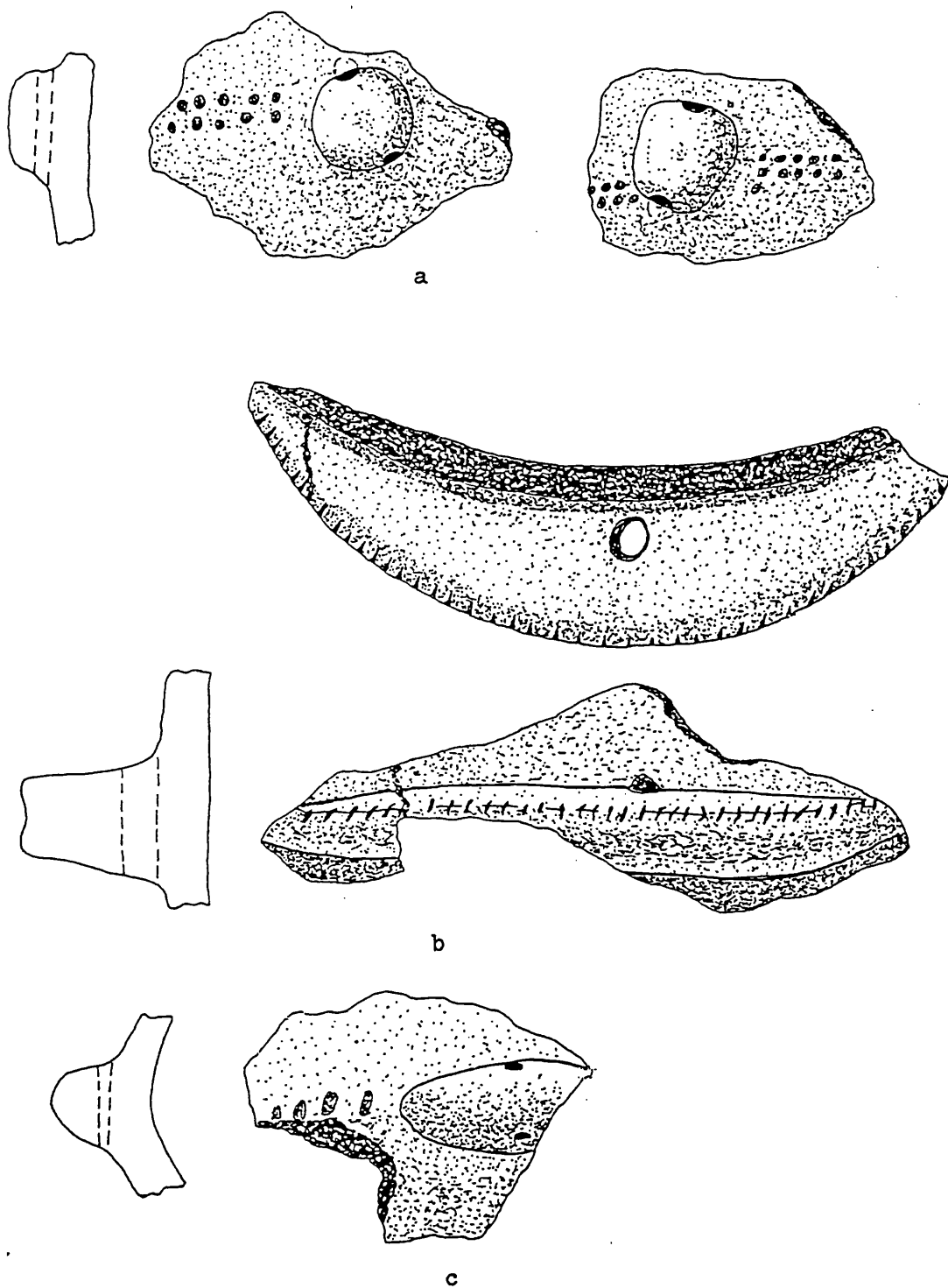
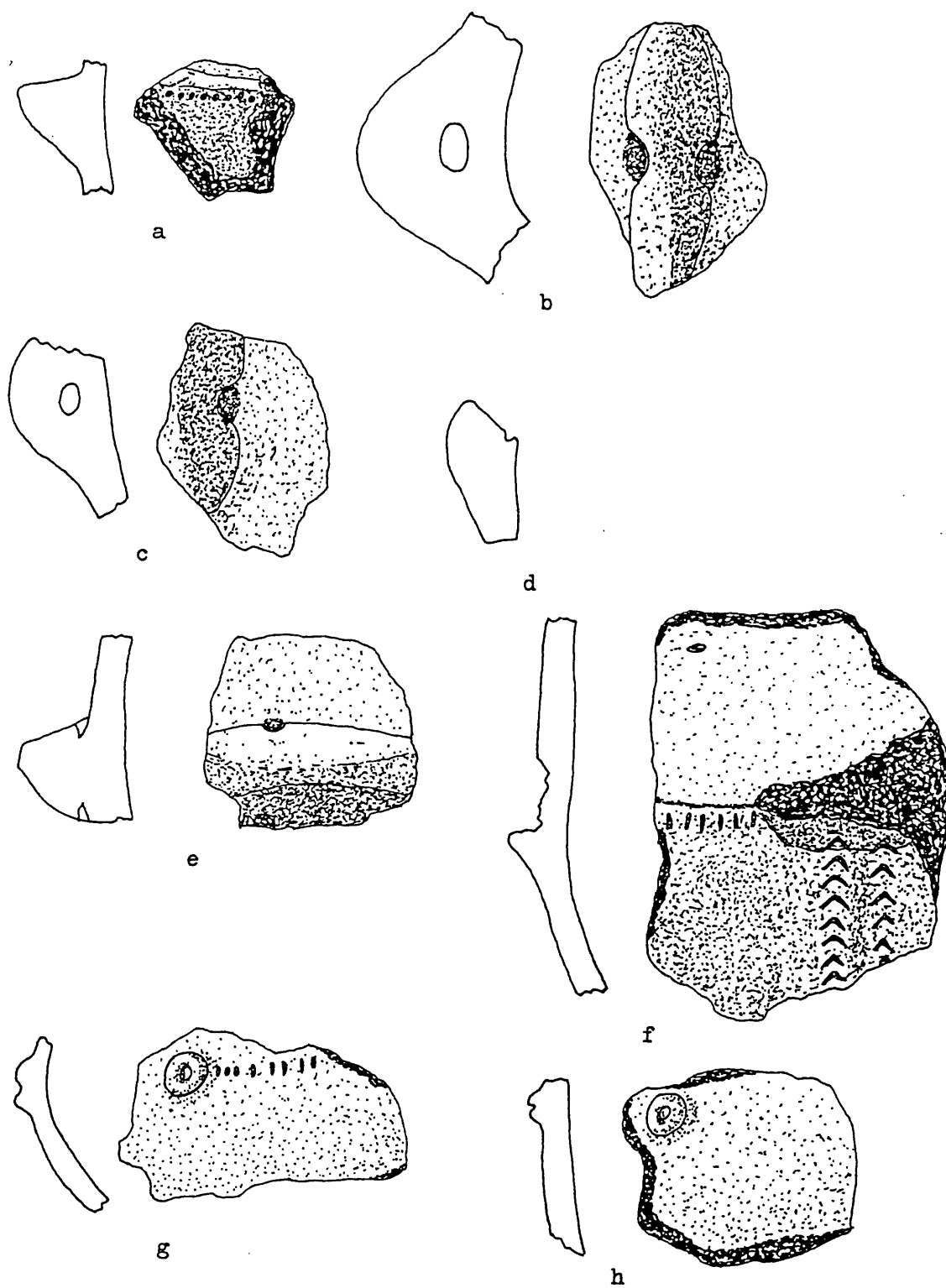


Fig.iii.16. Pottery from Le Pinacle.



0 5 cm.



0 5 cm.

Fig.iii.18. Pottery from Le Pinacle.

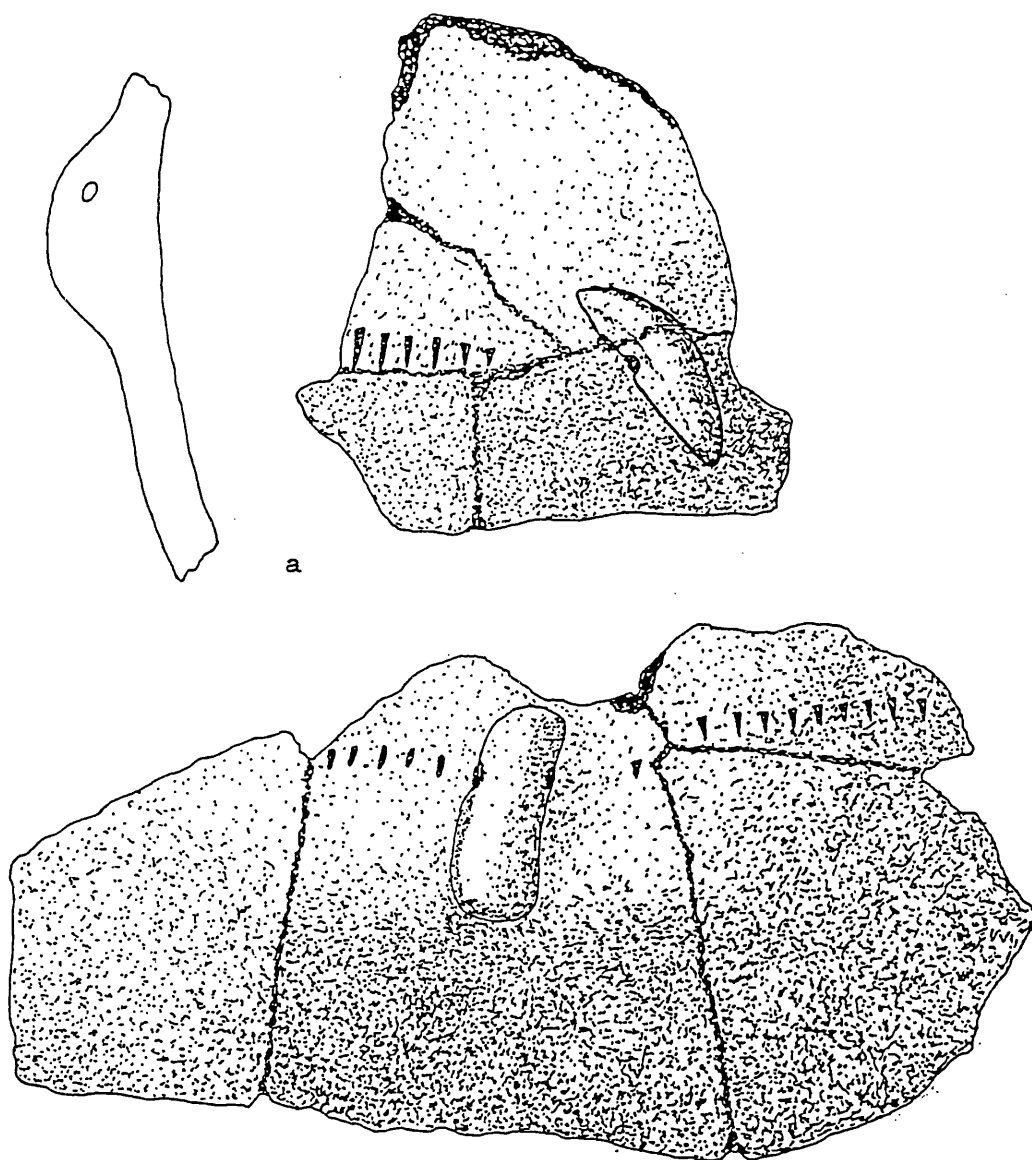


Fig.iii.19. Pottery from Le Pinnacle.

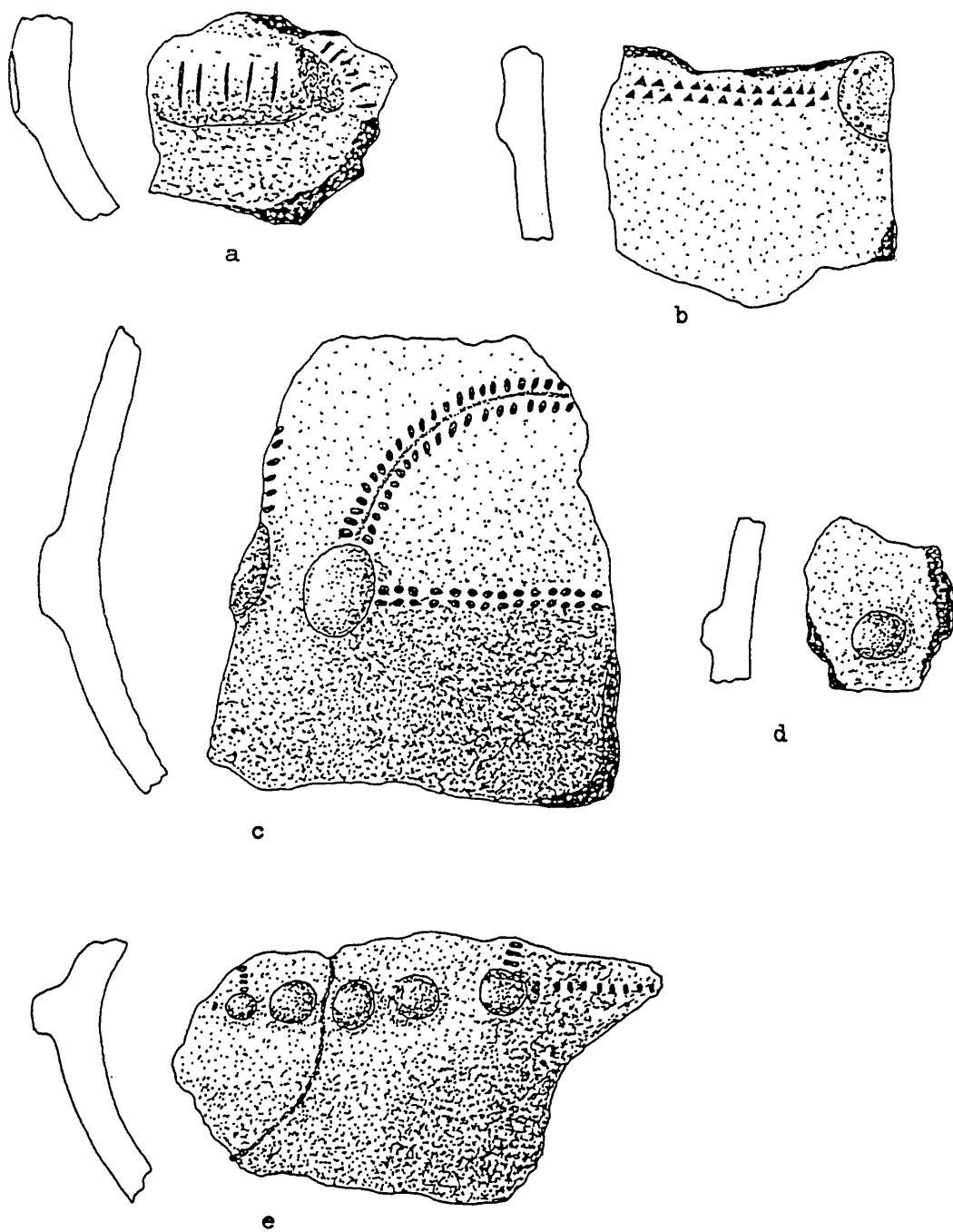


Fig.iii.20. Pottery from Le Pinacle.

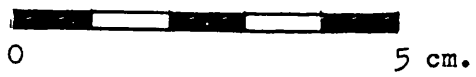
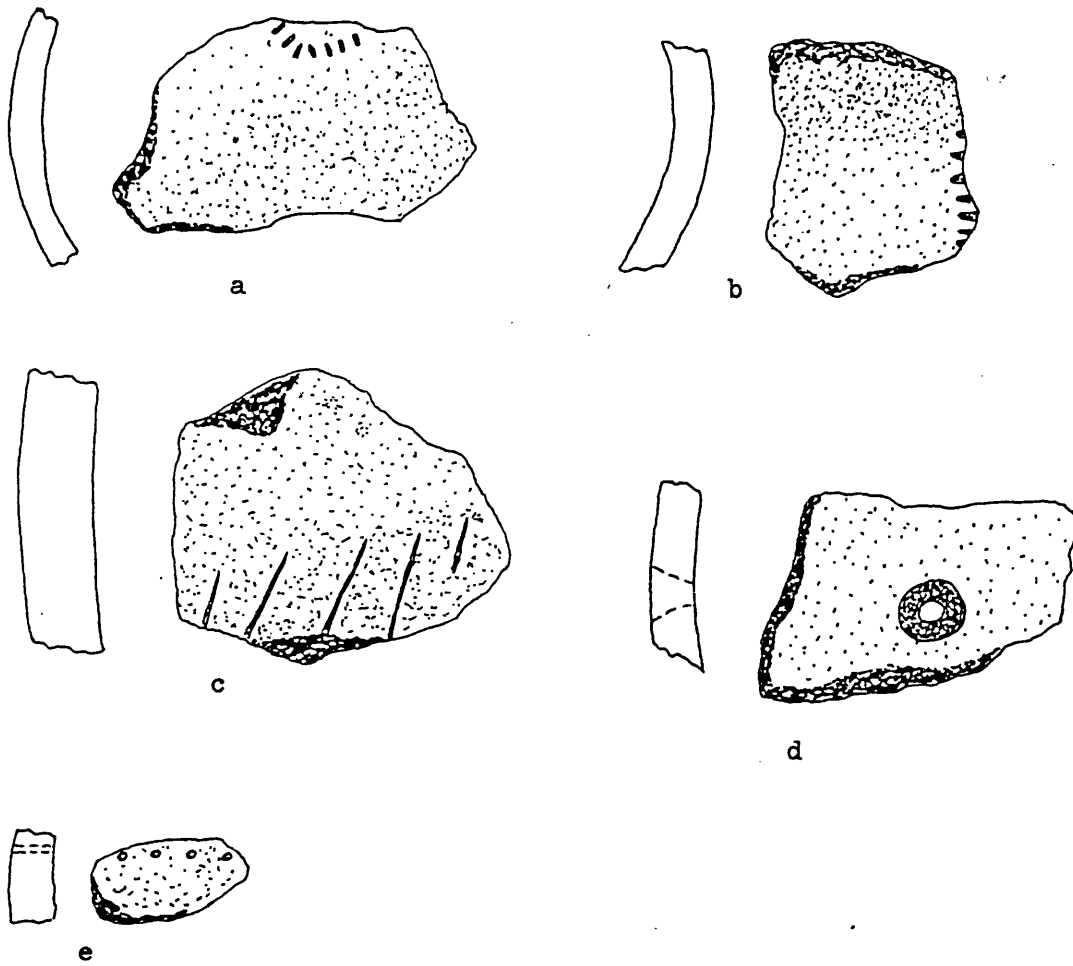


Fig.iii.21. Pottery from Mont Orgueil (after BARTON 1984).

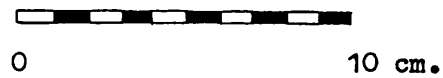
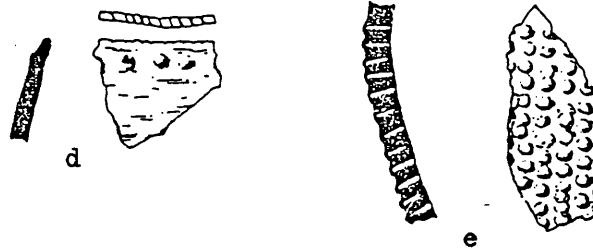
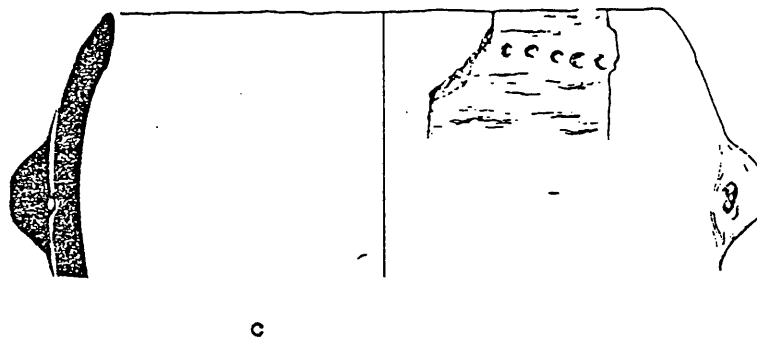
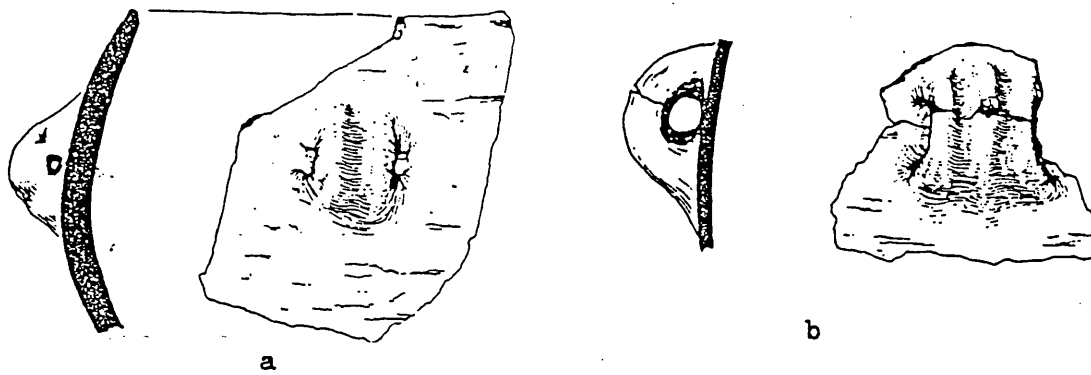


Table iii.1. Cerny assemblages from the Channel Islands and Northern France.

	F1	F2	F3	F4	D1a	D1b	D2a	D2b	D2c	D2d	D3a	D3b	D3c	D3d	D3e	D3f	D3g	D3h	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6
LE PINACLE		X		X	X	X			X	X				X	X			X	X					
LE MONT ORGUEIL	X				X		X	X		X				X										
LES FOUAILLAGES		X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
BARBUISE	X	X			X		X	X						X		X			X					
BERRY-AU-BAC	X	X						X													X	X		
BONO-BONNEVAUX		X					X	X										X			X		X	
CANNES-ECLUSE								X																
CERNY		X			X		X	X			X					X			X		X		X	
ETAPLES					X			X											X		X		X	
GRANDE PAROISE															X				X		X			
HARNES		X																	X		X		X	
LUMBRES					X			X			X		X						X		X			
MAROLLES	X	X					X	X										X	X				X	
MANTES							X	X																
MISY S/YONNE							X																	
NOYEN S/SEINE								X																
VIDELLES	X	X						X							X				X		X		X	
VILLEJUIF	X						X																X	
VILLEMANOCHE	X	X					X	X																
VILLENEUVE S/YONNE	X						X	X			X										X			
VINNEUF					X		X							X					X		X			
MANE-TY-EC								X																X
MANE-POCHAT								X																
LE LIZO					X													X	X					X
ER LANNIC				X			X															X	X	X
LE CASTELLIC							X															X	X	X
LE MANIO							X																X	X
KERLESCAN							X																	
MANE-GRAGUEUX							X																	
KERCADO																								X

Table iii.1 shows the occurrence of the traits listed at the beginning of this section, in terms of presence or absence. Included on the table are the assemblages from Le Pinacle, Le Mont Orgueil and Les Fouaillages, 18 Cerny pottery sites in Northern France, taken from Constantin's (1985) inventory, and 9 Breton sites, which are discussed below.

Comparison of Channel Island and mainland Cerny traditions.

When Constantin's (1985) monograph on the French post-Rubané traditions was published, information was available from only one Channel Island site, Le Pinacle. Constantin identifies the assemblage from Le Pinacle as belonging to the Cerny tradition, and then proceeds to define a regional facies which he designates Cerny J(ersey). This facies is distinguished from Cerny assemblages in Normandy and the Paris Basin on the basis of 8 criteria:

- 1) Absence of forme en coupe (CONSTANTIN 1985:Tableau 84).
- 2) Absence of bone-tempered pottery.
- 3) Presence of carinated vessels (F4).
- 4) Absence of plats à pain (CONSTANTIN 1985:Tableau 85).
- 5) Absence of comb-impressed decoration.
- 6) Absence of decoration executed with spatula.
- 7) Presence of sillon encoché (D2d/D3e)².
- 8) Absence of decorative forms 11,21,22,32 (CONSTANTIN 1985:Tableau 83).

1,2,4,6 & 8 apply to all of the Channel Island material (including the sherds from St.Ouen's, St.Helier, L'Erée, Les Minquiers and Les Ecréhous). (Table iii.1), but the assemblage from Les Fouaillages includes fragments from a single vessel with comb-impressed decoration (KINNES forthcoming). A further criterion can be added to those listed above: the presence of narrow

² Although this motif is unknown in Cerny assemblages on the Northern French mainland, similar motifs are known from late Bandkeramik contexts in Belgium, cf the assemblages from Vlijtingen (MARICHAL et al. 1987) & Wonck-Hazette (DEDAVE 1978), Belgian Limburg, and Darion, Liège (VAN BERG 1988): I am grateful to Paul-Louis Van Berg for bringing this material to my attention.

129

cordons decorated with vertical incisions (D2c/D3b). These cordons are a particular feature of the assemblages from Le Pinacle and Les Fouaillages, but are unknown on other sites. Such cordons do not exist in any of the North French Cerny assemblages listed by Constantin: cordons are a notable feature of the Southern facies of Cerny (Augy-Ste-Pallaye³), but these are generally plain and in no case are decorated with vertical incisions. In broad terms, therefore, the assemblages from Les Fouaillages and Le Mont Orgueil, not considered by Constantin, confirm his definition of Cerny J as a regional facies. There are, however, significant differences between the three Channel Island assemblages. The assemblages from Le Pinacle and Les Fouaillages are dominated by globular vessels with constricted necks (cf Fig.iii.1b), whereas the Mont Orgueil assemblage is dominated by hemispherical vessels (Fig.iii.21a,c). Carinated vessels are well represented at Le Pinacle but are far less common at Les Fouaillages and absent from the Mont Orgueil assemblage. The assemblage from Le Mont Orgueil has a much more restricted range of decorative motifs in comparison with the assemblages from Le Pinacle and Les Fouaillages: cordons with vertical incisions are absent, as are "sun" motifs, sillons encochés and applied buttons. Handles with vertical grooves are absent from the Les Fouaillages assemblage: there is a single example from Le Pinacle (Fig.iii.151) and 8 from Le Mont Orgueil. There are also differences in terms of firing technique and fabric: the assemblages from Le Pinacle and Les Fouaillages are dominated by hard fine-wares, fired in a reducing environment to a dark brown colour, whilst the vessels from Le Mont Orgueil are of coarser fabric with oxidised surfaces. The precise significance of these differences is unclear. The radiocarbon dates from Les Fouaillages suggest that the assemblage from this site

³ Constantin (1985) originally defined Augy-Ste-Pallaye as a separate group, but in a paper given at the Colloque inter-régional sur le Néolithique at Blois, 1987, he redefined it as a Southern facies of Cerny.

should be assigned to an early stage in the North French Cerny sequence:

3900±100 bc = 4600-4880 BC (BM-1892R).

3950±110 bc = 4700-4930 BC (BM-1893R).

3720±170 bc = 4380-4780 BC (BM-1894R).

Radiocarbon dates associated with Cerny material in Northern France range from 2790 bc (Videlles:GIF 720) to 3830 bc (Soumont-St-Quentin:GIF 2319), with the majority clustering between 3580 bc and 3740 bc (CONSTANTIN 1985:p317). Given the surprisingly early dates from Les Fouaillages and the marked differences between the assemblages from Les Fouaillages and Le Pinnacle on the one hand and Le Mont Orgueil on the other, it could reasonably be suggested that the Mont Orgueil assemblage is later in date. According to this hypothesis, the "late" phase would be distinguished from the "early" phase by:

- 1) a reduction in the range of decorative motifs represented
- 2) an increasing preference for hemispherical rather than globular or carinated vessels.
- 3) the presence of handles with vertical grooves (cf Fig.iii.151).

The North French material provides no independent evidence for such a sequence, but does raise a fundamental problem in relation to the grooved handles. The Cerny assemblage from the site of Barbuise-Courtavault includes a handle of this type, but these handles are more characteristically a feature of assemblages belonging to Constantin's (1985) Groupe de Villeneuve-St-Germain (examples in VSG assemblages from Champigny, Huisseau, Marcilly, Villerable, St-Moré). Radiocarbon dates associated with VSG assemblages range from 3560 bc (Jablins:GIF 5002) to 4550 bc⁴ (Soumont-St-Quentin:GIF 2315), with the majority clustering between 4060 bc and 4180 bc⁵ and it seems difficult to reconcile this chronological evidence with the suggestion that the

⁴ 4350-5470 BC.

⁵ 4930-5070 BC.

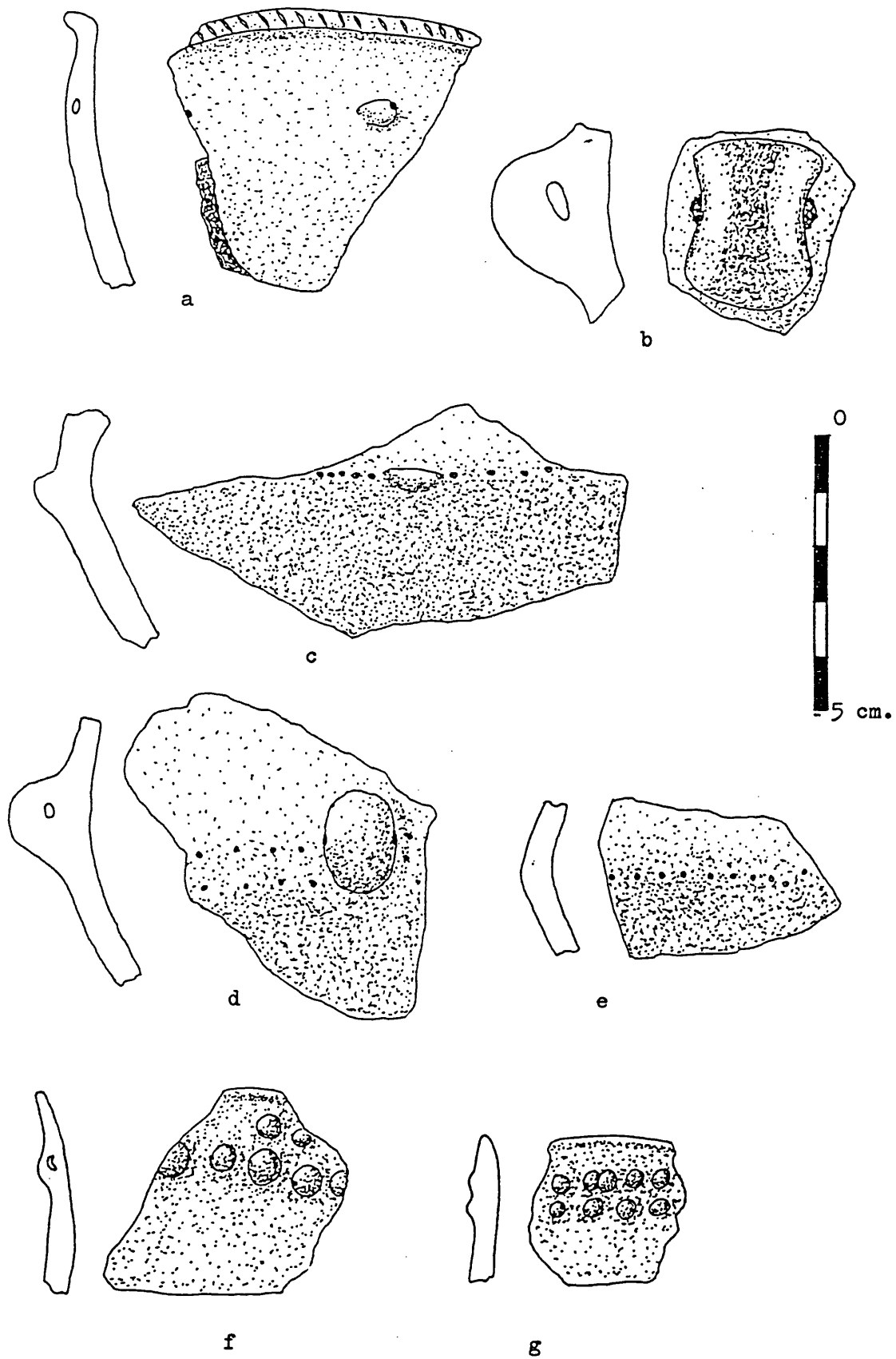
grooved handles are a "late" feature in Channel Island Cerny assemblages. It is probably not possible to establish the internal chronology of Channel Island Cerny assemblages on the basis of the evidence presently available, although the full publication of the Les Fouaillages assemblage will undoubtedly resolve some important questions. Essentially the problem arises from the fact that the material from Les Fouaillages is the only securely stratified and reliably dated Early Neolithic assemblage from the Channel Islands: the assemblage from Le Mont Orgueil is entirely unstratified, and the stratigraphy of Le Pinnacle, whilst clear in basic outline, is nonetheless problematic (see Ch.III/Ch.V). The single radiocarbon date from the Early Neolithic horizon at Le Pinnacle (3020 ± 110 bc: BM-370) is almost universally regarded as anomalous and must certainly be rejected.

The Breton sites included on Table iii.1 are of particular interest. The relevant pottery forms part of Bailloud's (1975) Groupe de Castellic, but the assemblages include characteristic Cerny elements including incised rim decoration, repoussé buttons and grooved handles (Fig.iii.22). These assemblages conform in general terms to Constantin's definition of Cerny J: of the criteria listed above, 1,2,4-6 and 8 apply to all of the Breton material. The assemblage from Er Lannic includes carinated vessels similar to those in the Channel Island assemblages. The sillon encoché, however, seems not to exist outside the Channel Islands. In view of this Breton material, it seems clear that Constantin's Cerny J(ersey) should be redefined as Cerny A(rmorican). Unfortunately, none of the Breton assemblages included on Table iii.1 have secure stratigraphic or chronological contexts: all of them relate either to poorly documented sites such as Castellic or to complex multi-period sites such as Er Lannic or Le Lizo. Recent excavations at La Table des Marchands à Locmariaquer, Morbihan have produced pottery which L'Helgouach (pers.comm) compares with the material from Les Fouaillages: this material is

420

from a horizon stratified beneath the cairn of the passage grave, and the publication of the assemblage will undoubtedly help in clarifying the status and significance of the Armorican Cerny assemblages.

Fig.iii.22. Pottery from Le Lizo (a) and Er Lannic (b-g).



APPENDIX iv.

MIDDLE NEOLITHIC POTTERY FROM THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

With the exception of the assemblage from La Motte, Jersey, all of the Middle Neolithic pottery known from the islands is derived from megalithic monuments. This introduces a significant degree of bias, since the pottery selected for deposition in monuments is not necessarily a representative sample of pottery used in a particular society. The situation in Brittany and Western Normandy is essentially similar, (BENDER 1968, GIOT et al. 1979), so that it is difficult to gauge the nature and extent of the bias in the Channel Island assemblages.

The assemblages available for study are also heavily biased by circumstances of recovery: the recent study of the backfill from the 1929 excavation at La Hougue des Géonnais demonstrates that the original excavators retrieved less than 10% of the sherds from the excavated area, and there is every reason to believe that this is typical of early excavations. Where 100% recovery has been assured by sieving, (as in the 1985-89 excavations at La Hougue des Géonnais), much of the assemblage consists of abraded sherds which cannot be refitted, and which cannot be easily incorporated in typological schemes. The typological discussion presented here is based, therefore, on a relatively small and probably unrepresentative sample. Middle Neolithic assemblages from the Channel Islands have not been considered in detail since the coverage by Kendrick (1928) and Hawkes (1937). Whilst these works incorporate inventories of material found on particular sites, no detailed typological analysis was attempted. For this reason, the typology of the Channel Island assemblages is discussed in some detail below. Metrical data are included for descriptive purposes, where these are available, but the extent to which these can be interpreted is limited by the small size of the sample.

Fabric types are not discussed in any detail in this account: the assemblages consist almost exclusively of

finewares, but this may simply reflect the biased nature of the evidence. Any meaningful classification of fabric types would have to be based on thin-section analyses which are beyond the scope of this research.

Undecorated globular vessels.

With the exception of vase-supports, most of the Middle Neolithic pottery from the Channel Islands is undecorated. Globular vessels constitute an important element in Middle Neolithic assemblages from Jersey and Guernsey, and the assemblages from Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin, Guernsey (Fig.iv.1,iv.2a), Le Déhus, Guernsey (Fig.iv.2b-d), and Faldouet, Jersey (Fig.iv.2f,iv.3a) are of particular interest. Two of the vessels have lugs, (Fig.iv.1b,iv.7a), but most are plain with everted rims. Below is a list of undecorated globular bowls from the islands:

Jersey.

Faldouet: 2 vessels (Fig.iv.2f,iv.3a).

Les Cinq Pierres: Portion of 1 vessel (SJMJ1184).

La Sergenté: 1 vessel (Fig.iv.3c).

La Hougue des Géonnais: 1 vessel with 4 plain lugs (Fig.iv.7a), and portion of one probably globular vessel with a shallow groove running below the rim.

Le Mont Ubé: Fragments from 1 vessel (HAWKES 1937: Fig.59b).

Guernsey.

Le Déhus: 3 vessels (GMAG2964,3011,3017:Fig.iv.2b-d).

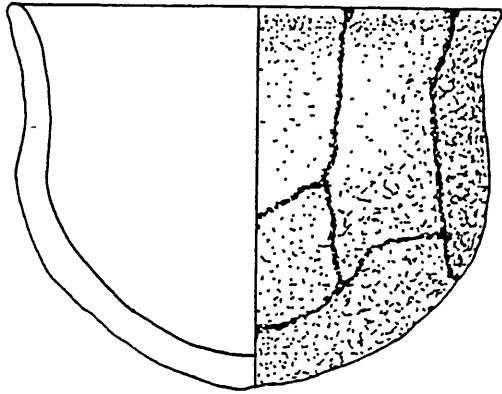
Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin: 8 vessels, including one with two vertically perforated lugs (GMAG3023,3024,3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3033:Fig.iv.1,iv.2a).

Herm.

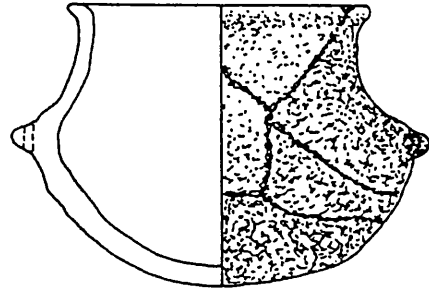
HER 13: 1 vessel (GMAG3168:Fig.iv.2e).

With the exception of Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin, (a megalithic cist), all of the sites mentioned above are passage graves. Similar vessels have been found in Armorican passage graves, as at Ile Carn à Ploudalmézeau, Finistère (L'HELGOUACH 1965:Fig.35), Kerleven à La Forêt-Fouesnant, Finistère, (Ibid. Fig.56), and Kercado à

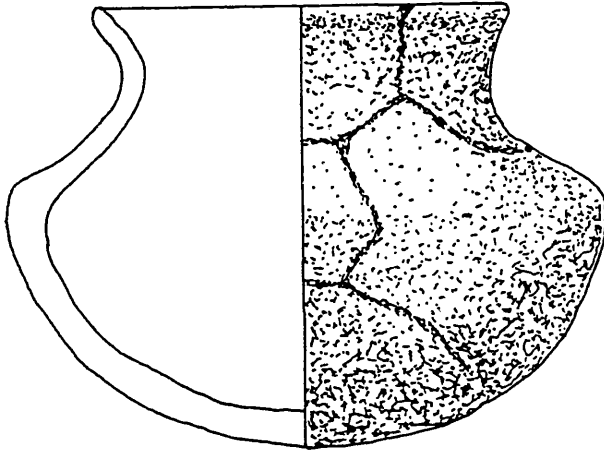
Fig.iv.1. Pottery from Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin.



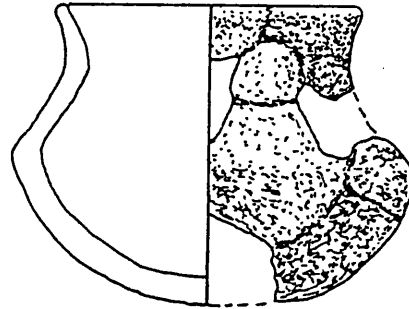
a



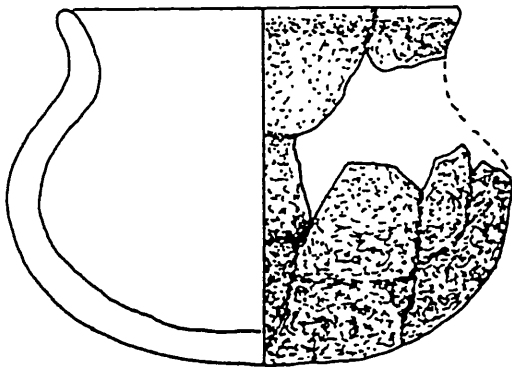
b



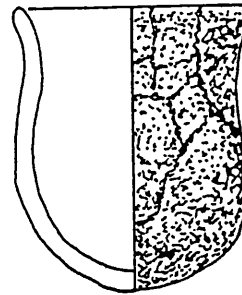
c



d



e



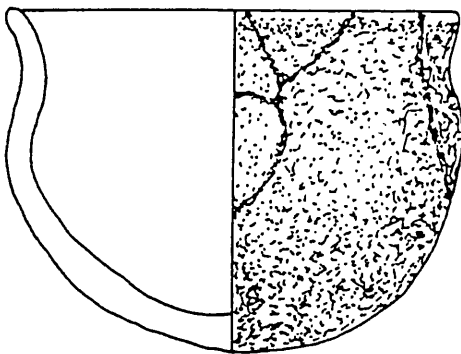
f



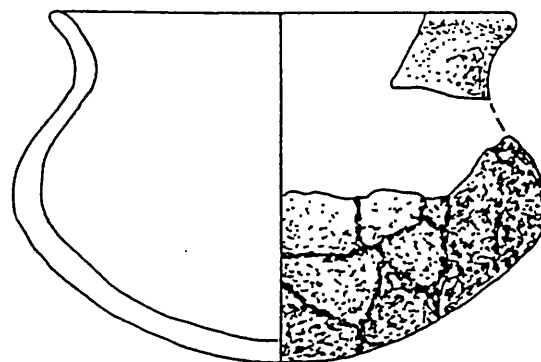
0

10 cm.

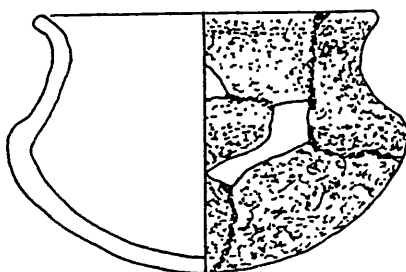
Figures 1-6 show the fragments from the tomb of the Grand Sarrasin (a),
Le Déhus (b-d), HER 13 (e) and Faldouet (f).



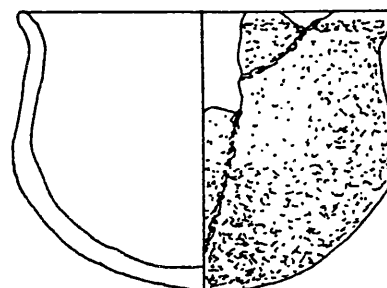
a



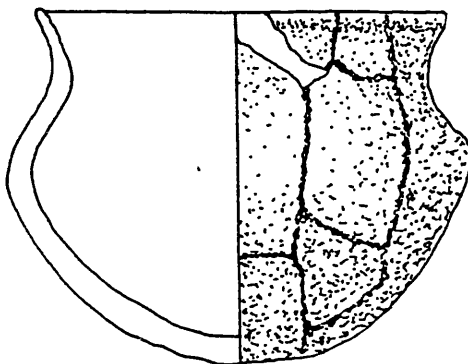
b



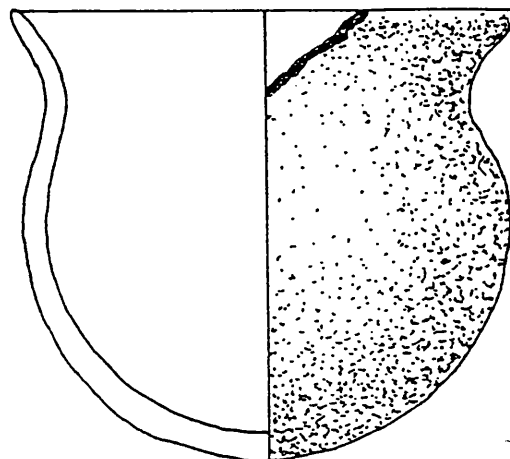
c



d



e

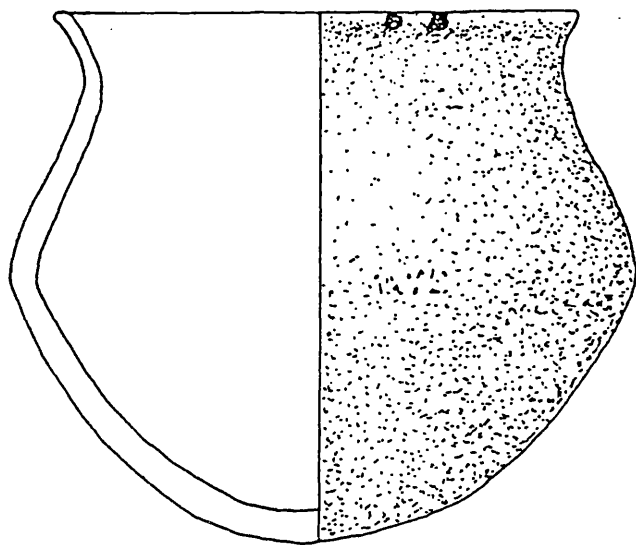


f

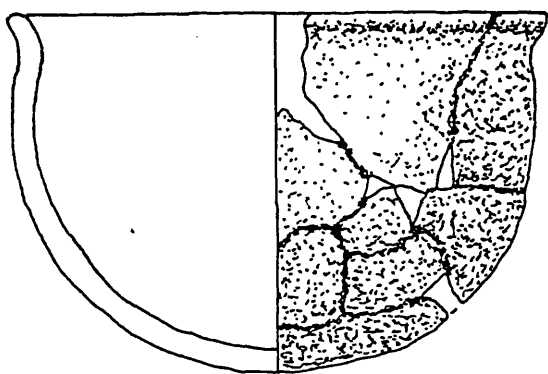


0

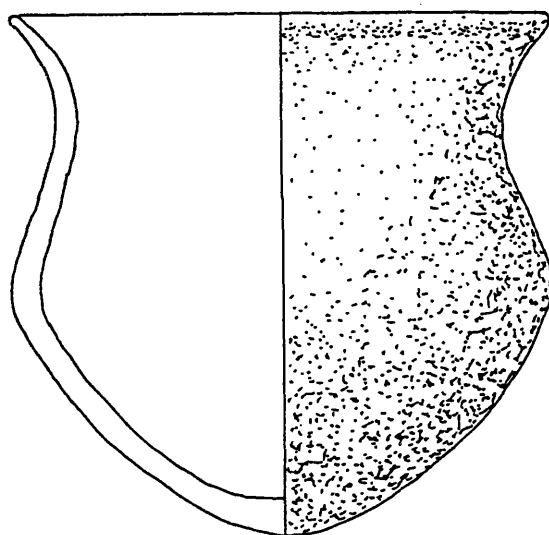
10 cm.



a



b



c



0

10 cm.

Carnac, Morbihan (LE ROUZIC 1927a). There is no full corpus of Armorican globular vessels which would permit detailed typological comparison, but Table iv.1 shows the dimensions of the Channel Island vessels, (column a refers to diameter of opening, column b to maximum diameter and column c to height, all in cm).

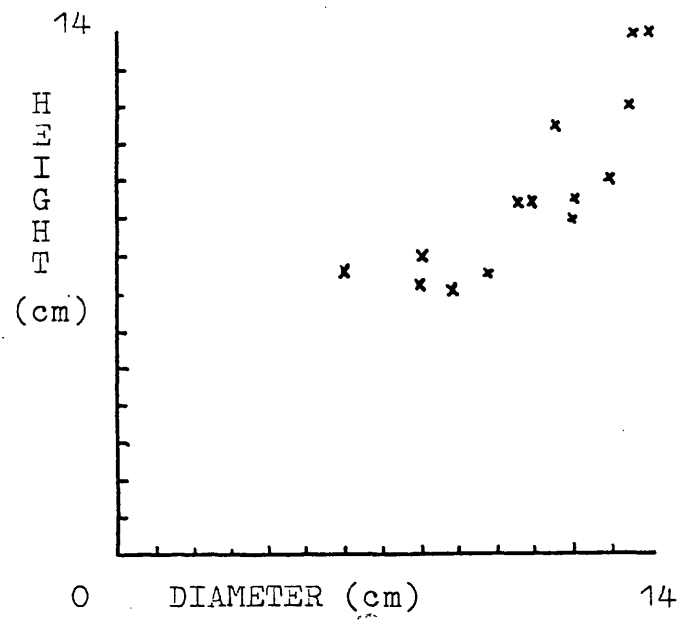
Table iv.1: Typology of Channel Island globular vessels.

<u>Vessel</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>c</u>
Faldouet i	13.4	13.4	12
Faldouet ii	13.8	16.4	14
La Sergenté	14	14	14
GMAG2964	12	14	9
GMAG3011	9.8	10	7.6
GMAG3017	8.9	10.6	7
GMAG3023	6	6	7.7
GMAG3024	13	13	10
GMAG3028	10.8	15.6	11.6
GMAG3029	8	10.4	8
GMAG3030	10.6	13.4	9.6
GMAG3031	8	10	7.2
GMAG3033	12	12	9.2
GMAG3168	10.8	12.1	9.6

When height and diameter of opening are plotted against one another, (Fig.iv.4), these vessels appear to fall into two groups, but the sample is too small for any meaningful conclusions to be drawn from this.

The assemblage from La Sergenté (Fig.iv.3b,c) has been assigned by some authors (JOHNSTON 1981, HIBBS 1983, KINNES & HIBBS 1988) to the Carn style, but there are serious problems in defining this style with regard to the Channel Island material. Carn (cf Giot et al. 1979) is a style identified in North-Western Brittany, characterised by globular fineware bowls: most are plain but some have applied plastic decoration. The passage graves in which Carn pottery has been found (e.g. Barnenez, Ile Carn, Ile Guennoc) have produced early radiocarbon dates (4700-4200 BC), and later pottery (Chasséen forms dating to the 4th Millennium BC) are absent from the assemblages. The vessels from La Sergenté would not be out of place in a Carn assemblage, but the characteristic plastic decoration has not been recorded in the Channel Islands. The identification of the Sergenté assemblage as Carn seems to rest on two

Fig.iv.4. Typology of Channel Island globular vessels.



criteria: firstly, the absence of characteristically Chasséen forms, particularly vase-supports, and secondly the fact that the monument itself is of a type which is considered to be early in date. Essentially similar vessels from Faldouet are classified by Johnston, Kinnes and Hibbs as Chasséen (Fig.iv.2f,iv.3a) because the assemblage (which is essentially unstratified) also includes vase-supports and because this monument is of a type considered to be late. There is an obvious circularity here, since the "early" date of La Sergenté depends partly on the identification of the pottery assemblage as Carn, and this identification itself depends partly on the assumed early date of the monument. From a purely typological point of view, the globular bowls from La Sergenté are of the same form and fabric as bowls from Faldouet, Le Déhus, Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin and HER 13 (Figs iv.2,iv.3 see also Table IV.1), and to differentiate the Sergenté assemblage from the others on the basis of purely negative criteria (the absence of vase-supports and other characteristic Chasséen elements) seems questionable, particularly since the assemblage consists of only four vessels.

Undecorated hemispherical vessels.

Hemispherical vessels, likewise, constitute an important element of Channel Island and Armorican Middle Neolithic assemblages. Most of the vessels have straight rims, though one, from La Sergenté, has an everted rim. Only one of the vessels has lugs. Below is a list of undecorated hemispherical bowls from the islands.

Jersey.

La Sergenté: 1 vessel (Fig.iv.3b).

Grantez: 1 vessel (SJMJ1982:Fig.iv.5a).

Guernsey.

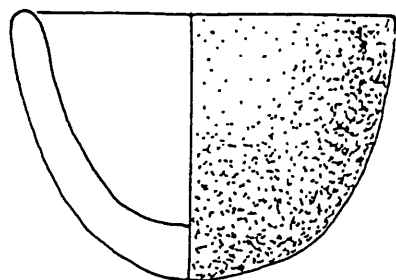
La Roque qui Sonne: 1 vessel (GMAG3131:Fig.iv.5b).

Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin: 2 vessels (GMAG3032,
3025:Fig.iv.5c-d).

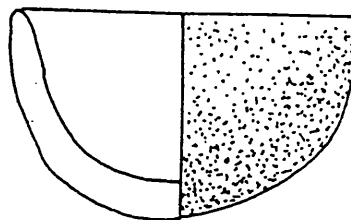
Le Déhus: 1 vessel with 2 vertically perforated lugs
(KENDRICK 1928:Pl.XIII G60).

Table iv.2 shows the dimensions of these vessels,

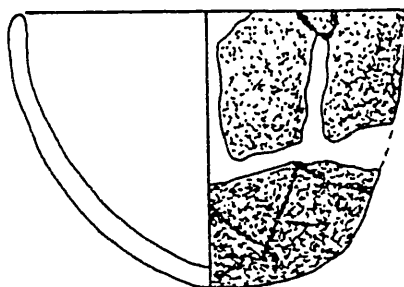
Fig.iv.5. Pottery from Grantez (a), La Roque qui Sonne (b) and Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin (c-d).



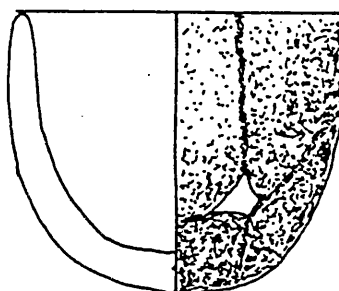
a



b



c



d



(column a refers to diameter of opening, column b to height).

Table iv.2: Typology of Channel Island hemispherical vessels.

<u>Vessel</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>
La Sergenté	14.2	9.6
SJMJ1982	10	7
GMAG3131	9	5.6
GMAG3032	10.3	7.6
GMAG3025	8.6	7.6
Le Déhus	6.4	5.6

Once again, there is no detailed corpus of the Armorican material, but L'Helgouach (1965:Fig.37.2) illustrates a vessel from the passage grave of Mané-Bég-Portivy à St. Pierre-Quiberon, Morbihan, with dimensions of 10.6 cm and 6.6 cm respectively, comparable to the vessels from Grantez, La Roque qui Sonne and Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin.

Undecorated carinated and shouldered vessels.

L'Helgouach (1965) distinguishes between vases à carène (cf Fig.iv.6c) and vases à épaulement (cf Fig.iv.6b): in the former group the opening is the widest part of the vessel, whereas in the latter group the angle is the widest part. Of the vessels listed below, only 2 (both from Le Déhus) are vases à carène, the others are vases à épaulement. The latter group is also dominant in Breton assemblages: L'Helgouach (op cit.) lists 15 passage graves in Southern Brittany which have produced vases à épaulement. Carinated and shouldered vessels from the Channel islands are listed below.

Jersey

La Sergenté: 1 vessel (Fig.iv.6a).

Grantez: Fragments from 1 vessel.

Les Cinq Pierres: Fragments from 2 vessels.

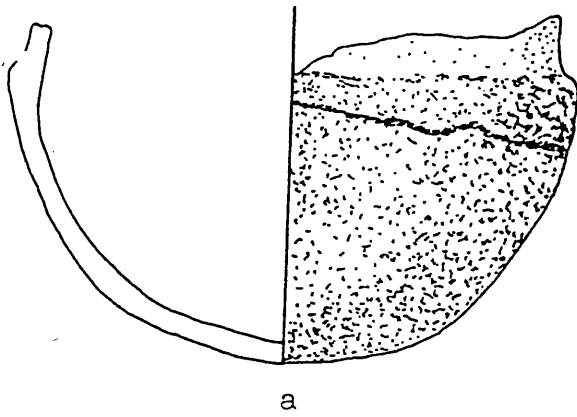
Géonnais: Fragments from 2 vessels (HGCB704,3924).

Guernsey.

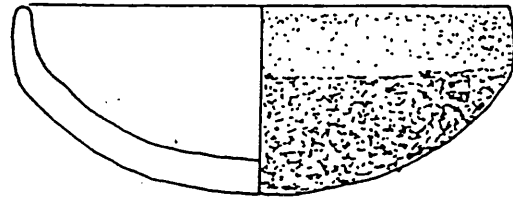
Le Déhus: 3 vessels (incl. GMAG2973,2967:Fig.iv.6b,c, and one other vessel -KENDRICK 1928:Fig.61,655).

L'Helgouach (op cit.) distinguishes 2 series of shouldered bowls:

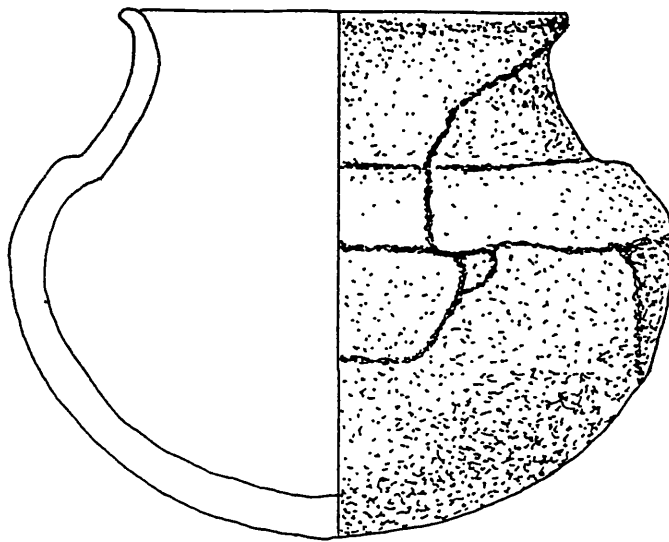
Fig. IV.6. Pottery from La Sergenté (a), Le Déhus (b-c) and Grantez (d).



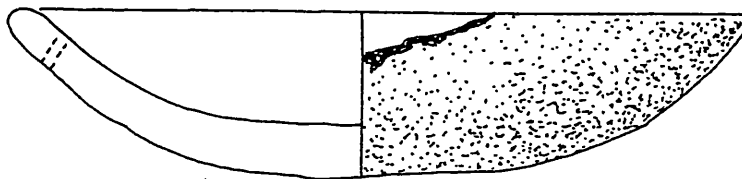
a



b



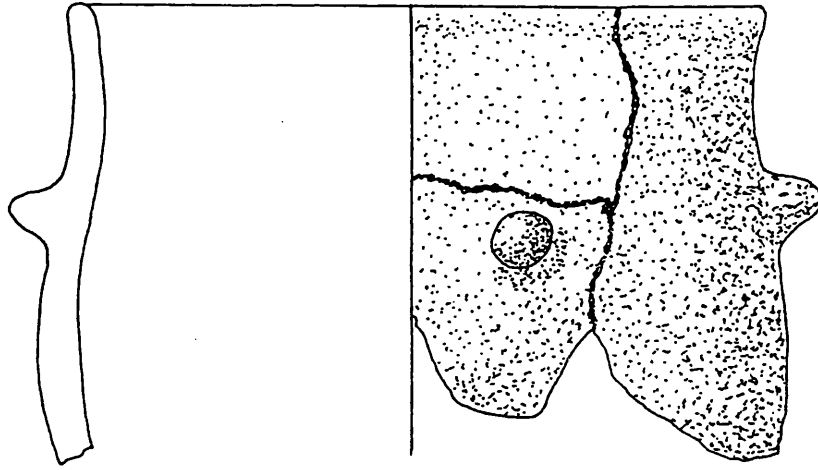
c



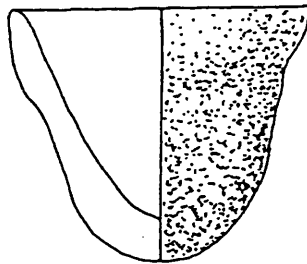
d



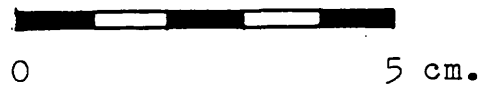
Fig. iv. 7. Pottery from La Hougue des Geonnais (a)
and Faldouet (b).



a



b



- 1) Large bowls (diameter of opening 16.4-17.4 cm).
- 2) Smaller vessels (diameter of opening 4.5-7 cm).

The Channel island vessels seem to fall between these two series: the shouldered bowl from Le Déhus has a diameter of 13 cm and a height of 5 cm, whilst the example from La Sergenté, though incomplete, is unlikely to have had a diameter greater than 14.5 cm.

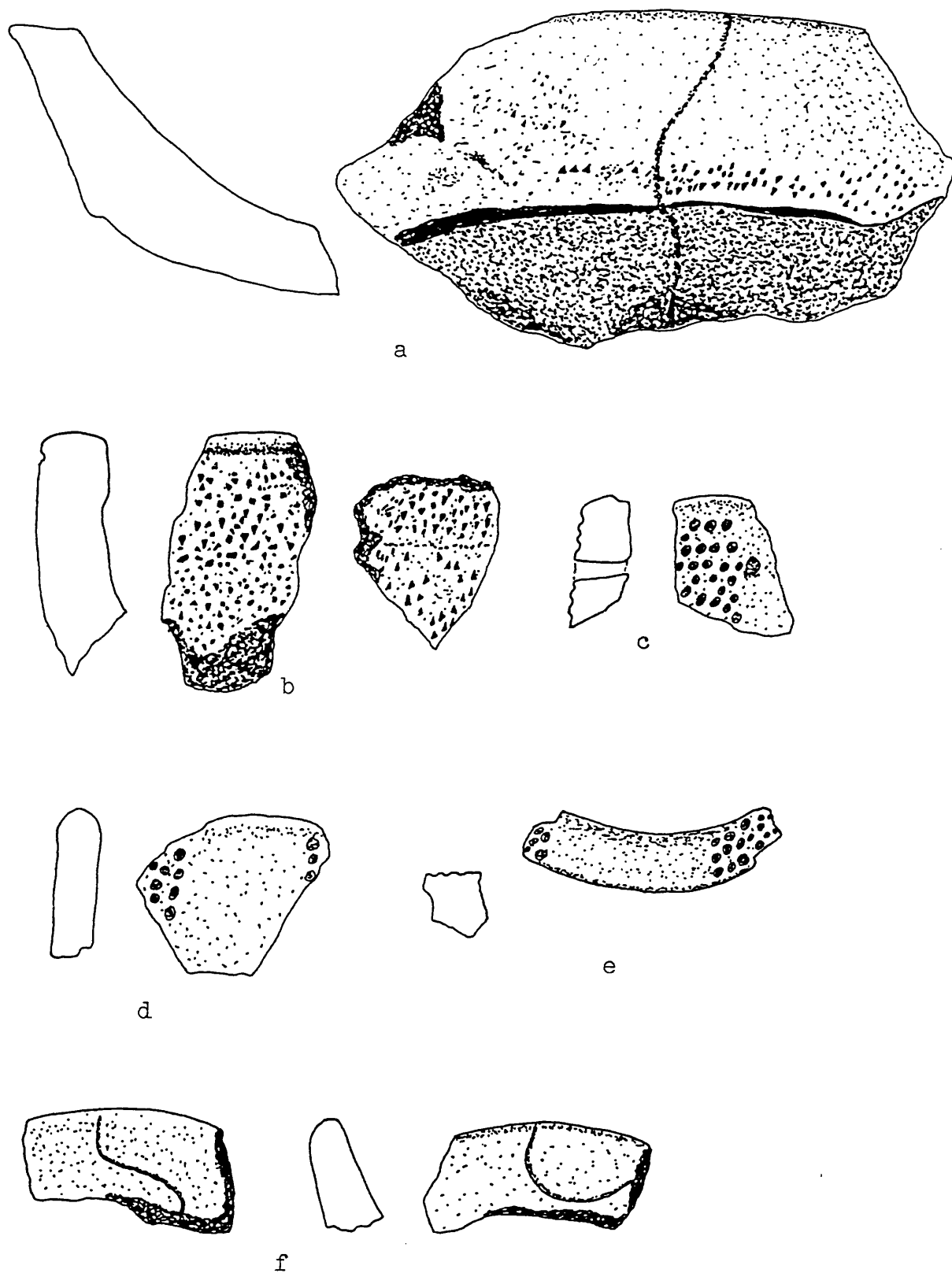
Miniature vases.

In this category are grouped pottery vessels with maximum diameters less than 5 cm. Three miniature vases are known from the Channel Islands, all of them from Jersey. The first, from Faldouet (Fig.iv.7b), is a conical vessel, 3.9 cm in diameter and 3.4 cm in height. The second, from Grantez, is incomplete, with the upper portion missing, but has a more regular hemispherical profile with a diameter of 3.8 cm. The third, from Grosnez Hougue, is a hemispherical vessel, 4.9 cm in diameter and 3.2 cm in height (Fig.iv.20b). Hemispherical miniature vases similar to the examples from Grantez and Grosnez Hougue are known from the Morbihan sites of Er Lannic à Arzon (LE ROUZIC 1930a), Er Pointe à St. Philibert, Locmariaquer (MILN 1881), Kerdro-Vihan à La Trinité-sur-Mer (LE ROUZIC 1901) and Le Tumulus St. Michel à Carnac (LE ROUZIC 1932). There are no precise parallels for the Faldouet vessel.

Vase-supports.

Vessels of this type (Fig.iv.8-iv.13) form an important element of Middle Neolithic assemblages from Jersey, but have not been found on any of the other islands. Table iv.3 shows the occurrence of vase-supports in Jersey assemblages: figures quoted represent minimum number of vessels.

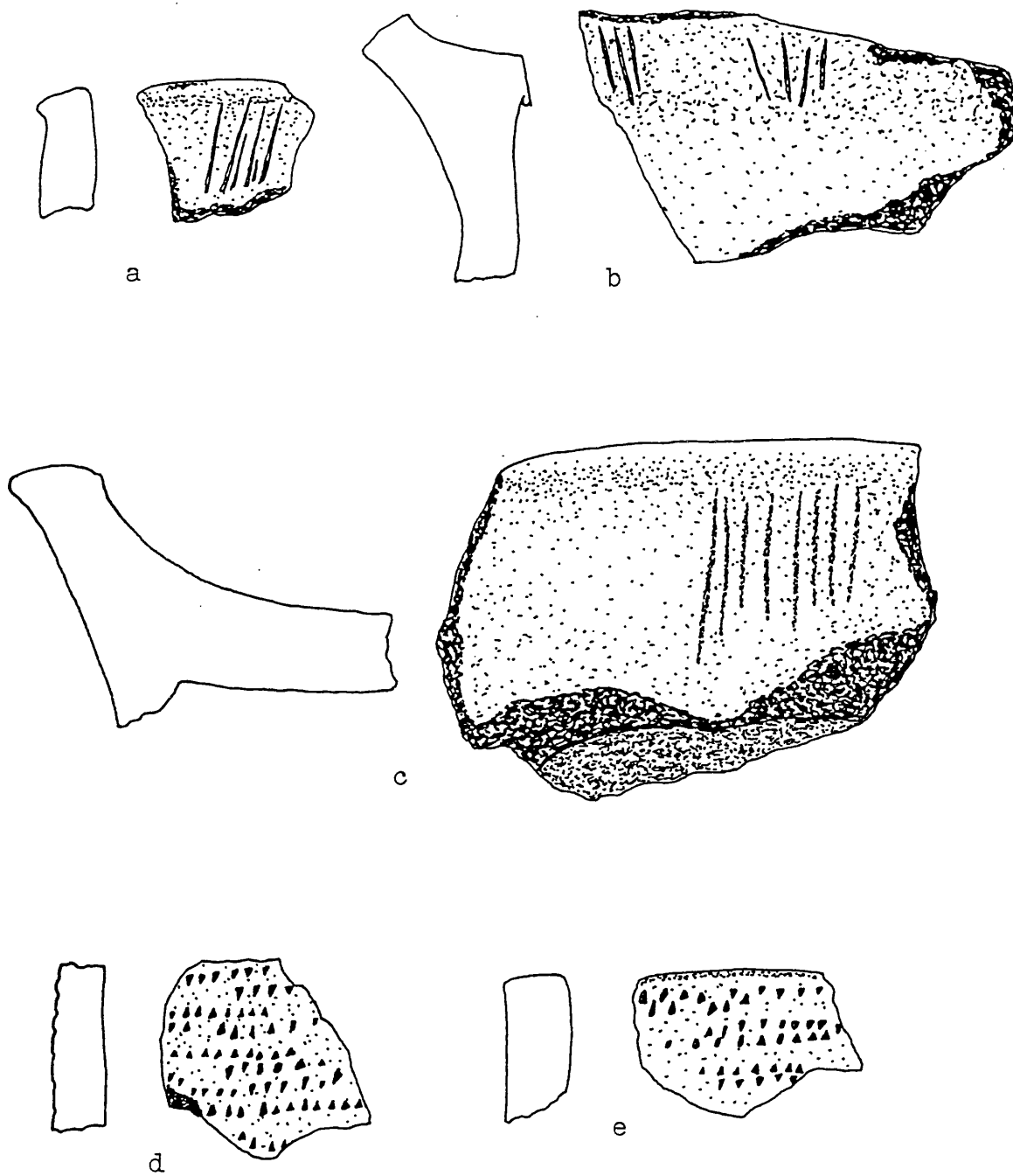
Fig.iv.8. Pottery from Grosnez Hougue (a-e) and La Hougue des Géonnais (f).



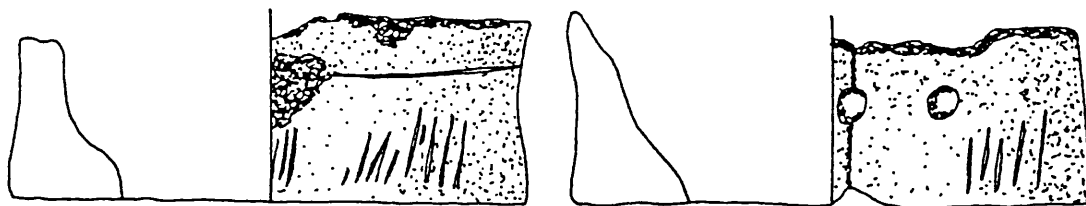
0

5 cm.

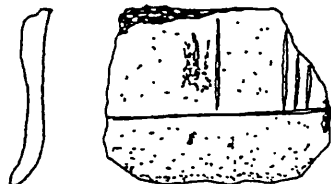
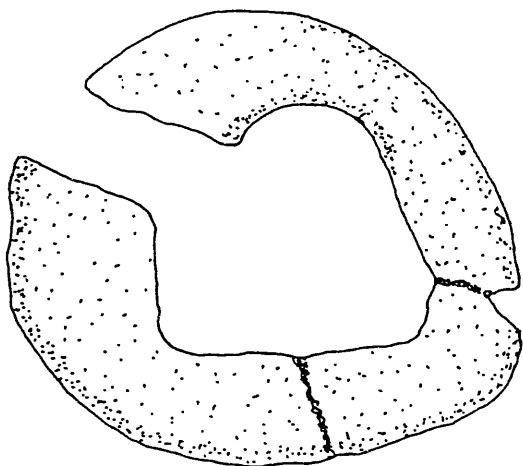
Fig.iv.9. Pottery from La Heugue Bie (a-b) and La Motte (c-e).



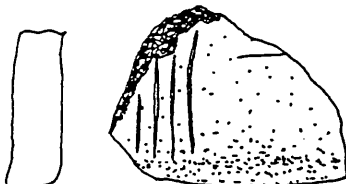
0 5 cm.



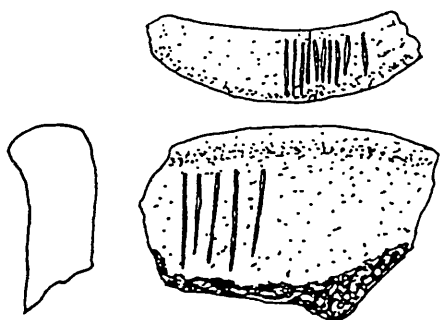
a



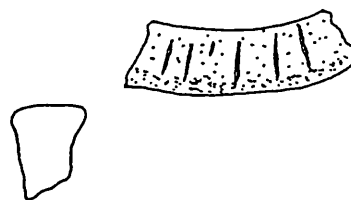
b



c



d



e

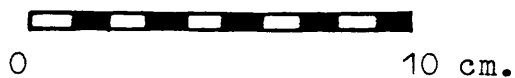
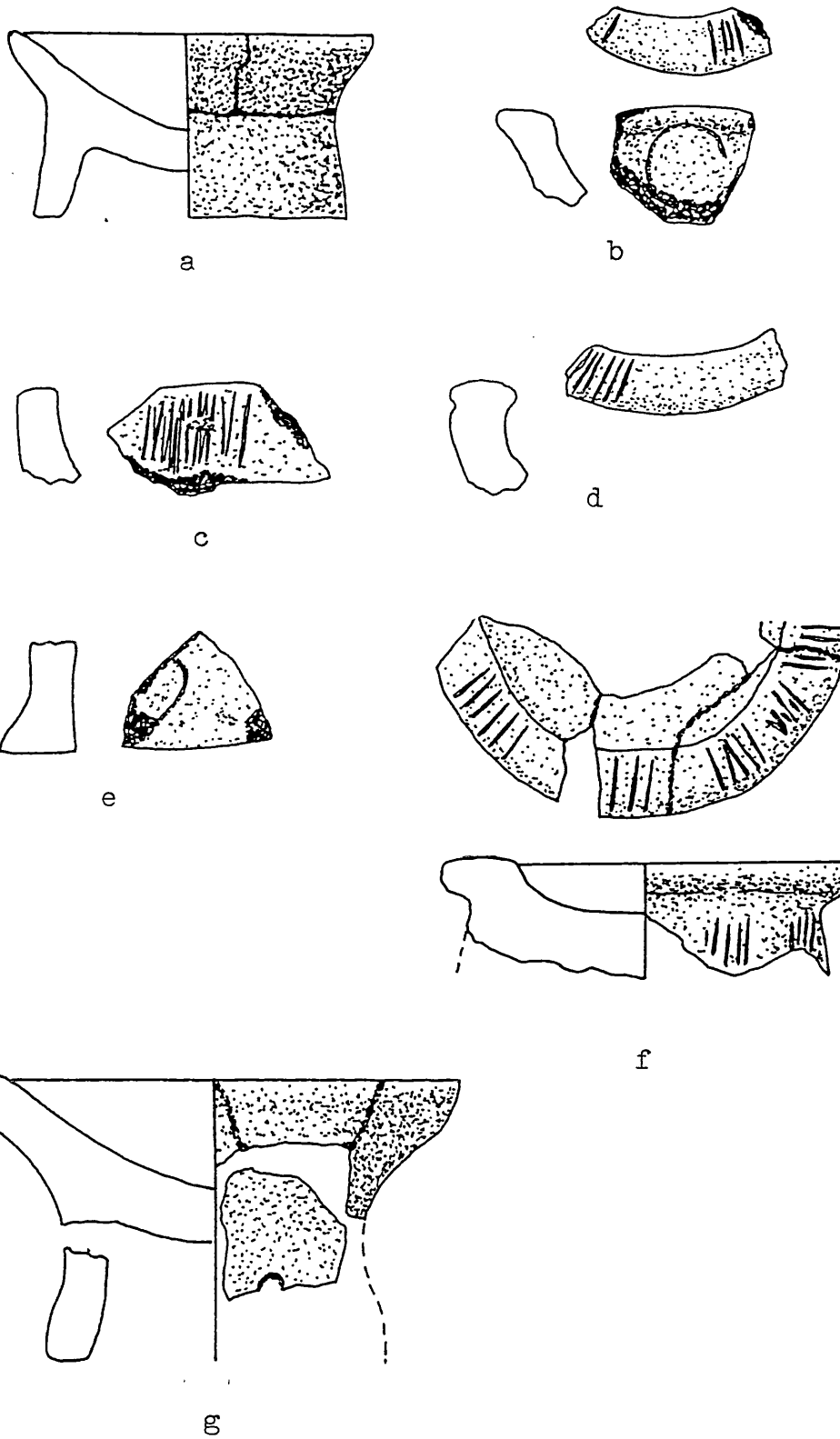


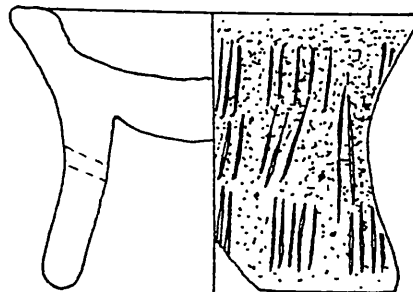
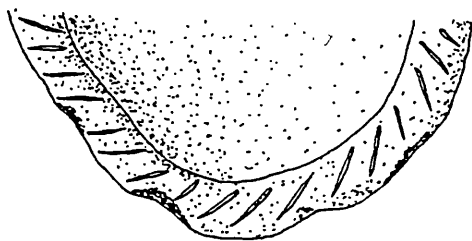
Fig. 1. Pottery from Grantez (a-f) and La Hougue
des Géonnais (g).



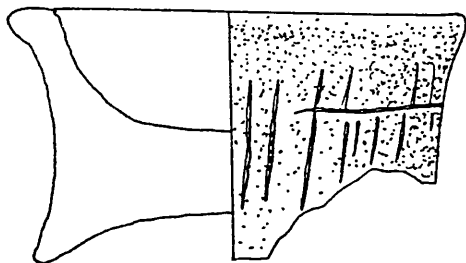
0

10 cm.

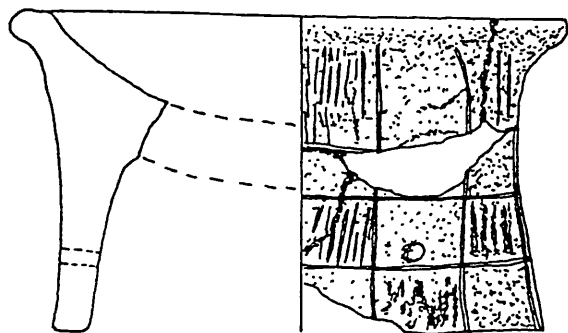
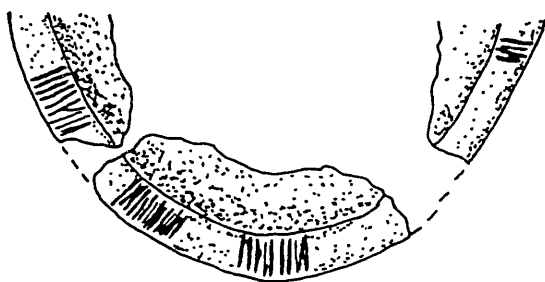
Fig.iv.12. Pottery from Faldouet (a-b) and La Hougue
Bie (c)



b



a

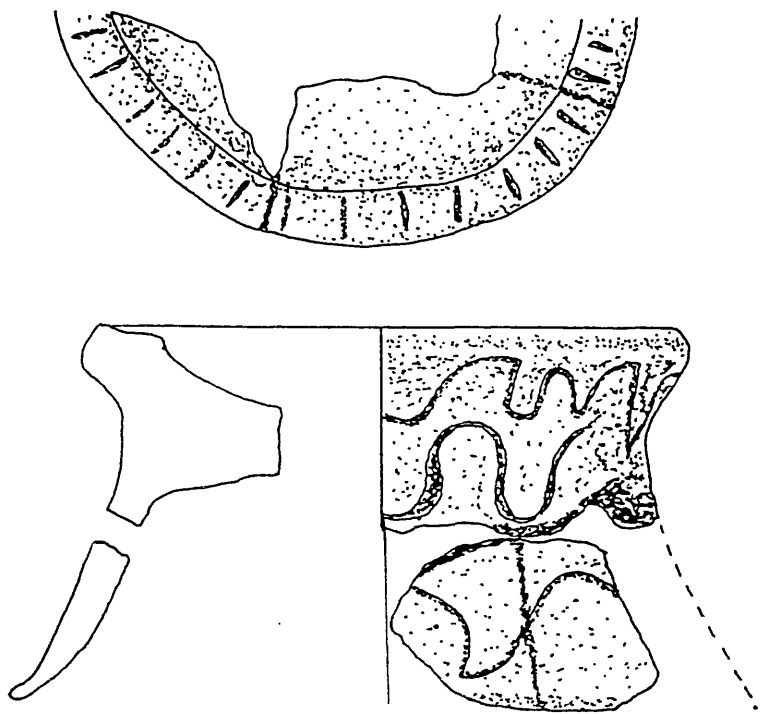


c

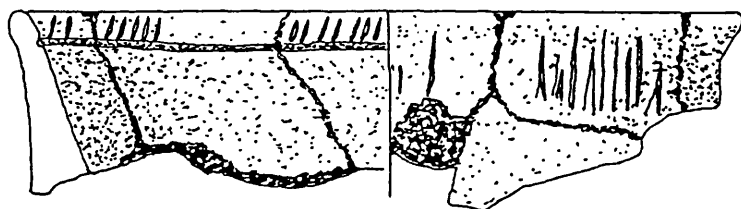


0

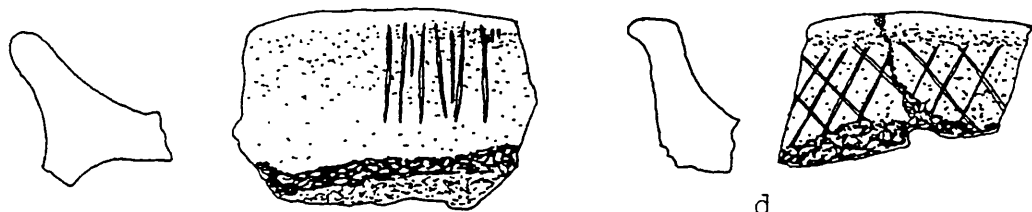
10 cm.



a

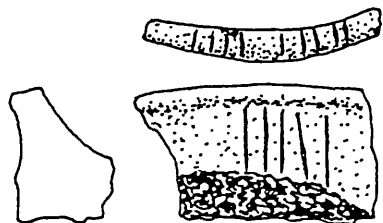


b



c

d



e



Table iv.3: Occurrence of vase-supports in Jersey assemblages.

<u>Site</u>	<u>Decorated</u>	<u>Undecorated</u>
La Motte	3	0
La Hougue Bie	13	8
Faldouet	2	1
Grantez	5	4
Géonnais	1	3
Grosnez	3	0
Mont Ubé	2	0

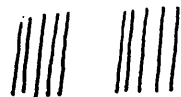
In terms of form, the vase-supports from Jersey are all of the Er Lannic type, with cylindrical or waisted profile and shallow saucer (Fig.iv.12). Hawkes (1937:p72) considers that one of the sherds from La Hougue Bie (Fig.iv.10e) represents a vase-support of "tubular" form, without a saucer, but it is difficult to justify this conclusion given the small size of the sherd. Many of the vessels are too fragmentary for metrical analysis, but Table iv.4 shows metrical data for those vessels that are sufficiently complete: (column a refers to total height, column b to maximum diameter and column c to depth of saucer, all in cm).

Table iv.4: Typology of vase-supports from Jersey.

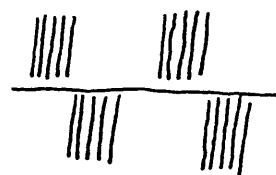
<u>Site</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>c</u>
La Hougue Bie	8.4	14.6	3
La Hougue Bie	10	15.8	1.9
Faldouet	7	12	3.4
Faldouet	7.6	10.8	1.6
Grantez	-	11.6	1.5
Grantez	5.6	10.6	2.8
Géonnais	7.5	14	3

The decoration on Jersey vase-supports can be classified according to the system shown on Fig.iv.14. Table iv.5 shows the occurrence of these decorative motifs.

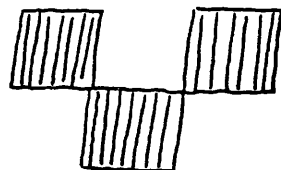
Ia



Ib



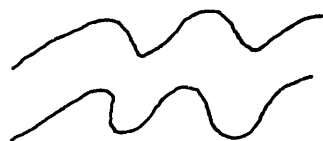
IIa



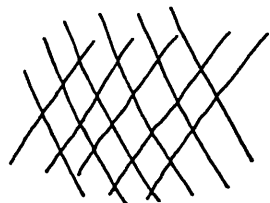
IIb



IIIa



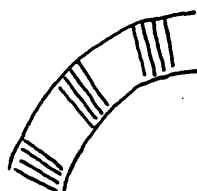
IVa



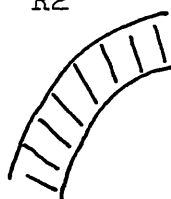
Va



R1



R2



R3

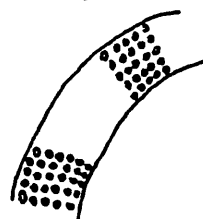


Table iv.5: Decoration on vase-supports from Jersey.

i) Decoration on body.

<u>Site</u>	<u>Ia</u>	<u>Ib</u>	<u>IIa</u>	<u>IIb</u>	<u>IIIa</u>	<u>IVa</u>	<u>Va</u>
La Motte	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
La Hougue Bie	9	0	1	0	1	1	0
Faldouet	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Grantez	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
Grosnez	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Mont Ubé	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Géonnais	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
<u>Total</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>

ii) Decoration on rim.

<u>Site</u>	<u>R1</u>	<u>R2</u>	<u>R3</u>
La Hougue Bie	4	1	0
Faldouet	0	1	0
Grantez	3	0	0
Grosnez	0	0	1
Mont Ubé	1	0	0
<u>Total</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>

Table iv.6 shows the correlation between body and rim decoration types.

Table iv.6: Vase-supports from Jersey, correlation between body and rim decoration types.

	<u>R1</u>	<u>R2</u>	<u>R3</u>
<u>Ia</u>	4	0	0
<u>Ib</u>	0	1	0
<u>IIa</u>	1	0	0
<u>IIb</u>	0	0	1
<u>IIIa</u>	1	0	0
<u>IVa</u>	0	0	0
<u>Va</u>	0	0	0

Hibbs (1985:pp64-65) presents a somewhat spurious argument concerning the chronology of Channel Island vase-supports, insisting that decoration of types Ia and Ib represent devolved forms of type IIa. Referring to the vase-supports from Faldouet (Fig.iv.12a,b) he states:

"The decoration on the vase-supports is the normal insular incised chequer pattern, but crudely and almost randomly applied, suggesting a late form."

There is no stratigraphic or contextual evidence to corroborate the assertion that "crude" decoration, (an ethnocentric notion in any case), is later in date than "carefully executed" decoration.

The distribution of vase-supports in the Armorican area (Fig.IV.25) is somewhat restricted, with one major

concentration in Southern Brittany and another in Jersey. The single site of Er Lannic (LE ROUZIC 1930a) has produced fragments of 162 vase-supports, representing over 75% of the total Armorican assemblage (including the Channel Islands). With the exceptions of Le Mont de la Ville, (from which no artefacts are preserved), and La Sergenté, vase-supports are known from all of the Jersey passage graves: by contrast, vase-supports are known from only 7 passage graves in mainland Brittany (L'HELGOUACH 1965). The concentration of vase-supports in Jersey must be seen as particularly remarkable in view of the absence of these vessels from the other Channel Islands, and the scarcity of vase-supports in the adjacent areas of Western Normandy and North-eastern Brittany.

The form of the Jersey vase-supports is paralleled by the majority of the vessels from the Er Lannic assemblage (LE ROUZIC 1930a). The decoration on the Jersey vessels, however, is quite different to that found in the Er Lannic assemblage. Of the motifs shown on Fig.iv.14, Types Ia,Ib,IVa,Va,Vb,R1 and R3 are essentially local. Panels of incised vertical lines similar to Type Ia are found on vessels of Conquel Inférieur type (L'HELGOUACH 1965:Fig.39), but these vessels are not vase-supports and they carry a range of arciform and horizontal line motifs that are entirely absent from Channel Island assemblages, so that the similarity is probably not significant. "Chequer-board" motifs (cf IIa,IIb) are characteristic of Paris Basin assemblages, (cf vessels from Fort-Harrouard à Sorel-Moussel, Eure-et-Loire and Moru à Pontpoint, Dise: BAILLOUD 1964:Fig.25, and from Campigny à Blangy, Seine-Maritime: BENDER 1968:Fig.50), but in Paris Basin assemblages the squares are normally infilled with incised cross-hatching rather than vertical lines or rows of impressions, so that Types IIa and IIb must be seen as distinctive local variations on a Paris Basin theme. A single sherd from the passage grave of Mane-er-Gragueux à Carnac, Morbihan, (L'HELGOUACH 1965:Fig.41), bears decoration of Type IIb. Serpentine motifs (cf IIIa) are found in the Er Lannic assemblage, but the Er Lannic

examples are formed by lines of impressions rather than incised lines as in the Jersey examples. An atypical vase-support with incised serpentine motif was found in the Grand Tumulus Carnacéen of Le Moustoir à Carnac, Morbihan (L'HELGOUACH 1965:Fig.41), and a fragment of a vase-support with incised serpentine motif has been found at Herqueville, Manche (DASTUGUE 1969). Rim decoration is a common feature of vase-supports both in Armorica and in the Paris Basin, but the specific forms of rim decoration found on the Jersey vessels are distinctively local. A single vessel from Petit Mont à Arzon, Morbihan has decoration of Type R2 (J. LECORNEC pers.comm.). Many of the vase-supports from Er Lannic have large rectangular perforations cut out of the side of the vessel before firing: the Jersey vessels by contrast, like those of the Paris Basin, have only simple circular perforations (Fig.iv.10,iv.12).

In conclusion, it must be said that the vase-support assemblage from Jersey represents a distinct local development incorporating elements of both Breton and Paris Basin traditions. The function of these vessels remains uncertain, but the saucers of all but one of the vase-supports from La Hougue Bie showed evidence of burning (BAAL *et al.* 1925) suggesting that they were used either as lamps or for burning offerings in the context of the rituals associated with the passage graves.

Perforated vessels.

One of the vessels from the site of Grantez, Jersey, is of unusual type. It is a saucer (Fig.iv.6d), 9.8 cm in diameter and 2.1cm in depth, with a pair of small circular perforations which could have been used for suspension.

A similar vessel was found at Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin, Guernsey, (KENDRICK 1928: Fig.65. G99). This is a shallow oval dish, 8.3 cm in length, 6.4 cm in width and 2 cm in depth. A single perforation is preserved, and a second has been incorporated in the reconstruction.

There are no clear parallels for these vessels in Armorican assemblages, but since both at Grantez and at

Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin they were found in association with Middle Neolithic pottery, there can be little doubt with regard to their date.

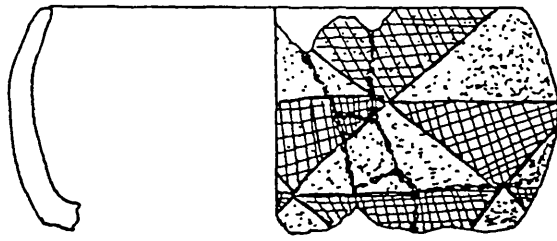
Decorated pottery (excluding vase-supports).

It has already been stated that, with the exception of vase-supports, most of the Middle Neolithic pottery from the Channel Islands is undecorated. There are, however, 4 decorated vessels which are clearly not vase-supports.

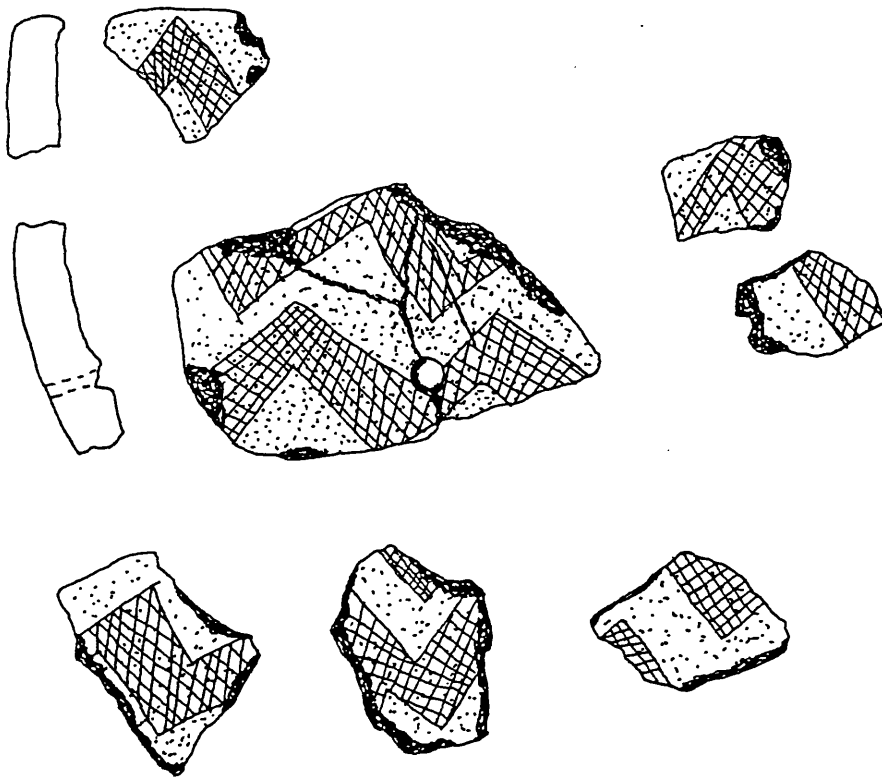
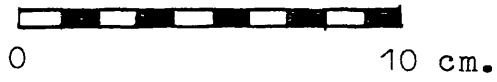
The first, from Le Déhus, Guernsey, is an incomplete vase à pied creux (cf L'HELGOUACH 1977) with decoration in the form of 3 rows of incised pendant triangles infilled with incised cross-hatching (Fig.iv.15a). On the Armorican mainland, vases à pied creux are concentrated in Southern and Western Brittany, and the occurrence of a single example in Guernsey appears anomalous. The decoration on the Guernsey example is atypical on a vessel of this form. A vase à pied creux from Dissignac à St.Nazaire, Loire-Atlantique (L'HELGOUACH op cit.) has a single row of incised pendant triangles below the rim, whilst one from Larcuste à Colpo, Morbihan is decorated in a style reminiscent of Type Vb (see section on vase-supports above. Decoration comparable to that on the Guernsey vase à pied creux is found on vase-supports from Paris Basin assemblages (cf vessels from Fort Harrouard and Moru BAILLOUD 1964:Fig.25 and from Campigny, BENDER 1968:Fig.50) and on a single vase-support from the dolmen of La Motte de la Garde à Luxé, Charente (JOUSSAUME 1976).

The second vessel, from La Hougue des Géonnais, Jersey, is of uncertain form: it is certainly not a vase-support but may be a vase à pied creux or a hemispherical vessel. The vessel has a flattened rim and has decoration in the form of incised zig-zag bands infilled with incised cross-hatching (Fig.iv.15b). The vessel has a single circular perforation similar to those on Jersey vase-supports. The decoration has no Armorican parallels, but similar decoration is found on vase-supports from the Paris Basin (cf vessels from Moru and Catenoy, Oise:BAILLOUD 1964) and Burgundy (Le Camp de Chasse):

Fig.iv.15. Pottery from Le Déhus (a) and La Hogue
des Géonnais (b).



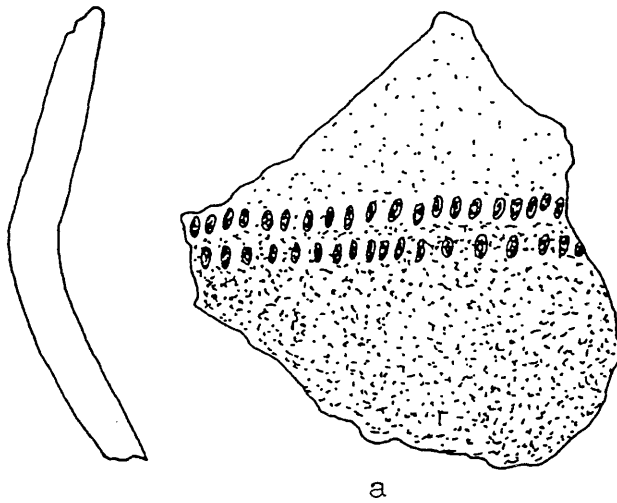
a



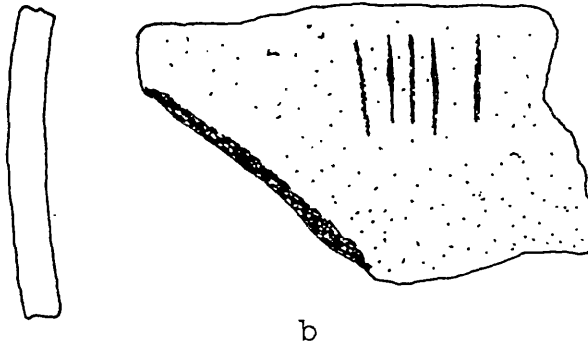
b



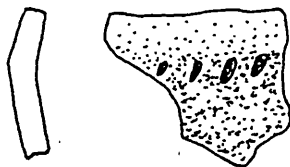
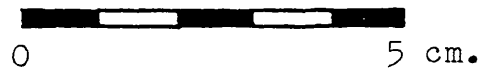
Fig.iv.16. Pottery from Le Déhus (a), Faldouet (b)
and Grantez (c).



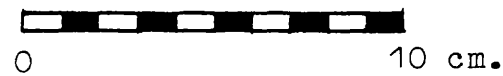
a



b



c



THOMASSET 1927).

The third vessel, from Faldouet, Jersey, is represented by a single sherd, bearing decoration in the form of a panel of 5 vertical incisions (Fig.iv.16b). This decoration is of Type Ia (see section on vase-supports above), but the vessel is clearly not a vase-support.

The fourth vessel, from Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin, Guernsey, is a hemispherical bowl, 12.1 cm in diameter and 6.1 cm in height, with 4 pairs of small bosses set below the rim (KENDRICK 1928:Pl XIII,698). Comparable vessels with paired bosses are known from the sites of Kerleven à La Forêt Fouesnant, Finistère, Kervadel and Kervinion à Plobannalec, Finistère, Les Trois Squelettes à Pornic, Loire-Atlantique: LE ROUX & L'HELGOUACH 1967, Quelarn à Plobannalec, Finistère: LE ROUX 1981,1983, and Kerluto à Belz, Morbihan. All of these sites are in Southern Brittany, and the vessel from Guernsey is the only example of the type to have been found outside of this area.

The assemblage from Grosnez Hougue.

The assemblage from Grosnez Hougue, Jersey, is considered separately here, since it may be of particular interest. The site is a destroyed megalith (RYBOT 1924), and the stratigraphy was not well recorded, so it is far from clear whether the assemblage was sealed, and whether all of the elements in the assemblage are contemporary. The assemblage consists of the following elements:

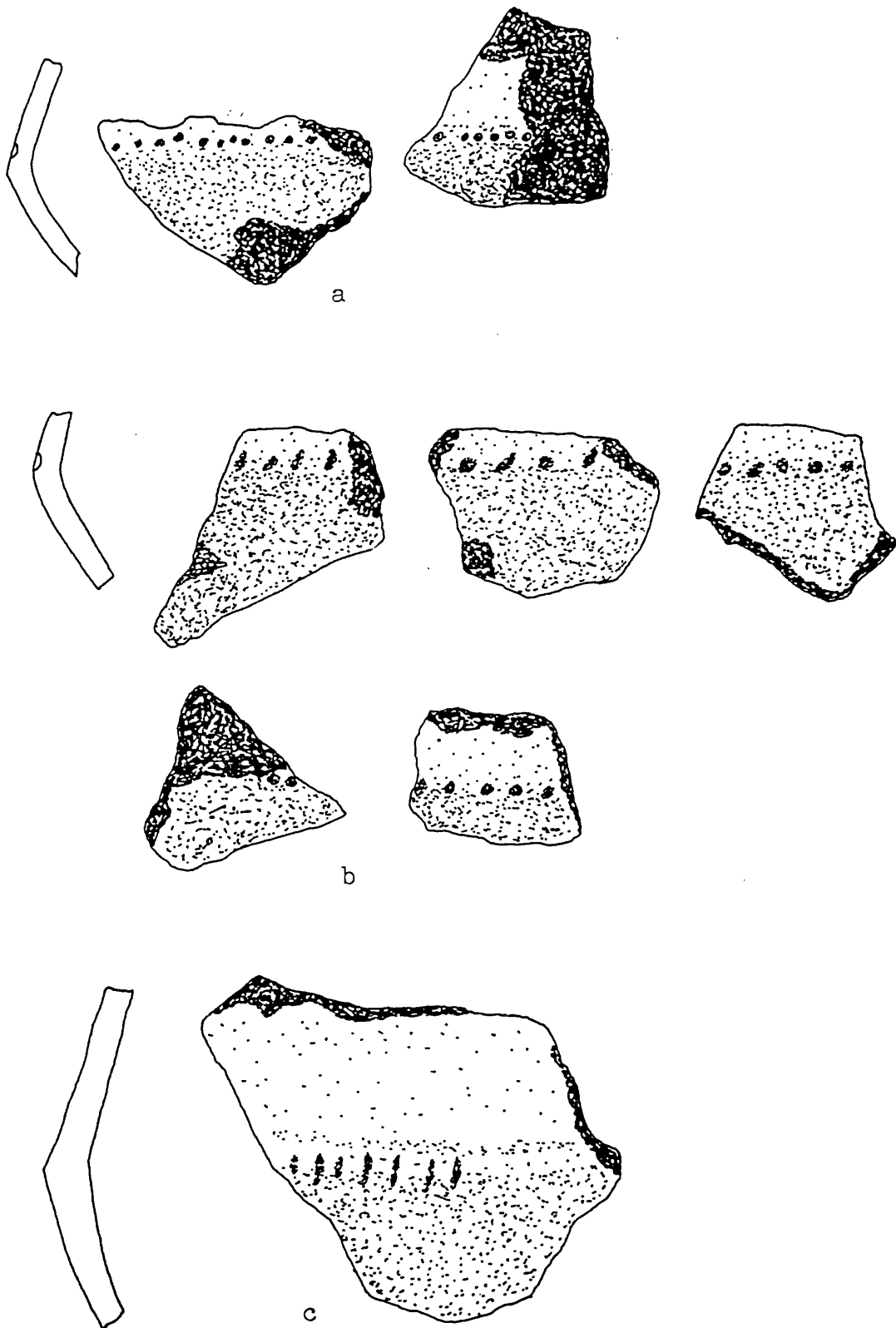
- 1) Fragments representing 4 carinated vessels, decorated with a single row of impressions around the carenation (Fig.iv.17,iv.20d). These vessels are atypical in a Middle Neolithic context, but are essentially similar to vessels found in an Early Neolithic (Cerny) context at Le Pinnacle (see Ch.III). The fabric is also comparable to that of the Pinnacle vessels, being finer and better fired than most Middle Neolithic pottery from the islands. Two individual sherds, one from Le Déhus, Guernsey (Fig.iv.16a) and the other from Grantez, Jersey

(Fig.iv.16c) are also comparable.

- 2) Fragments representing 3 large vessels, at least one of which is crenated. The vessels have everted rims and are decorated with shallow grooves around the neck (Fig.iv.18,iv.19). These are the only vessels of this type known from the Channel Islands, and there are no clear French parallels.
- 3) Fragments representing 3 vase-supports (Fig.iv.8a-e). Two of these vessels have decoration of Type IVb, the third has decoration of Types IIb/R3.
- 4) The lower portion of a globular or hemispherical fineware vessel, 21.4 cm in diameter (Fig.iv.20a).
- 5) A hemispherical miniature vase, 4.9 cm in diameter and 3.2 cm in height (Fig.iv.20b).
- 6) A single fragment from a vessel with a horizontally elongated and vertically perforated lug (Fig.iv.20c). Like group 1) above, this is closer to Early Neolithic (Cerny) forms, (see Ch.III), than to anything known in a Middle Neolithic context in the Channel Islands.

The particular interest of this assemblage arises from the coexistence of Early and Middle Neolithic forms. Given the circumstances of excavation, it is of course possible that the Early and Middle Neolithic elements represent two separate assemblages of different dates. It is interesting to note, however, that only a very restricted range of Cerny elements are present, and that the assemblage also includes 3 atypical vessels which can be paralleled neither in Early nor in Middle neolithic contexts. Given this, it seems at least possible that this is a transitional assemblage, reflecting a localised persistence of some Cerny elements into the 4th Millennium BC.

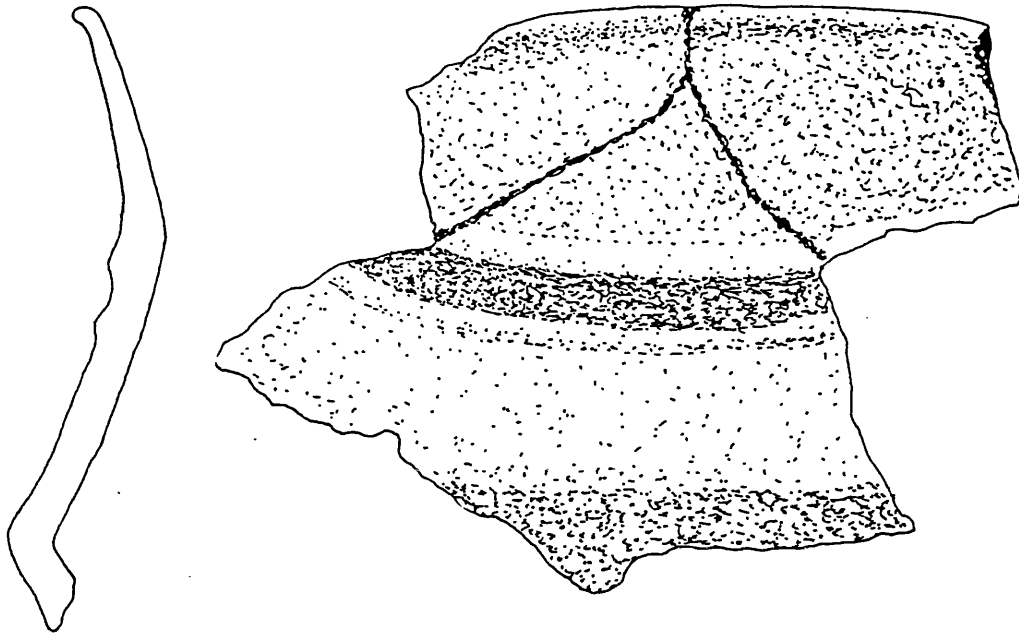
Fig.iv.17. Pottery from Grosnez Hougue.



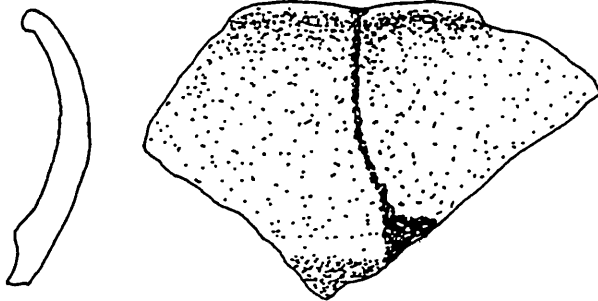
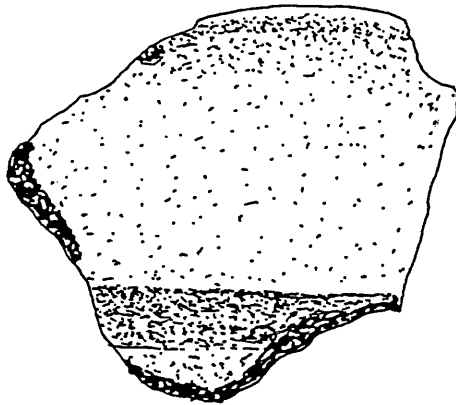
0

5 cm.

Fig.iv.18. Pottery from Grosnez Hougue.



a



b



0

5 cm.

Fig. iv. 19. Pottery from Grosnez Hougue.

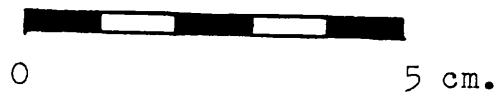
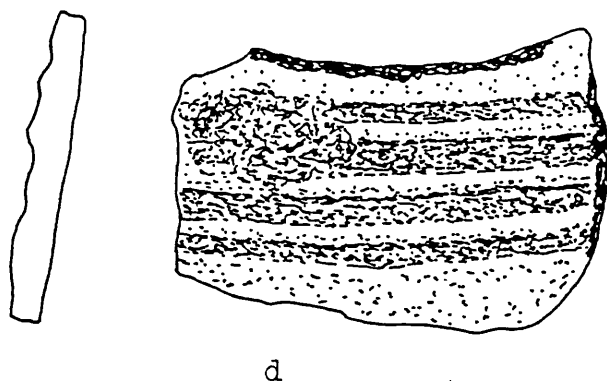
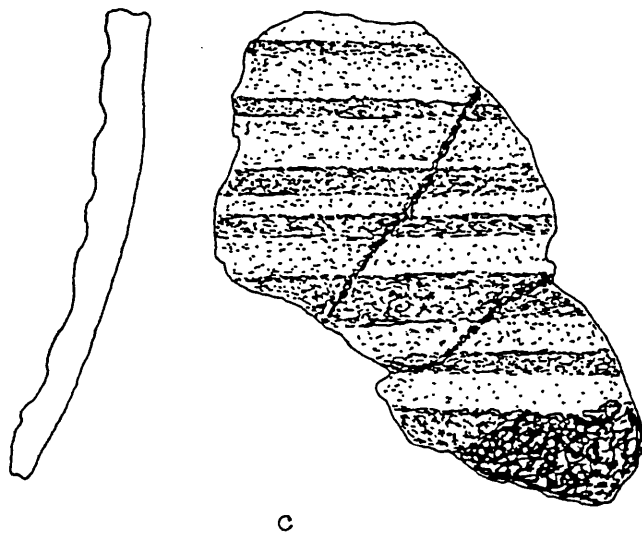
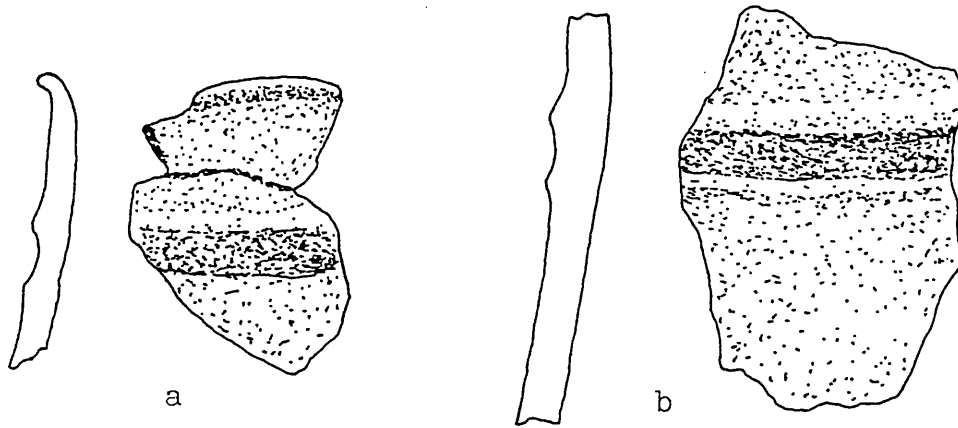
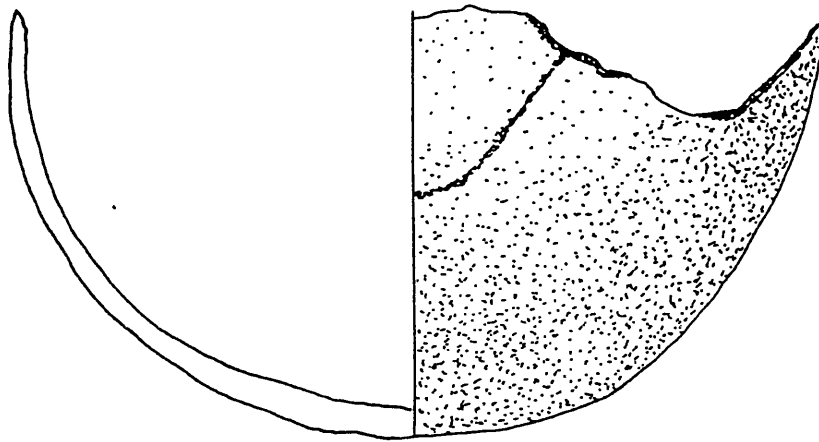
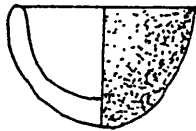


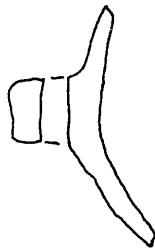
Fig.iv.20. Pottery from Grosnez Hougue.



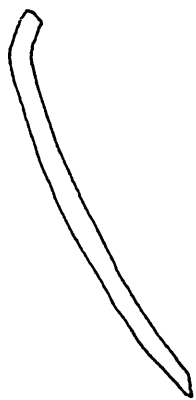
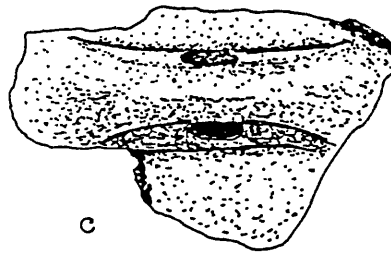
a



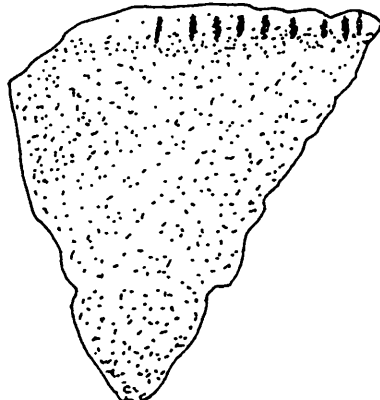
b



c



d



0

10 cm.

APPENDIX v.

LATE NEOLITHIC AND CHALCOLITHIC POTTERY FROM THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic ceramic assemblages from the Channel Islands are perhaps more informative than those of Middle Neolithic date. Virtually all of the known Middle Neolithic material from the islands is derived from sites which are clearly ritual in character, and this leads one to suspect that the sample available to us is not representative of the pottery in use in the islands during this period. This problem also applies to the Late Neolithic period (3250-2850 BC) but for the Chalcolithic (2850-2250 BC) we have both ritual and domestic assemblages, and it is possible to make comparisons between them. Two main ceramic traditions are identified in the published Channel Island literature (cf JOHNSTON 1981, HIBBS 1983, KINNES & HIBBS 1988), the Late Neolithic Seine-Oise-Marne tradition and the Chalcolithic Beaker complex. Recent work in the Paris Basin has suggested the existence of a separate horizon between S.O.M. and Beakers, which Blanchet (1984) characterises as Groupe du Gord. The assemblage from La Hougue Mauger, Jersey (BAAL & SINEL 1915b) has been linked to the Groupe du Gord (PATTON 1987a), and in the discussion below, pottery from other Channel Island sites is related to this group. The assemblage from La Varde, Guernsey, poses particular problems, on account of the vessels characterised by Kendrick (1928) as "ovate vases". These vessels have no clear parallels; Ashbee's (1983) suggestion that the assemblage is Scillonian is almost certainly to be discounted, and Hibbs (1983) argues that it represents a local tradition contemporary with Beakers. Some features of these vessels appear to support Hibbs' suggestion, but other features suggest a more recent (Late Bronze Age) date for the assemblage.

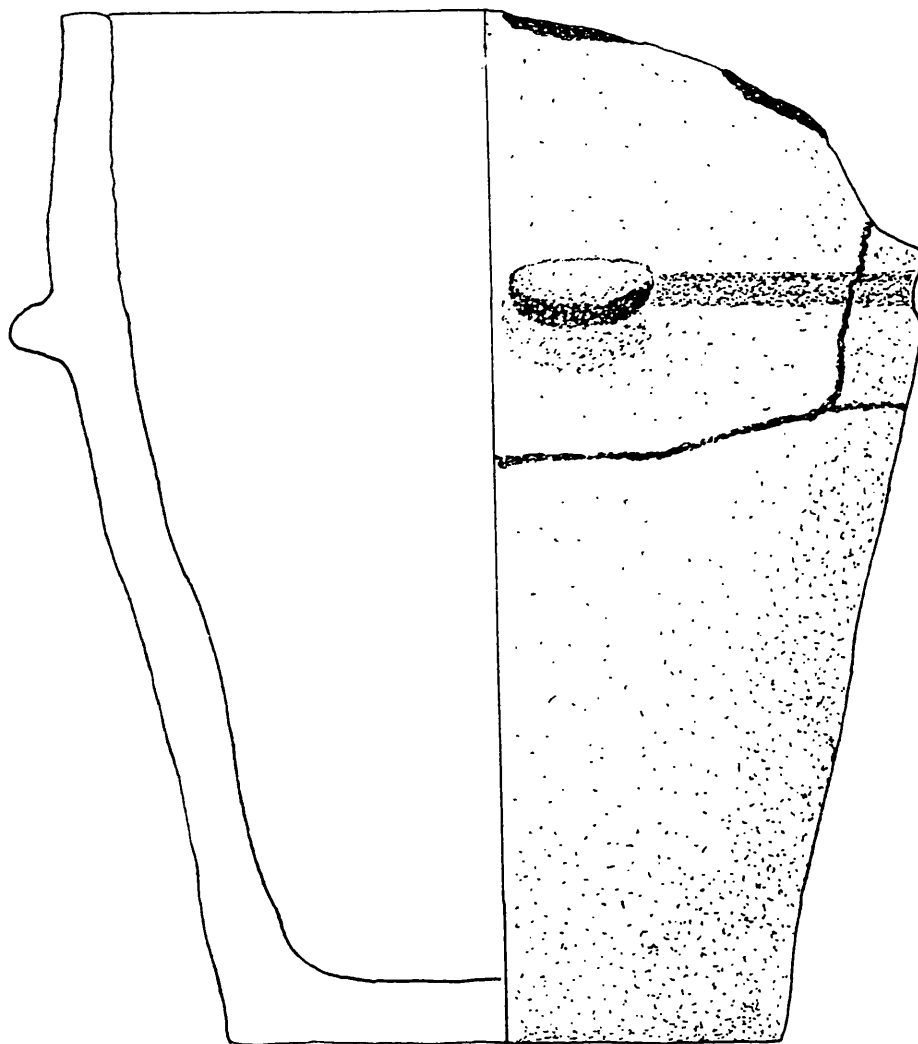
The Seine-Oise-Marne tradition.

Although the S.O.M. tradition was defined on the basis of material from the Paris Basin (cf BAILLOUD 1964), it extends (with local variations) over much of Northern France, including Normandy and Brittany (BENDER 1968, GIOT et al. 1979). In terms of ceramic typology, the most characteristic feature of S.O.M. assemblages is the presence of undecorated flat-based vessels often described as "flower-pot urns". Pottery of S.O.M. affinities is known from five Channel Island sites: Le Déhus and La Varde, Guernsey, Les Platons and Le Pinacle, Jersey, and HER 1, Herm (Figs v.1, v.2, v.3). Some coarseware sherds from La Hougue des Géonnais, Jersey, may also relate to the S.O.M. tradition.

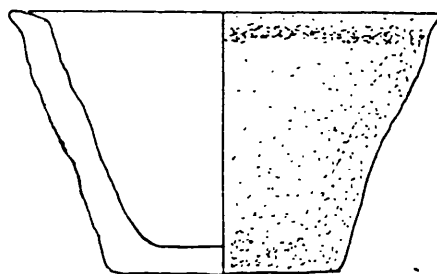
The three vessels from La Varde (Fig.v.2a,c,d), the single vessel from Herm and six of the vessels from Le Déhus (Fig.v.2b,e,f; v.3a,c) all have the typical profile of S.O.M. vessels (cf BAILLOUD 1964, BENDER 1968). The larger of the two vessels from Les Platons (Fig.v.1a) is unusual in that it has four lugs set in a shallow groove, but the profile of this vessel is essentially similar to other S.O.M. examples.

The assemblage from the gravel horizon at Le Pinacle (GODFRAY & BURDO 1950) is predominantly Chalcolithic, and includes fragments of Beakers and Jersey Bowls. Some of the coarse-ware sherds from the site are difficult to classify, and could be of Late Neolithic, Chalcolithic or even Bronze Age date. One vessel from Le Pinacle, however, is of particular interest (Fig.v.3d). The carinated profile of this vessel finds parallels in assemblages from Champ-Grosset en Quessoy, Côtes-du-Nord (L'HELGOUACH & LE ROUX 1965) and La Grée-Basse à Monteneuf, Morbihan (LE ROUX 1977). A vessel from Le Déhus, Guernsey, has a similar profile (Fig.v.3b). The "Quessoy style" as it has been characterised (cf GIOT et al. 1979) represents a specifically Breton development, and comparable vessels are unknown in Paris Basin assemblages (cf BAILLOUD 1964). At Champ-Grosset, however, these carinated vessels were found alongside

Fig.v.1. Late Neolithic pottery from Les Platons.



a



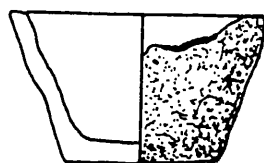
b



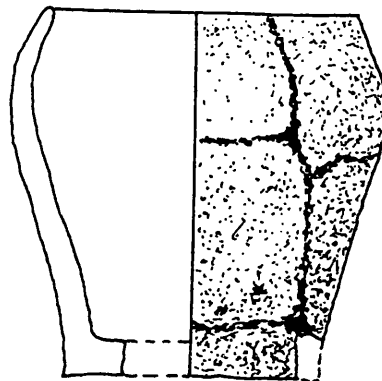
0

10 cm.

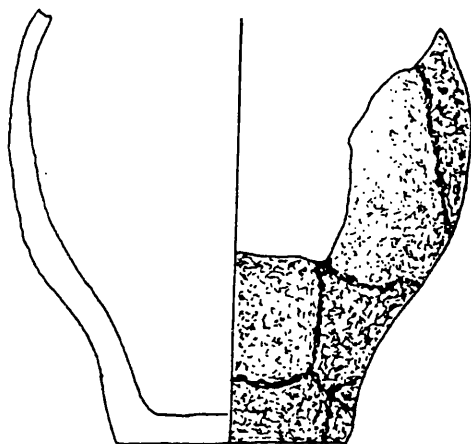
Fig.v.2. Late Neolithic pottery from La Varde (a,c,d)
and Le Déhus (b,e,f).



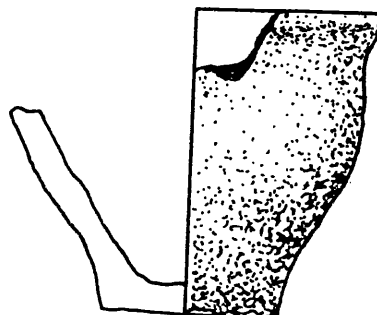
a



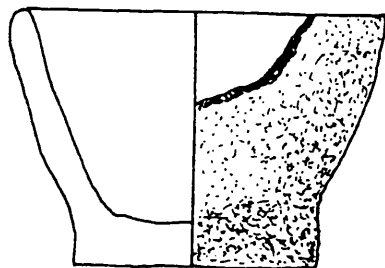
b



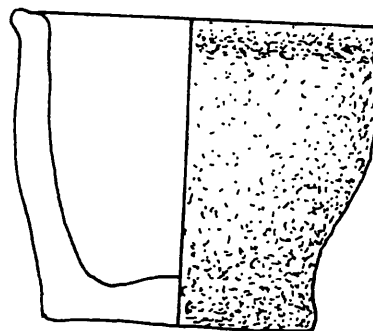
c



d



e



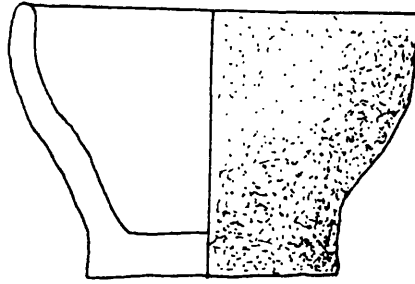
f



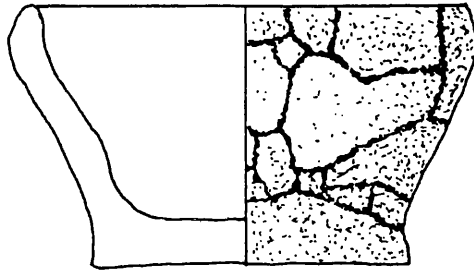
0

10 cm.

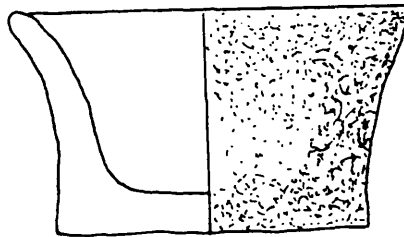
Fig.v.3. Late Neolithic pottery from Le Déhus
(a-c) and Le Pinacle (d).



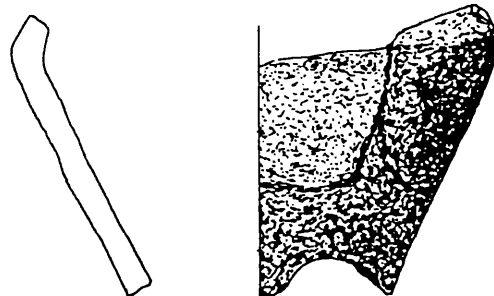
a



b



c



d



0

10 cm.

more typical S.O.M. forms, suggesting that the Quessoy style should be seen as an Armorican variation within the S.O.M. tradition. The presence of a Quessoy type vessel in an otherwise Chalcolithic assemblage from Le Pinacle suggests that this style may have persisted in the Channel Islands into the Chalcolithic period. Table v.1 shows the occurrence of S.O.M. and Quessoy type pottery in the Channel Islands.

Table v.1. Pottery of S.O.M./Quessoy affinities from the Channel Islands.

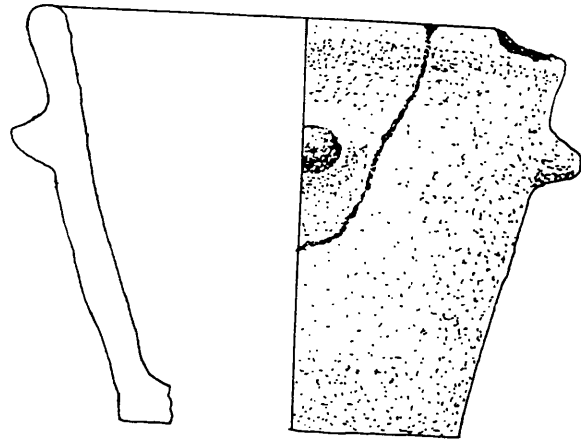
<u>Site</u>	<u>Type of site</u>	<u>No. of vessels</u>
Les Platons	cist in circle	2
La Varde	passage grave	3
Le Déhus	passage grave	7
HER 1	megalithic cist	1
Le Pinacle	ceremonial site	1

The evidence from Armorican sites (cf GIOT et al. 1979) suggests a date range of 3250-2850 BC for pottery of S.O.M. and Quessoy affinities.

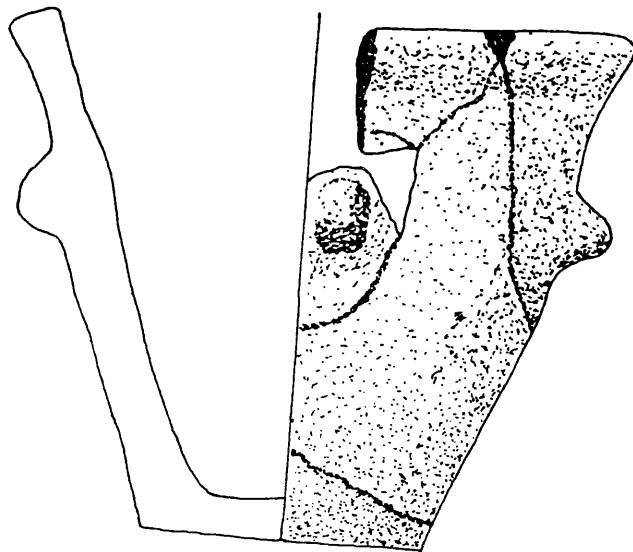
The Hougue Mauger style.

The ceramic assemblage from La Hougue Mauger, Jersey (Figs v.4, v.5a,b) has been variously characterised as S.O.M. (HIBBS 1983, KINNES & HIBBS 1988), Early Bronze Age (JOHNSTON 1981) and Late Bronze Age (HAWKES 1937). Hawkes' suggestion can be immediately discounted, as it is based on a dubious comparison with the Deverel-Rimbury style of Southern England (which in any case is not Late Bronze Age). Abercromby (1912) illustrates eight vessels from the British Isles which could be compared to the Hougue Mauger examples (seven from Southern England and one from Ireland), but these are by no means typical of Deverel-Rimbury ceramics, and none were found in association with other dated material. Johnston's suggestion of an Early Bronze Age date is based on comparison with material from the tumuli of Ligollenec à Berrien, Finistère and Haut-Granit à Plumelin, Morbihan (BRIARD 1984): charcoal from the Ligollenec tumulus gave a radiocarbon date (Gif 1866) of 1550 ± 130 bc (=1690-2040

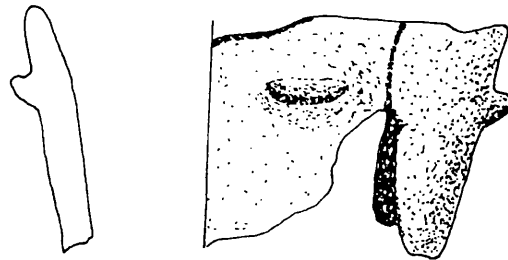
Fig.v.4. Chalcolithic pottery from La Hougue
Mauger.



a



b



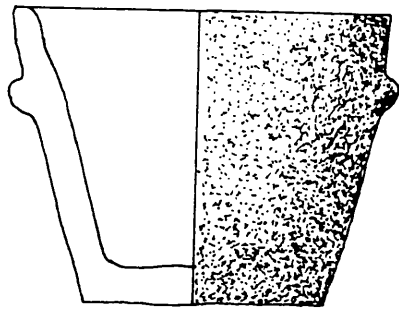
c



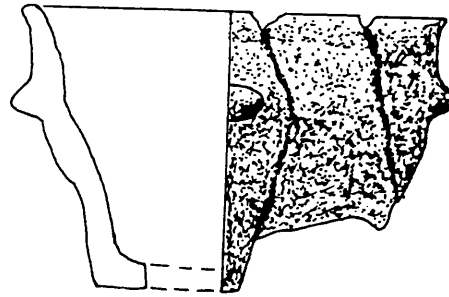
0

10 cm.

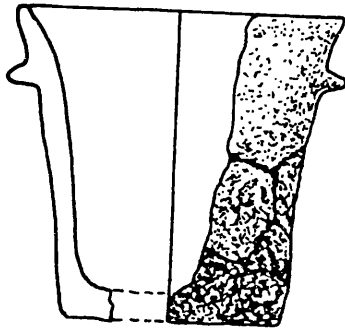
Fig.v,5. Chalcolithic pottery from La Hougue Mauger (a-b), Platte Mare (c) and La Varde (d).



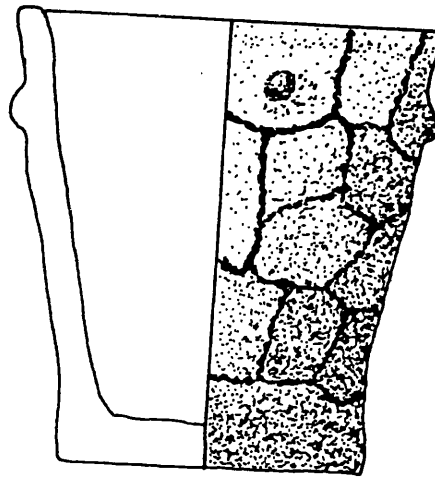
a



b



c



d



0

10 cm.

BC).

The form of the Hougue Mauger vessels is quite different from that of S.O.M. "flower-pot urns" (compare Figs v.1-3 with Figs v.4-5). Lugged conical vessels such as those from La Hougue Mauger are not a regular feature of S.O.M. assemblages either in the Paris Basin or Brittany (cf BAILLOUD 1964, GIOT et al. 1979). The closest parallels for the Hougue Mauger vessels are to be found in the Groupe du Gord of the Paris Basin (BLANCHET 1984). Charcoal from the type-site of Gord à Compiègne produced a radiocarbon date (Gif 4699) of 2150 ± 70 bc (=2580-2870 BC). A similar ceramic assemblage was found on the nearby site of Le Coq Galleux à Compiègne, and charcoal from this site gave a date (Ly-2962) of 1920 ± 140 bc (=2120-2560 BC). Blanchet considers the Groupe du Gord to occupy a chronological position between S.O.M. and Beakers (though clearly the radiocarbon dates suggest a degree of overlap with Beakers), and he compares the pottery forms with those of the Artenacian group of the Centre-Ouest (BAILLOUD & BURNEZ 1962, ROUSSOT-LARROQUE 1986). The radiocarbon date from Ligollenec suggests that in Armorica this style may have persisted into the 2nd Millennium BC.

Table v.2 shows the occurrence of Hougue Mauger/Groupe du Gord type pottery in the Channel Islands

Table v.2. Pottery of Groupe du Gord affinities from the Channel Islands.

<u>Site</u>	<u>Type of site</u>	<u>No. of vessels</u>
La Hougue Mauger ¹	Tumulus	7
Géonnais	Passage grave	3
La Varde ²	Passage grave	2
Déhus	Passage grave	2
Platte Mare ³	Cist in circle	1
L'Islet	Cist in circle	1
Les Fouaillages	Cist in circle	1

¹ Fig.v.4, v.5a,b.

² Fig.v.5d.

³ Fig.v.5c.

Bell Beakers.

Bell Beakers from the Armorican region are almost all of the Type Maritime (cf GIOT et al. 1979), characterised by a smooth "S-shaped" profile: where decoration is present, it is almost invariably arranged in horizontal bands. The evidence from Armorican sites (GIOT et al. 1979, BENDER 1986) suggests a date range of 2850-2250 BC for Bell Beaker assemblages.

Table v.3 shows the occurrence of Bell Beakers in the Channel Islands.

Table v.3. Bell Beakers from the Channel Islands.

<u>Site</u>	<u>Type of site</u>	<u>No. of vessels</u>	
		<u>Decorated</u>	<u>Undecorated</u>
Creux-ès-Faies	Passage grave	3	9
Déhus	Passage grave	3	5
Trépiéd	Passage grave	0	2
La Varde	Passage grave	2	0
HER 12	Passage grave	1	2
Ville-ès-Nouaux	Gallery grave	5	6
Platte Mare	Cist in circle	2	0
HER 8	Cist	0	1
Roque-qui-sonne	Megalith	2	1
Le Pinacle	Ceremonial site	4	0
Blanches Banques	Settlement	1	0
Petit Port	Settlement	1	0

This represents a surprisingly dense concentration of Bell Beakers in the islands, particularly in view of the relative scarcity of Beakers in adjacent mainland areas (see Ch.V).

L'Helgouach (1963) has developed a classification system for Armorican Beaker decoration (Fig.v.6). The close degree of unity between Breton and Channel Island Beaker ceramics is demonstrated by Table v.4, which shows the occurrence in the Channel Islands of the decorative types identified by L'Helgouach. Virtually all of the Channel Island Beakers can be related to the Armorican scheme. Some of the vessels discussed by L'Helgouach have combinations of several decorative types, and this occurs also on vessels from Ville-ès-Nouaux (IV/3a and VI/3b), La Varde (III/1a' and IV/3a) and Le Déhus (I/1b and III/1a'). L'Helgouach also identifies triangular motifs (though these are not enumerated in his scheme) and these

are present in the assemblages from La Platte Mare (Fig.v.10a), Le Déhus (Fig.v.10f) and Ville-ès-Nouaux (Fig.v.12d). The "contraction of zones"⁴ noted by L'Helgouach in relation to decorative types III/1a and III/2a can also be seen on sherds from La Creux-ès-Faies (Fig.v.10c) and Le Pinacle (Fig.v.11f,g; v.12b).

Two of the Channel Island Bell Beakers have atypical decoration⁵. The first, from La Roque-qui-Sonne, Guernsey (KENDRICK 1928) has a triple band of impressed dots around the shoulder. This decoration is similar to L'Helgouach's (1963) type II/1a, except that there is only a single band. A vessel from HER 12, Herm has three bands of incised horizontal lines (KENDRICK op cit.), recalling the decoration on Jersey Bowls.

As well as classifying the decoration on Armorican Bell Beakers, L'Helgouach (1963) distinguishes three groups of Beakers on the basis of their form, using the formula: $\frac{100 H}{O}$ where H=height and O=diameter of opening: vessels with values between 30 and 38 are described as ecuelles, those with values between 50 and 60 as bols, and those with values between 67 and 111 as gobelets. Table v.5 shows the values obtained from intact Channel Island Beakers using this formula.

⁴ On most Maritime type Beakers, the decorated bands are separated by undecorated zones, whereas in the "contracted" examples decorated bands are directly juxtaposed with one another.

⁵ Neither is illustrated in this thesis, as both were on display at the time of my research, and thus unavailable to me.

Fig.v.6. L'Helgouach's (1963) scheme for classifying Armorican Beaker decoration.

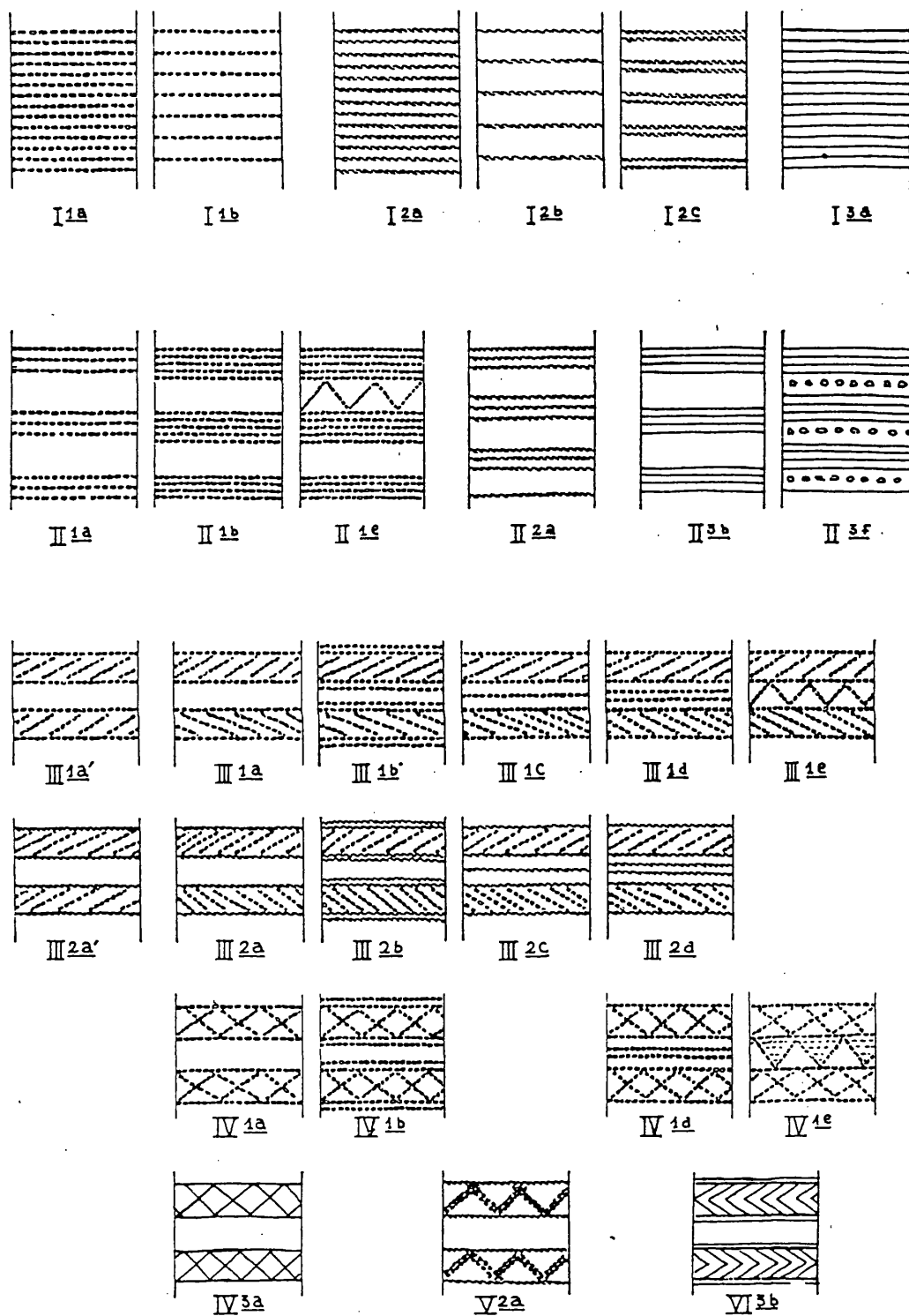
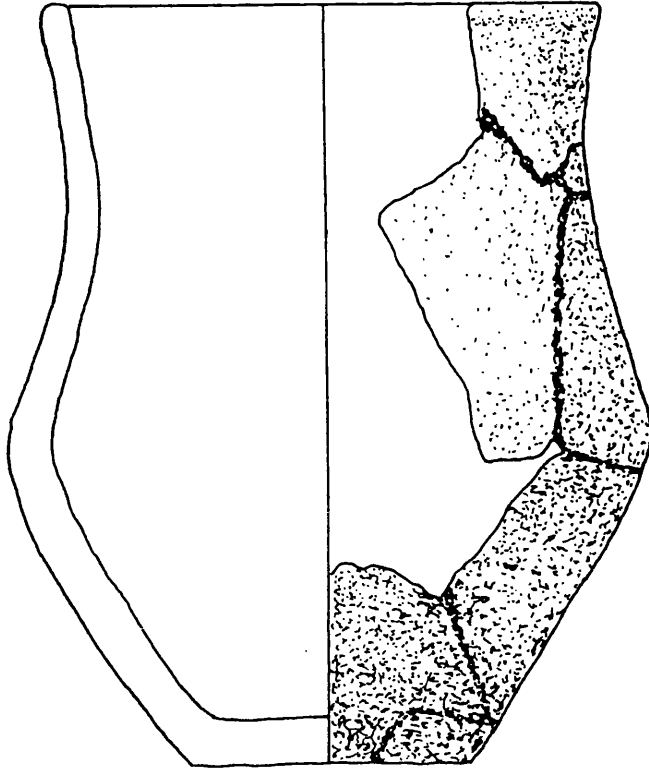


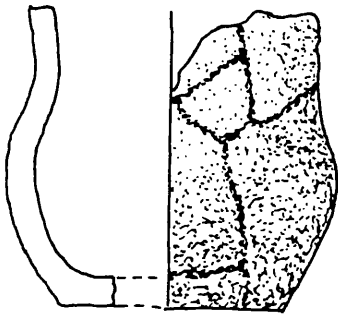
Table v.4. Decoration types on Channel Island Beakers classified according to L'Helgouach's 1963 scheme.

<u>No. of vessels.</u>										
	I/1b	II/1a	II/3b	III/1a	III/1a'	III/1b	III/2a	IV/3a	VI/3b	
Creux-ès-Faies			1				1		1	
Déhus	1			3						
La Varde		1			1			1		
Ville-ès-Nouaux		1						1	2	
Platte Mare					1					
Ile Pinacle							4			
Blanches Banques				1						
Petit Port				1						

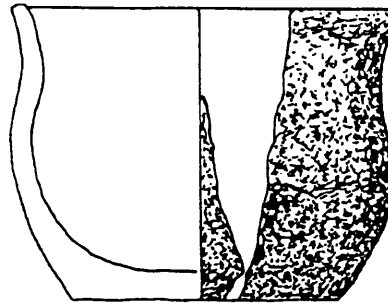
Fig.v.7. Beakers from La Croix-es-Faies (a-b) and
Ville-ès-Nouaux (c-d).



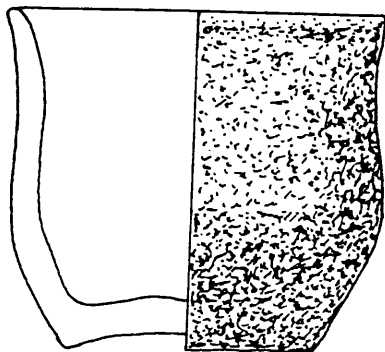
a



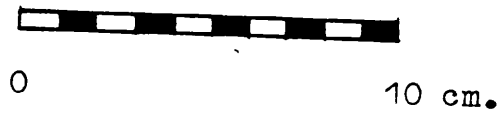
b

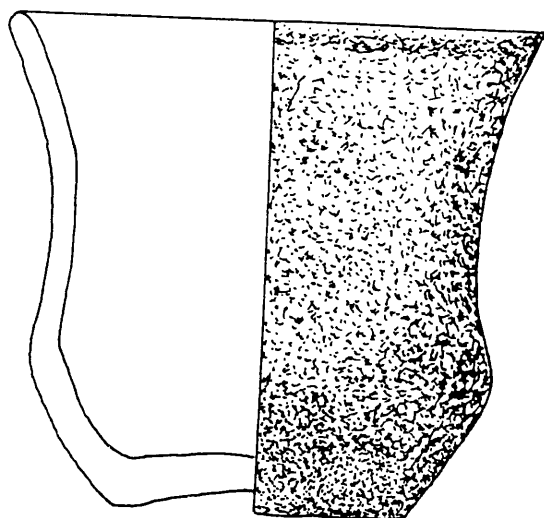


c

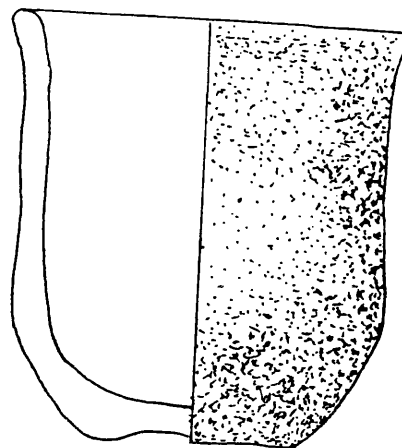


d

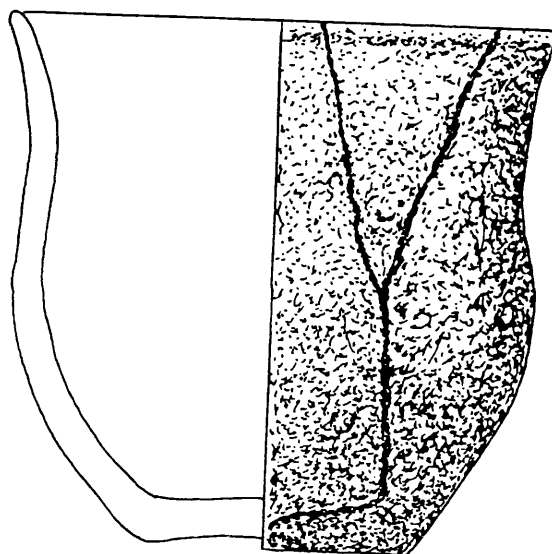




a



b



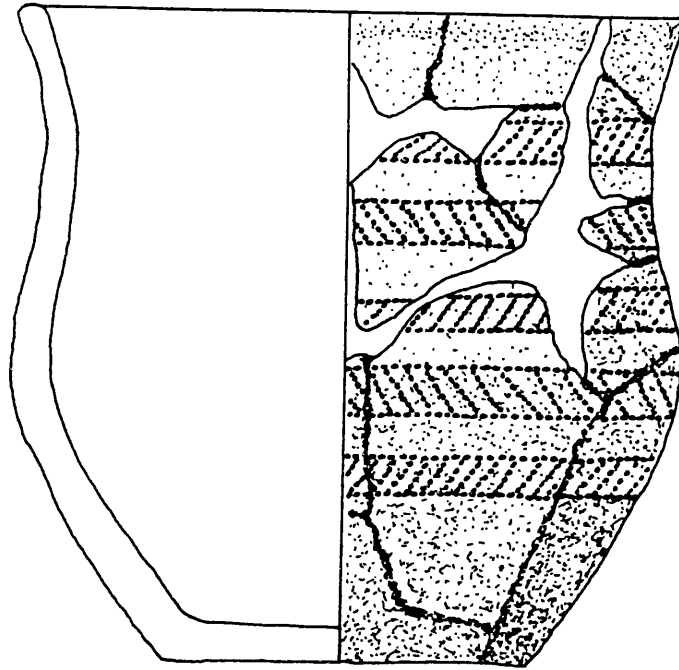
c



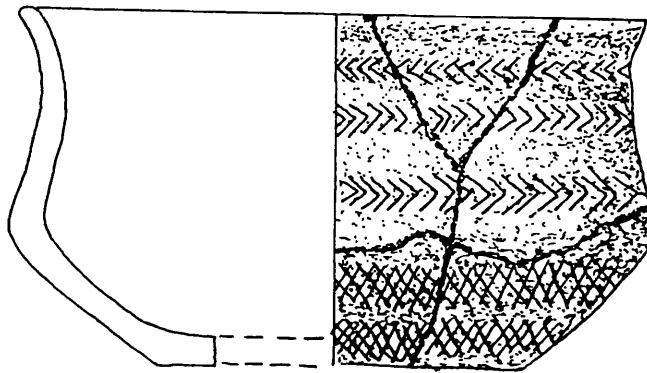
0

10 cm.

Fig.V.9. Beakers from Le Dehus (a) and Ville-es-Nouaux (b).



a



b



0

10 cm.

Fig.v.10. Beakers from Platte Mare (a), La Creux-
ès-Faies (b-d) and Le Déhus (e-f).

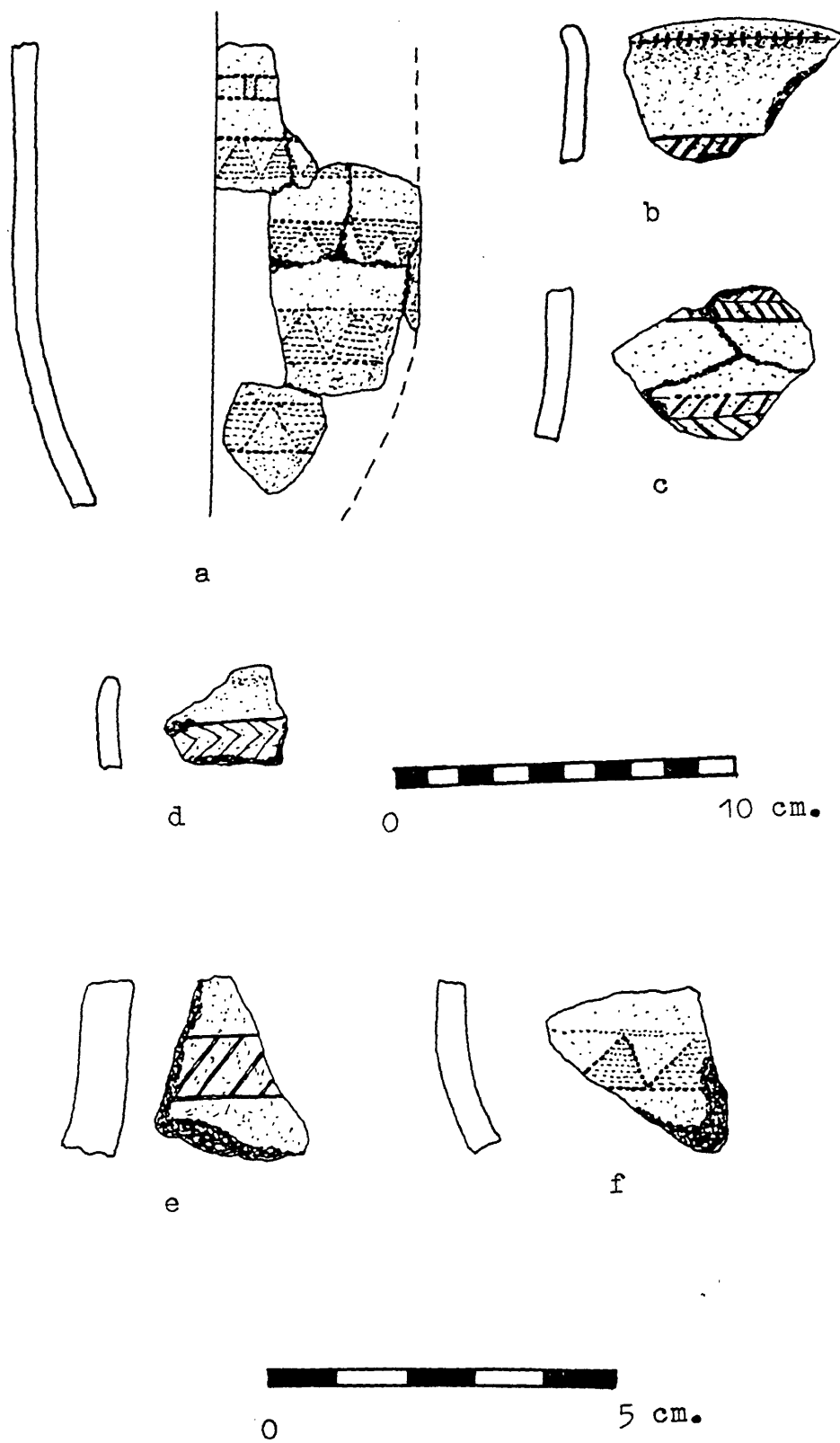
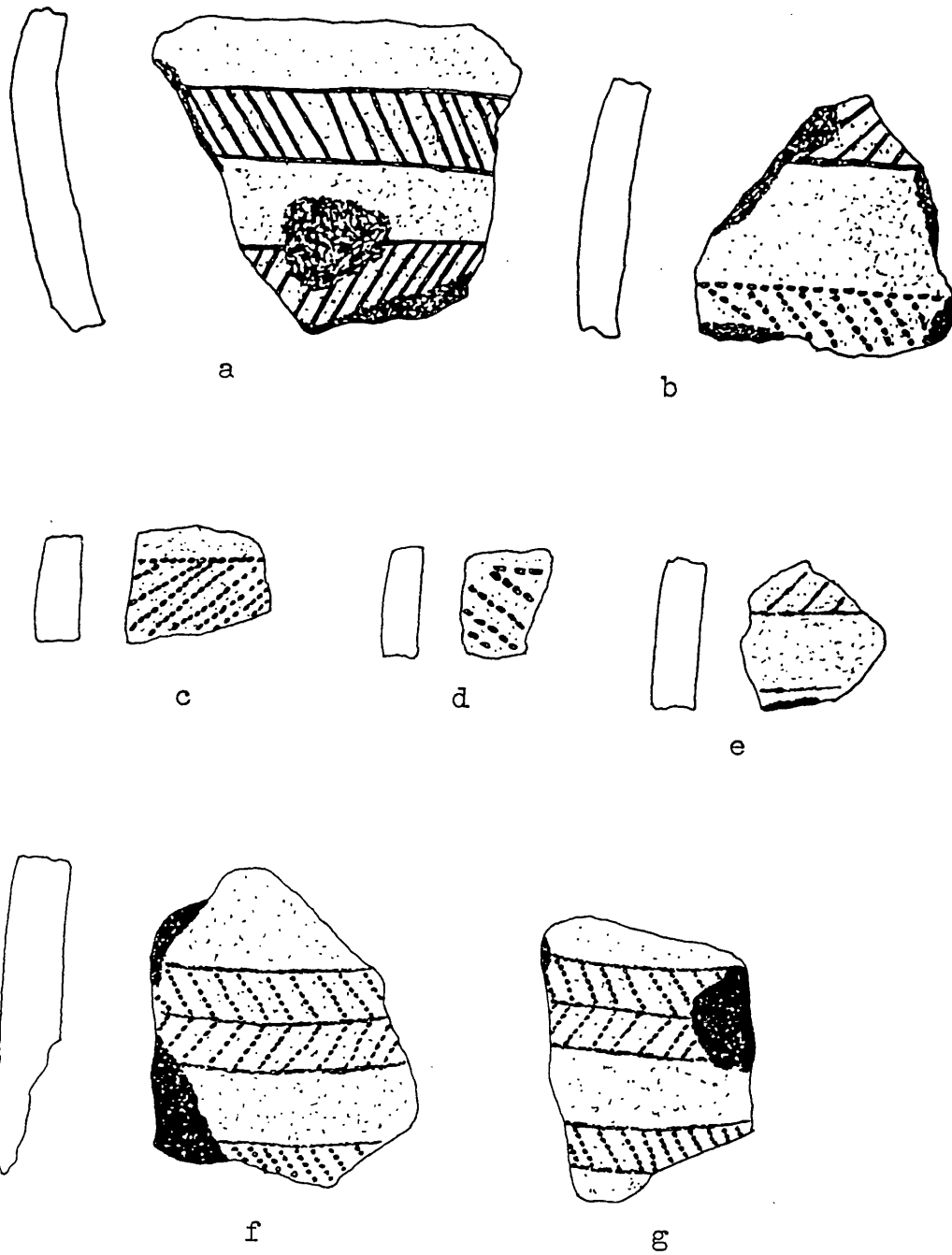


Fig.v.11. Beakers from Le Déhus (a-b), Les Blanches
Banques (c), Petit Port (d-e) and Le Pinnacle (f-g).



0 5 cm.

Fig.v.12. Beakers from Le Pinnacle (a-c) and Ville-ès-Nouaux (d).

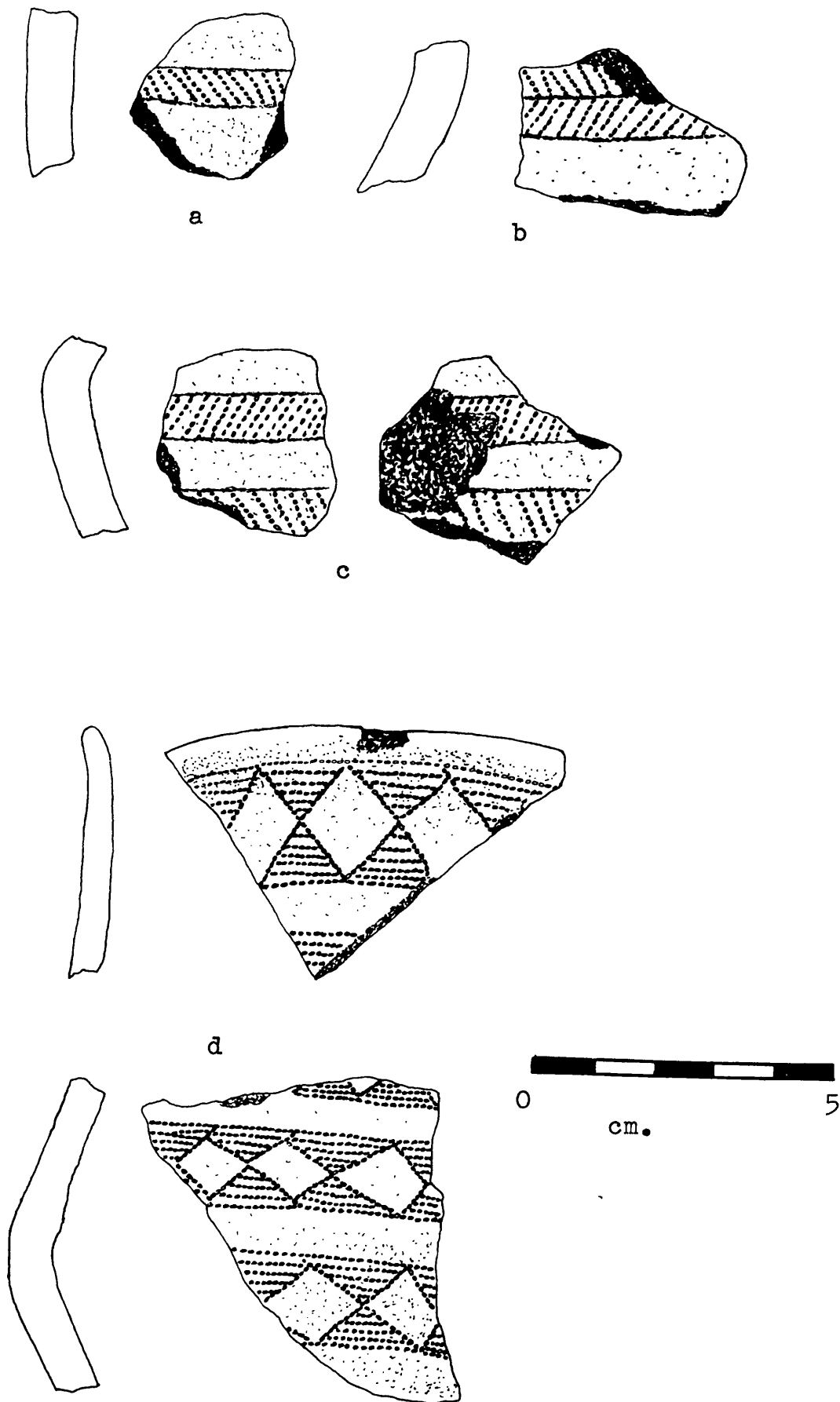
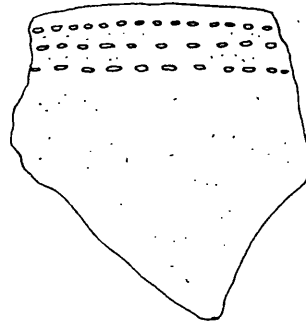
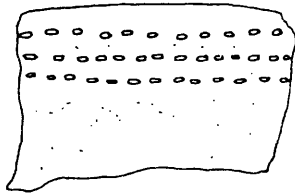
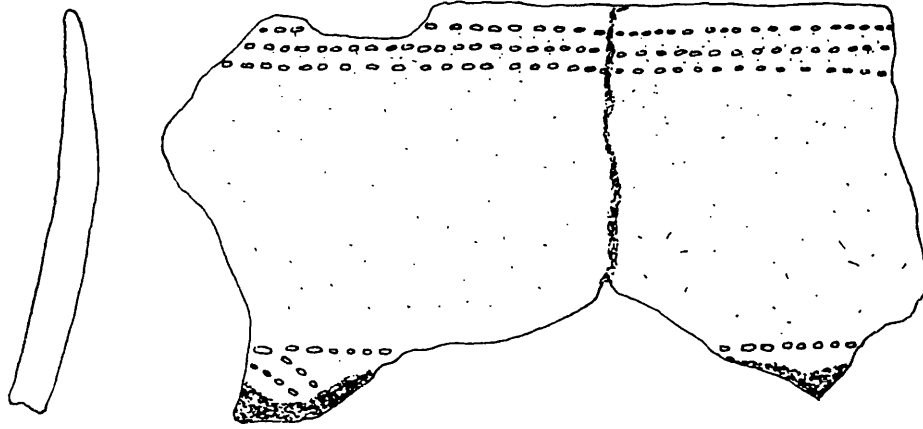
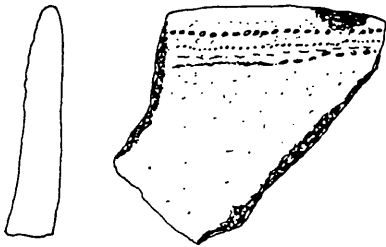


Fig.v.13. Beakers from Ville-ès-Nouaux.



a



b

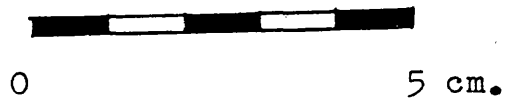
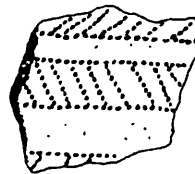
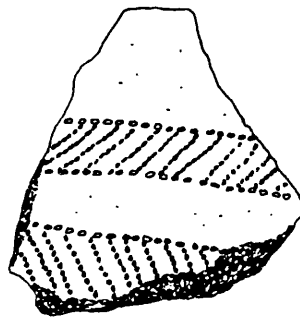
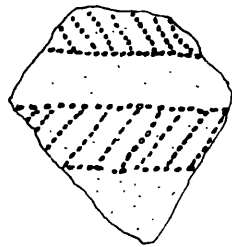
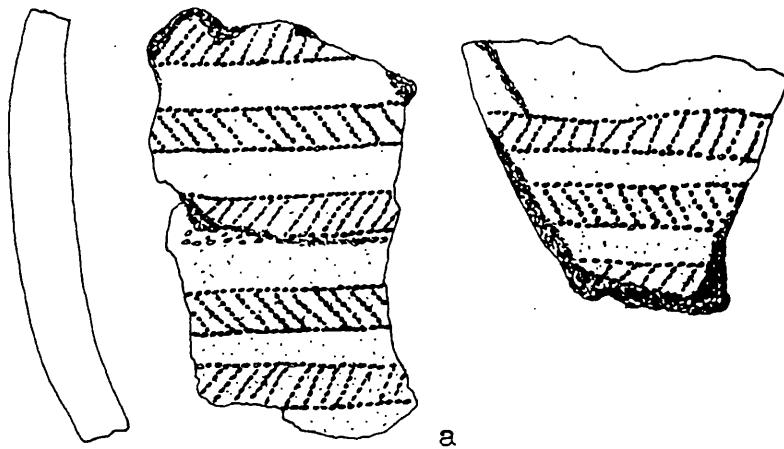


Fig.v.14. Beakers from Ville-ès-Nouaux.



0

5 cm.

Table v.5. 100 H values for intact Beakers.
Q

<u>Provenance</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Classification</u>
Creux-ès-Faies	137	-
Creux-ès-Faies	125	-
Ville-ès-Nouaux	80	Gobelet
Ville-ès-Nouaux	90	Gobelet
Ville-ès-Nouaux	94.3	Gobelet
Ville-ès-Nouaux	109.6	Gobelet
Ville-ès-Nouaux	96	Gobelet
Ville-ès-Nouaux	56.5	Bol
Le Déhus	97.8	Gobelet
Platte Mare	138.5	-

It is interesting to note, firstly that ecuelles are completely absent from Channel Island assemblages, and secondly that three of the Channel island vessels have values which fall outside the parameters defined by L'Helgouach (1963). Such minor variations from the Armorican scheme are perhaps unsurprising: there is no reason to doubt that Beakers were made on the islands, and this is likely to have resulted in a degree of local variation.

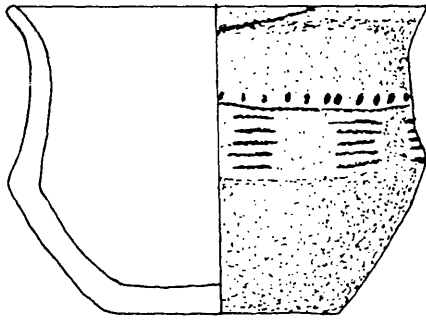
Jersey Bowls

A Jersey Bowl (cf HAWKES 1937) is a carinated vessel decorated with a band of incised horizontal lines above the shoulder. In some cases the horizontal lines are arranged in distinct panels (Fig.v.15), whilst in others the lines are continuous (Fig.v.16). In most cases, the band of horizontal lines is surmounted by a row of impressed dots (Fig.v.15).

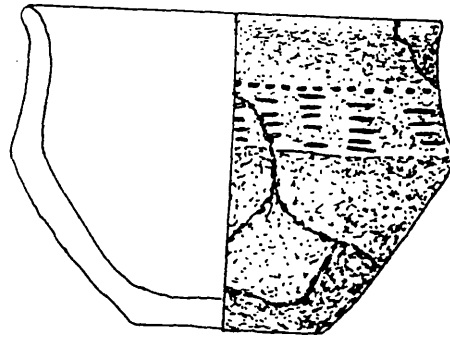
Jersey Bowls occur only in the Channel Islands, though despite the term they are known from Guernsey as well as from Jersey. The decoration on Jersey Bowls is in some respects similar to that found on vessels of the Conquel superieur style of Western Brittany (both are characterised by a band of incised horizontal lines above the shoulder: GIOT et al. 1979), but the form of the vessels is quite different, and the similarity is probably coincidental.

For the purposes of this study, Jersey Bowls are classified into two groups on the basis of their

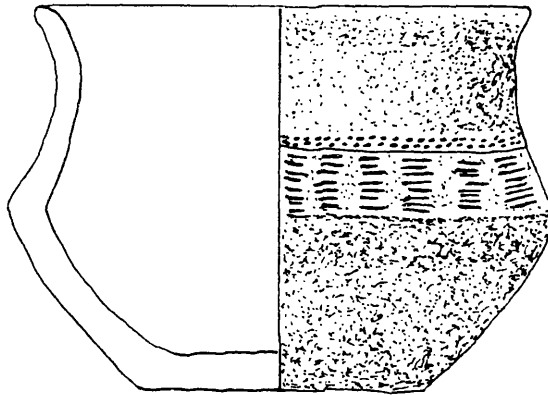
Fig.v.15. Jersey Bowls from The Ossuary (a) and
Ville-ès-Nouaux (b-d).



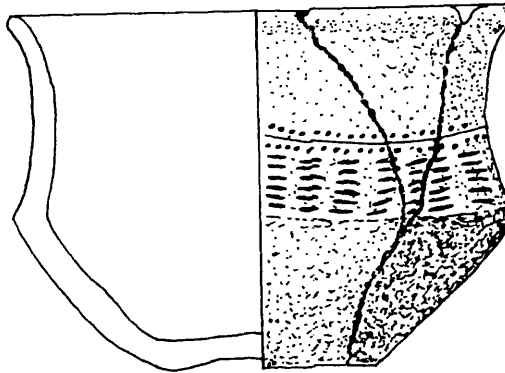
a



b



c



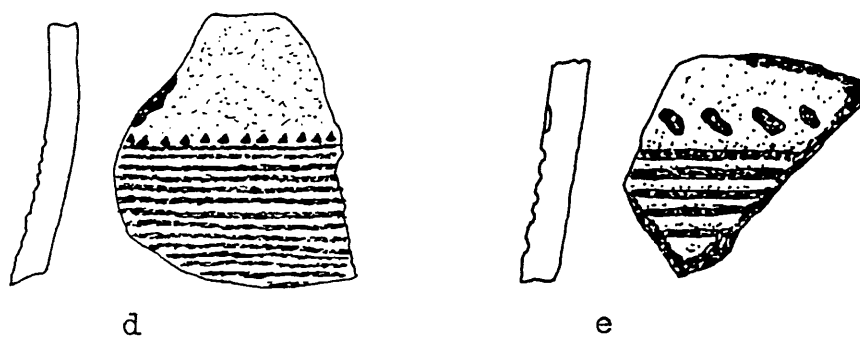
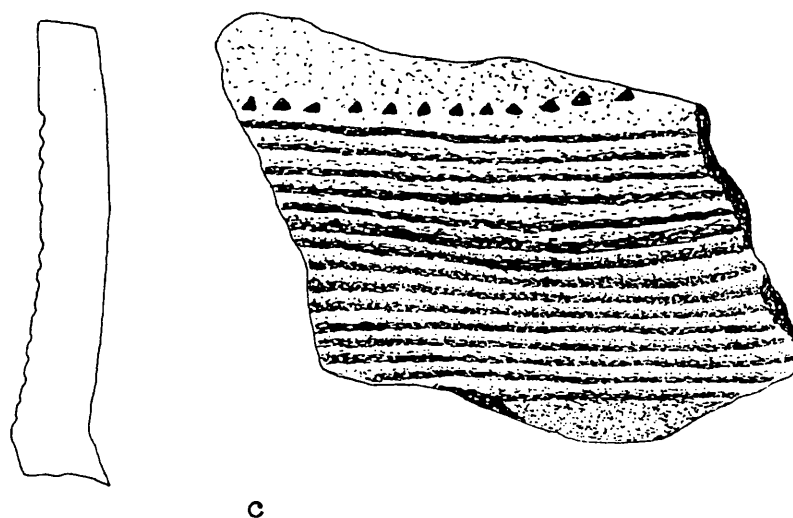
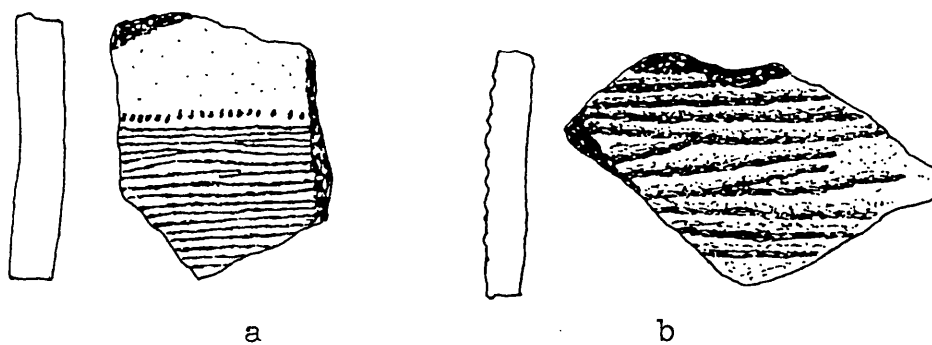
d



0

10 cm.

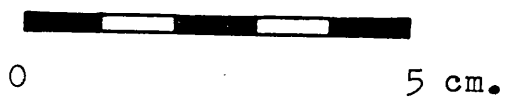
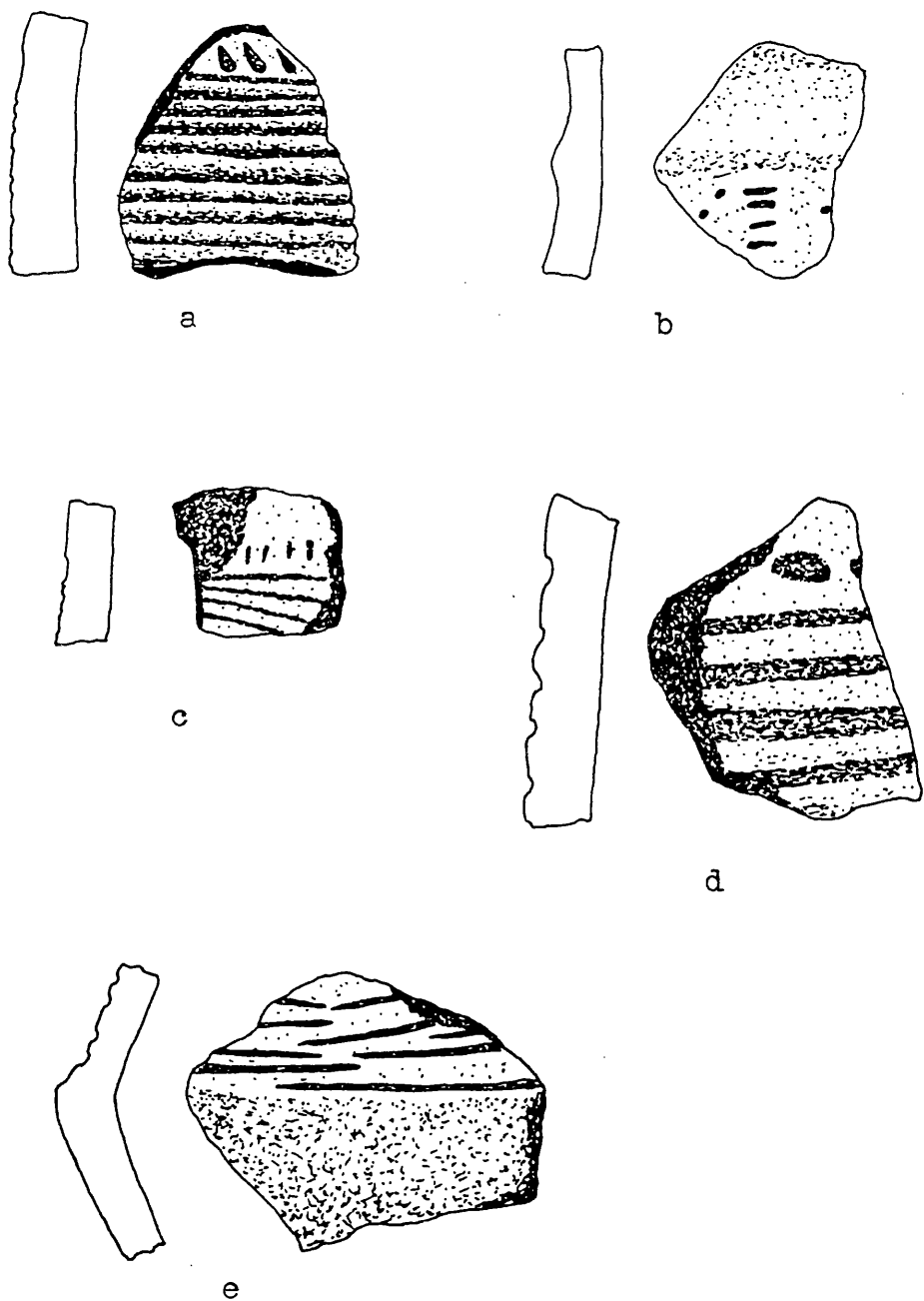
Fig.v.16. Jersey Bowls from P.O.W. Camp (a), Petit Port (b), La Motte (c-d) and Banque à Barque (e).



0

5 cm.

Fig.v,17. Jersey Bowls from Les Blanches Banques
(a-c), P.O.W. camp (d) and Banque à Barque (e).



decoration. Type I is defined by the presence of distinct panels of horizontal lines (Fig.v.15), whereas type II is defined by the presence of continuous lines (Fig.v.16). Table v.6 shows the occurrence of Jersey Bowls in Channel Island assemblages.

Table v.6. Jersey Bowls from the Channel Islands.

<u>Site</u>	<u>Type of site</u>	<u>No. of vessels</u>	
		<u>Type I</u>	<u>Type II</u>
Mont Ubé	passage grave	1	0
Géonnais	passage grave	P	0
Ville-ès-Nouaux	gallery grave	6	0
Ossuary	cist	3	0
Quennevais	tumulus	4	0
Fouaillages	cist in circle	0	1
Pinacle	ceremonial	0	3
Banque à Barque	unknown	5	N
La Motte	midden	P	P
Jerbourg	settlement	P	P
Petit Port	settlement	P	P
Blanches Banques	settlement	0	P
Halkett Place	peat bed	1	0

P=present N=numerous

The significance of the two main types of Jersey Bowl is unclear. Hawkes (1937) argues that the distinction is chronological, and that type I is earlier than type II decoration. This claim, however, is based on an a priori assumption that "carefully executed" decoration is earlier than "degenerate" or "uneven" decoration, and there is no independent stratigraphic or associational evidence for such a sequence. Alternatively, a functional distinction could be suggested: the absence of type II decoration in the assemblages from Le Mont Ubé, La Hougue des Géonnais, Ville-ès-Nouaux, the Ossuary and La Tête des Quennevais suggests a deliberate selection of vessels with decoration of type I for deposition in ritual and funerary contexts (though it must be said, firstly that type II decoration is present in the assemblages from Les Fouaillages and Le Pinacle, and secondly that type I decoration does not occur exclusively in ritual contexts).

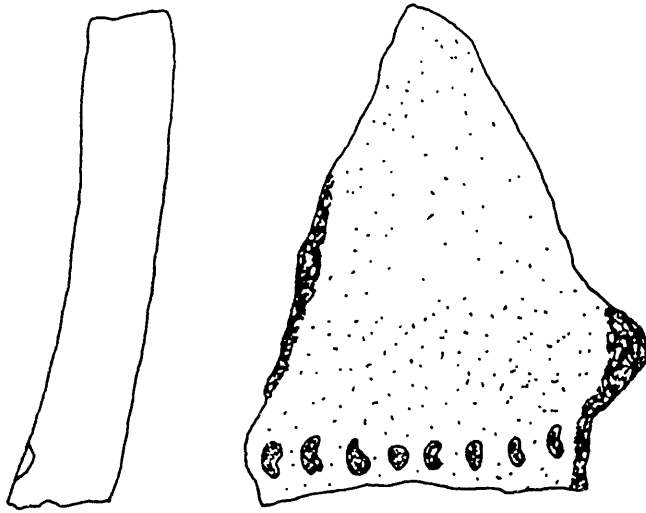
Chalcolithic domestic assemblages.

In Armorica and the Channel Islands, true Bell Beakers are found predominantly in ritual and funerary contexts. Of 65 Beaker contexts listed by L'Helgouach (1963), 38 are passage graves, 17 are gallery graves and 7 are cists, whilst only three are identified as probable settlements. In the Channel Islands, only three decorated Beaker sherds are known from non-ritual contexts, one from Les Blanches Banques and two from Petit Port, Jersey. Jersey Bowls, by contrast, are present in all domestic assemblages of Chalcolithic date known from the islands. Jersey Bowls from domestic contexts include examples with decoration of both types I and II (see Table v.6). Some of the Jersey Bowls from domestic sites are significantly larger and thicker than those known from ritual contexts (cf Fig.v.18).

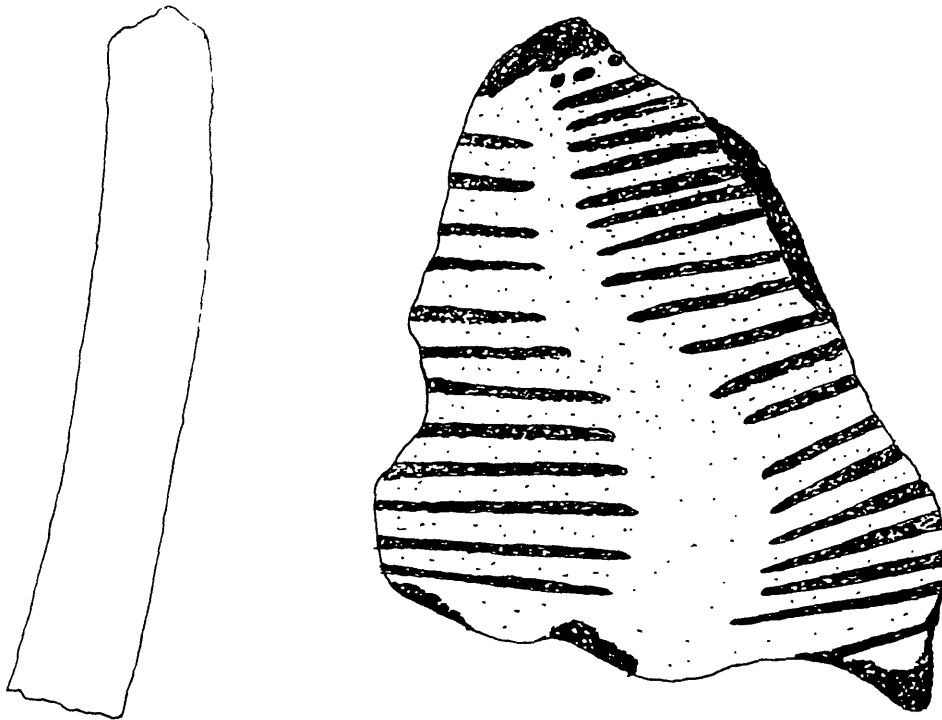
In addition to Jersey Bowls, Chalcolithic domestic assemblages include a range of forms and decorative motifs which are not found in assemblages from funerary contexts. The assemblages from Les Blanches Banques, Jersey and Jerbourg, Guernsey, include fragments of undecorated coarseware vessels with flat bases and everted rims. Plain lugs (Fig.v.19a) and narrow cordons (Fig.v.19d,e) are present. The decorated component of these assemblages is dominated by Jersey Bowls, but rows of simple impressed decoration (Fig.v.19b,c) are also known. A few sherds from Jerbourg are decorated with incised patterns clearly derived from Beaker styles (Fig.v.19f-j).

Comparison with Breton and Cotentin assemblages is difficult, since so few domestic sites are known on the Armorican mainland. Similar assemblages have been recovered, however, from the sites of Saint-Nicholas-du-Pelem, Côtes-du-Nord (LE PROVOST et al. 1972) and Le Raumarais à Digulleville, Manche (VERRON 1975, 1981). Jersey Bowls are not present in these assemblages (they have not been recorded anywhere on the Armorican mainland), but plain lugs, cordons, impressed decoration and Beaker-derived incised motifs are present.

Fig.v.18. Jersey Bowls from Banque à Barque (a) and
Halkett Place (b).



a



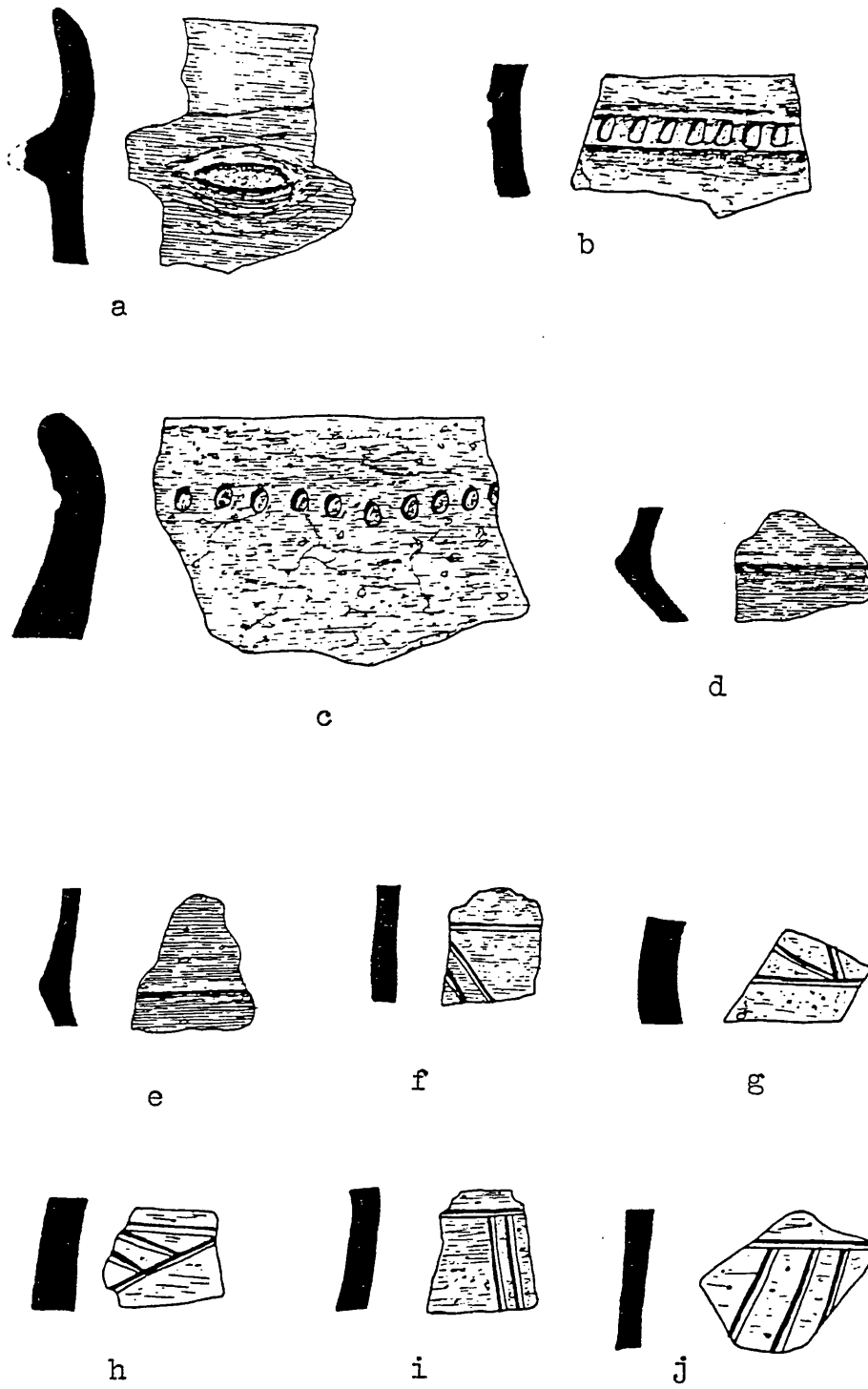
b



0

5 cm.

Fig.v.19. Chalcolithic pottery from Jerbourg
(after BURNS 1988).



0 5 cm.

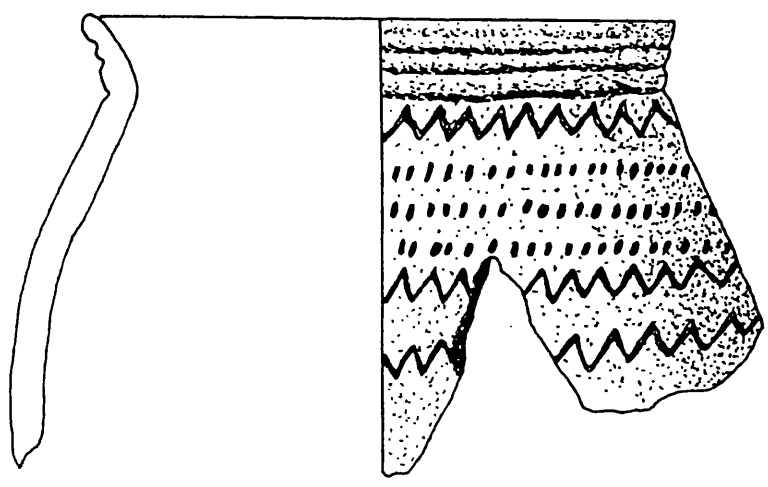
The assemblage from the Beauport Cromlech, Jersey (JOHNSTON 1972) may also be relevant in this context. This assemblage includes no decorated pottery, but it does include fragments of several flat-based vessels with everted rims, similar to material found at Les Blanchés Banques and Jerbourg. One of the vessels from the Beauport Cromlech (JOHNSTON 1972: Fig.6c) resembles an undecorated Jersey Bowl, and similar undecorated vessels are known from Le Trépied, La Creux-ès-Faies (KENDRICK 1928) and Les Fouaillages, Guernsey.

Ovate vases.

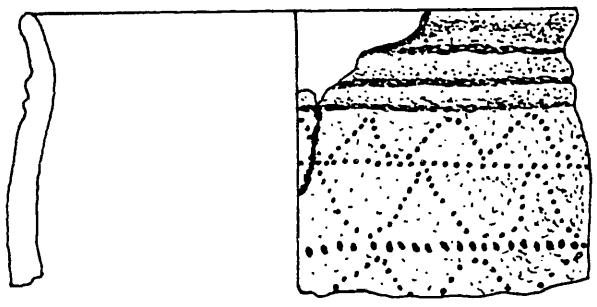
This type was defined by Kendrick (1928) on the basis of the assemblage from La Varde, Guernsey, though fragments of similar vessels are also known from Le Mont Ubé (HAWKES 1937) and St. Ouen's Bay Jersey. This assemblage includes a number of large flat-based vessels (Figs v.20-v.22) with incised and impressed decoration above the shoulder. Decorative motifs include incised serpentine and zig-zag lines, and rows and garlands of impressed dots. Several of the vessels have a series of shallow grooves running below the rim (Fig.v.20). Two of the vessels (Fig.v.2b,c) have wide flattened rims with concentric grooves running around the flat surface.

These vessels have no clear parallels. Hibbs (1983) follows Kendrick (1928) in suggesting that they represent a local variation within the Beaker tradition, and the vessels do have certain features which appear to link them with Beakers. One of the vessels, for example, has four rows of impressed dots running around the neck (Fig.v.21a), recalling Beaker decoration of L'Helgouach's (1963) type II/1a (cf Fig.v.6). Zig-zag motifs can also be paralleled in Armorican (though not Channel Island) Beaker assemblages (cf L'Helgouach's types II/1e & V/2a: Fig.v.6). The form of the La Varde vessels, however, is quite unlike anything known from an Armorican Chalcolithic context, and there are several features of the decoration which cannot be paralleled in Beaker assemblages (e.g. the grooves below and around the rim,

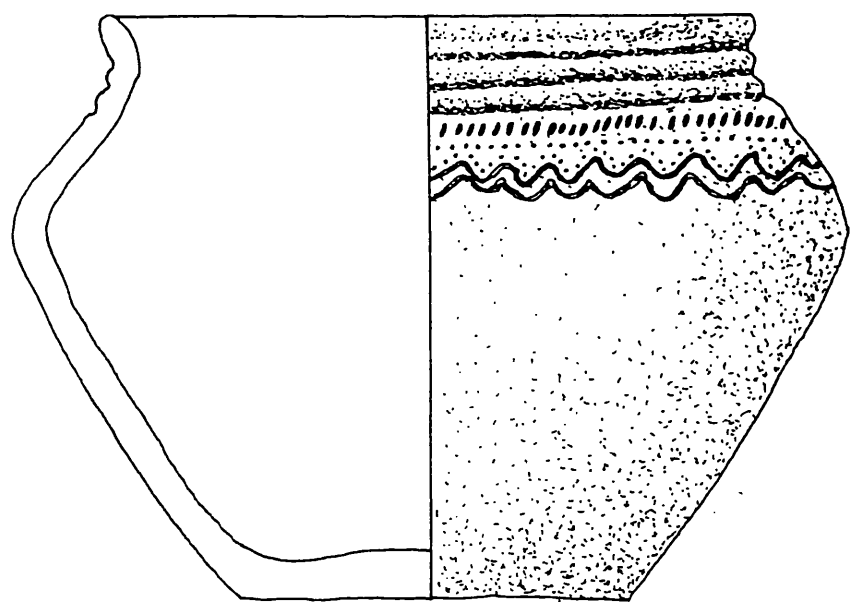
Fig.v.20. Pottery from La Varde.



a



b

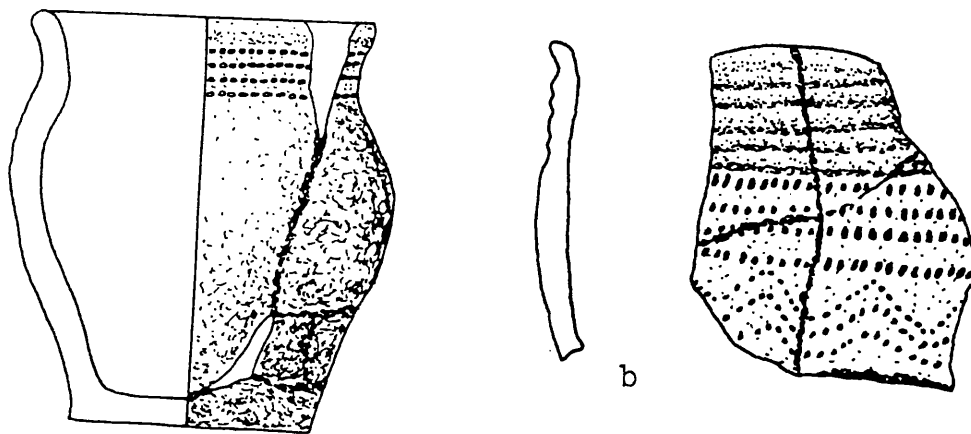


c



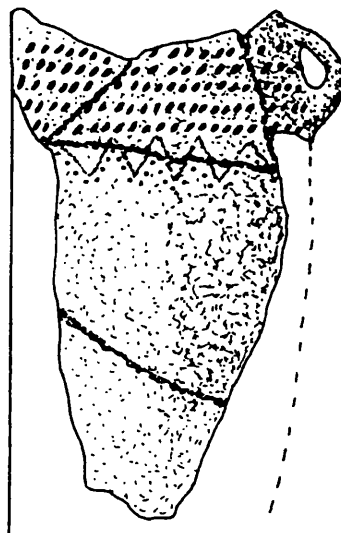
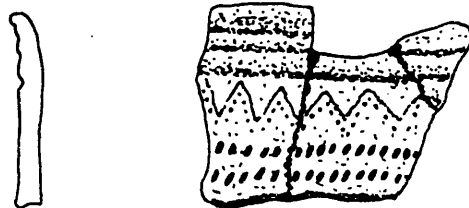
0

10 cm.



a

b



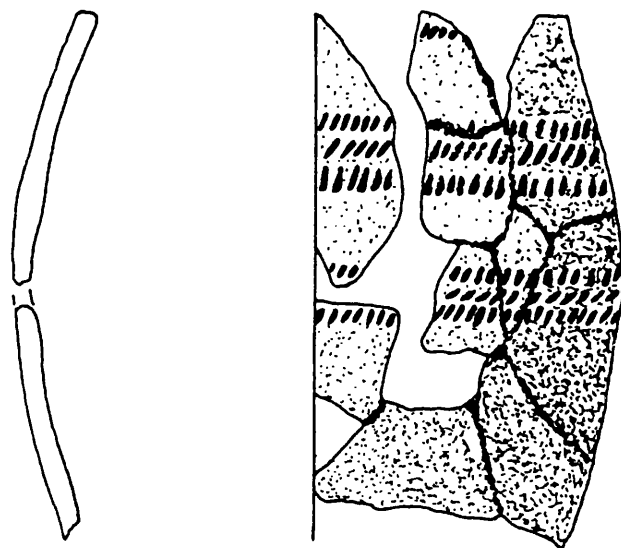
c



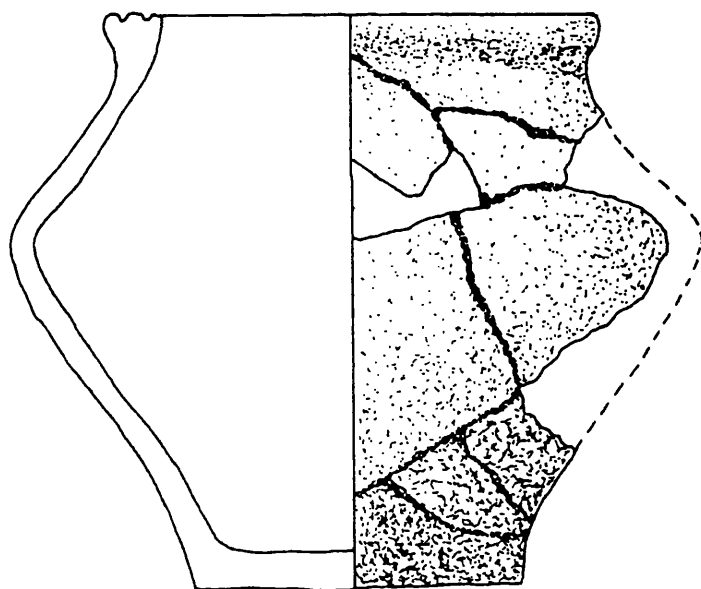
0

10 cm.

Fig.v.22. Pottery from La Varde (a-c) and Le Déhus (d).



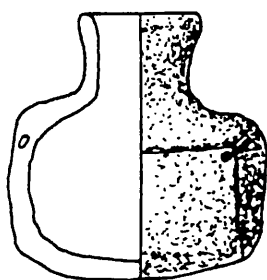
a



b



c



d



0

10 cm.

the garlands of impressed dots etc.).

Ashbee (1983) has asserted that the Guernsey "ovate vases" are Scillonian in origin, comparing them to vessels from the site of Halangy Porth on St. Mary's, Isles of Scilly. Whilst there are points of similarity between the Scillonian material and the assemblage from La Varde (incised zig-zag motifs, small handles on some vessels etc.), there are also important differences. The grooves below and around the rims of some of the vessels from La Varde have no parallels in Scillonian assemblages.

The rim form shown on Fig.v.22b & c does find parallels in a Late Bronze Age context in the assemblage from Kerlande à Brandivy, Morbihan (LECORNEC 1973). None of the Kerlande material, however, has decoration comparable to that found on the vessels from La Varde. Charcoal from the site of Kerlande gave a radiocarbon date (Gif 2378) of 870 ± 100 bc.

The context of the La Varde assemblage provides no clear evidence with regard to chronology. F.C. Lukis⁴ records that two distinct burial horizons were found, but there is no indication of which pottery vessels came from which layer. Typologically, the ovate vases are unlikely to be earlier than Chalcolithic: decorated flat-based vessels do not occur in earlier assemblages. The evidence discussed in Chapter V suggests that very little activity took place in or around passage graves after the beginning of the Bronze Age, and this gives support to Kendrick's (1928) and Hibbs' (1983) suggestions of a Chalcolithic date for the ovate vases. The possibility of later intrusive activity cannot, however, be ruled out at this stage.

Bottle from Le Déhus.

A vessel of unusual type was found during re-excavation at the site of Le Déhus, Guernsey (COLLUM 1933). The vessel is a square bottle with a constricted

⁴ Collectanea Antiqua Vol V. pp9-13.

neck (Fig.v.22d): there are four perforations in the walls of the vessel. The only ceramic bottles known in a prehistoric context in Armorica are the bouteilles à collarette of North European affinities, which have been found in Late Neolithic (S.O.M.) contexts on several Breton sites (LE ROUX 1978). The Déhus example is smaller than most bouteilles à collarette, it lacks the characteristic collar, and it has a square shape rather than the more normal cylindrical form. It cannot, therefore, be classified as a bouteille à collarette, though it can perhaps be seen as a related form.

APPENDIX vi.INVENTORY OF SITES.

The following inventory lists the sites that comprise the data-base for this thesis. The inventory lists sites only; individual finds (e.g. of stone axes, pottery etc.) which are discussed in the text of the thesis and in appendix ii are not included here. Some sites which have been identified by other authors have been excluded from this inventory on the grounds that their status is doubtful: some are "menhirs", "cists" etc. which may be natural formations, and others are destroyed monuments for which the records are so poor as to be of little or no value. These excluded sites are listed at the end of the inventory.

In the inventory, sites are listed by island. Jersey and Guernsey are divided into administrative parishes; (Jersey has 12, Guernsey has 10) and sites on these two islands are listed by parish.

Each site has been given a reference consisting of 3 letters, (designating the island), and a running number. The island designations are as follows:

Jersey	<u>JER</u>
Guernsey	<u>GUE</u>
Alderney	<u>ALD</u>
Herm	<u>HER</u>
Les Ecréhous	<u>ECR</u>
Chaussey	<u>CHA</u>

(The inventory includes no sites from Sark, Jethou, Brecquou, Burhou or Les Minquiers).

Sites are classified as follows:

CLASS 1: Megalithic monuments.

- 1a Megalithic long mounds.
- 1b Passage graves.
- 1c Gallery graves.
- 1d Cists in circles.
- 1e Menhirs.
- 1f Miscellaneous megaliths.

CLASS 2: Non-megalithic ceremonial and funerary sites.

CLASS 3: Domestic sites.

CLASS 4: Industrial sites.

CLASS 5: Flint scatter sites.

CLASS 6: Miscellaneous.

For each site, the class is given, as well as a grid-reference (based on the Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 series), brief description and bibliographic references. To avoid repetition, plans and detailed discussion are incorporated in the text of the thesis rather than in the appendix.

ISLAND OF JERSEY.

Parish of Saint Helier.

JER 1. Le Mont de la Ville. 653 483 Cl.1b.

Passage grave with large, apparently open circular chamber and 5 internal cells. The passage, unusually, is of drystone construction, covered by 4 capstones. The monument itself was discovered in 1785, and in 1787 was presented as a gift to the Governor of the island, Marshal Conway. It was dismantled and shipped to England, to be re-erected on his estate, where it remains to this day. No prehistoric finds are recorded as coming from the site.

(see Ch.IV).

MOLESWORTH 1787, MOURANT 1963, HIBBS 1985.

JER 2. Ville-ès-Nouaux I. 635 499 Cl.1c.

Gallery grave, discovered in 1869. Originally excavated by S.P.Oliver and F.Porter, re-excavated by Bellis & Cable in 1883. The original excavations revealed an important deposition of Atlantic style Bell-Beakers, arranged in groups of three along the inside wall of the chamber. This deposition was on the uppermost of two floor levels, but the lower level was explored only in one small sounding.

(see Ch.V).

OLIVER 1870, BELLIS & CABLE 1884.

JER 3. Ville-ès-Nouaux II. 635 499 Cl.1d.

Cist in circle, originally covered by a clay mound. Excavated in 1883 by Bellis & Cable. The cist was found

to be totally empty, although there was no evidence for any disturbance.

(see Ch.V). BELLIS & CABLE 1884.

JER 4. The Gasworks. 658 489 Cl.1f.

When the foundations were being dug for the retort house at the St.Helier gasworks, (recently demolished), an avenue of upright stones was found, and associated with this, a capstone resting on four uprights, which was interpreted as a possible rectangular cist. Certainly this is a megalithic complex of some importance, but at the time of discovery there was no opportunity for anything more than the most cursory archaeological examination. The site may shortly be available for excavation, and this may prove particularly interesting since the cist, and possibly the avenue, are sandwiched between one peat bed above and two below, raising the possibility not only of a deep stratified sequence with radiocarbon dates, but also of organic preservation.

(see Ch.V).

WEDGEWOOD & MOURANT 1954, MOURANT 1985.

JER 5. Mont Cochon. 63 49 Cl.1e.

Probable menhir, discovered in 1878: recorded as being 8 feet in length. Reburied where it was found, precise location unknown.

(see Ch.V).

LANGLOIS 1878

JER 6. Almorah. 65 49/65 50 Cl.1f.

18th and 19th Century historical sources refer to at least one, and possibly two sites on the plateau to the North-West of the town of St.Helier. One of the descriptions refers to a capstone 11.5 feet long by 10 feet broad, whilst another reference gives the length of the capstone at 15 feet. This monument (or monuments) has been totally destroyed, and its position lost.

(see Ch.IV,V).

HAWKES 1937

JER 7. La Pouclée. 653 498 Cl.1f.

Two stones of Fort Regent granite (see Ch.IV), in a field bank. Excavated in 1966. The position of these

stones is such that they could represent the remains of JER 6.

WILLY 1967.

JER 8. Field 1226, Almorah. 653 502 Cl.5.

Field near to JER 7. Fieldwork by La Société Jersiaise has revealed a flint scatter, (collection from ploughsoil).

(see appendix i)

JER 9. St.Helier peat-beds. 65 48 Cl.6.

Extensive peat-beds underlying the town. Building works have resulted in discoveries of Neolithic and Chalcolithic material.

(see Ch.V).

HAWKES 1937.

Parish of Saint Lawrence.

JER 10. La Blanche Pierre. 619 507 Cl.1e.

Menhir, described in the British Press & Jersey Times June 1st 1870. It is recorded that the menhir was knocked down and buried by a farmer, who was regularly annoyed by visitors trampling his crops in order to reach the menhir and knock pieces off to keep as good luck charms. The exact position of the menhir has recently been established by Mr.Brian Phillipps.

(see Ch.V).

HAWKES 1937.

Parish of Saint Peter.

JER 11. Les Trois Rocques. 571 516 Cl.1f.

Three upright stones, respectively 1.4,1.5 and 1.7 m in height. Excavation in 1933 revealed no trace of pits or packing stones, and the stones themselves were found to be embedded in recent blown sand. The status of these stones could only be determined by excavation on a larger scale. Two of the stones have recently fractured ends, and one possibility is that the stones represent the fragments of a large broken menhir.

RYBOT 1934.

JER 12. The White Menhir. 571 514 Cl.1e.

Menhir, 1.7 m in height. Excavation in 1933 revealed that the stone was set in a shallow pit with packing

stones.

(see Ch.V).

RYBOT 1934.

Parish of Saint Brelade.

JER 13. Les Blanches Banques. 56 49/57 49 C1.3.

Extensive settlement site of Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic date, beneath coastal dunes. Excavations by Margaret Finlaison 1978-80 revealed a land surface with pottery, including Jersey Bowl fragments, and worked flints. Traces of structures were also found.
(see Ch.V).

JER 14. The Ossuary. 571 500 C1.1f.

Rectangular megalithic cist, which originally contained the disarticulated remains of around 20 individuals, with 2 Jersey Bowls. Clearly associated with JER 13.

(see Ch.V).

DARRELL HILL 1924.

JER 15. Little Menhir. 571 499 C1.1e.

Menhir, 1.7 m in height, clearly associated with JER 13 and JER 14.

(see Ch.V).

RYBOT 1934.

JER 16. Broken Menhir. 572 501 C1.1e.

Menhir, 3 m in height. Originally found broken with the lower part in situ in a pit with packing stones. Repaired with buttress. Clearly associated with JER 13, JER 14 and JER 15.

(see Ch.V).

RYBOT 1934.

JER 17. Great Menhir. 472 495 C1.1e.

Menhir, 2.1 m in height, 360 M to the south of JER 14.
(see Ch.V).

RYBOT 1934.

JER 18. Prisoner of war camp site. 57 50 C1.3.

There is no clear spatial distinction between JER 18 and JER 13; the Prisoner of war camp (WWI) is on the northern edge of Les Blanches Banques. Excavation in 1915, prior to the construction of the camp, revealed

midden remains associated with Early Bronze Age pottery, clearly later in date than the material from the 1978-80 Blanches Banques excavations in the area further to the south.

(see Ch.VI).

SINEL 1916.

JER 19. La Tête des Quennevais. 576 499 Cl.2.

Mound, 5 m in diameter and 60 cm in height, surrounded on two sides by an earth platform, 30 cm in height. 2 small cists were associated with the platform. A deposition of Jersey Bowls was found on the land surface sealed beneath the mound. The site is on the plateau overlooking JER 13. Site excavated 1987-88 as part of the research for this thesis.

(see Ch.V,VI).

PATTON in press.

JER 20. La Pulente. 561 488 Cl.3.

A quantity of midden material, associated with Early Bronze Age pottery, has been collected, having been exposed by coastal erosion.

(see Ch.VI).

HAWKES 1937.

JER 21. Petit Port. 560 485 Cl.3.

As JER 20, probably a continuation of the same site. Some Chalcolithic as well as Early Bronze Age material.

(see Ch.V,VI).

HAWKES 1937.

JER 22. La Sergenté. 561 486 Cl.1b.

Passage grave with circular chamber of drystone construction, originally corbelled. This is the only corbelled passage grave known from the Channel Islands. The passage and chamber are paved with stone slabs. Finds include fragments of 4 globular and hemispherical fineware bowls.

(see Ch.IV).

NICOLLE 1924, HIBBS & SHUTE 1984.

JER 23. La Sergenté Menhir. 56 48 Cl.1e.

Probable menhir, now lost. A hoard of bronze palstaves of Tréboul type was found beneath the stone.

(see Ch.V,VI).

HAWKES 1937.

JER 24. La Table des Marthes. 556 482 Cl.1f.

A granite slab, 3.8 by 2 m, probably a capstone. Excavations by J-P Ahier in 1850 revealed what appears to have been a chamber of drystone construction and stone axes and fragments of pottery were found.

AHIER 1852, HAWKES 1937.

JER 25. Le Quesnil. 564 481 Cl.1f.

Menhir, destroyed during 19th Century. Originally stood 12-16 feet high. Position recently established by Brian Phillipps and Stéphane Rault.

(see Ch.V).

OLIVER 1870, HAWKES 1937.

JER 26. La Moye I. 568 479 Cl.3.

Settlement site of Early Bronze Age date. Excavations 1981-85 revealed parts of 2 enclosures. 3 circular structures were associated with the South-Eastern enclosure.

(see Ch.VI).

PATTON 1984, 1988a & b.

JER 27. La Moye II. 568 478 Cl.6.

Possibly a destroyed megalith. Excavations in 1984 revealed several large blocks of granite, associated with a quantity of prehistoric material. The site, however, has been completely destroyed by the construction of a WWII German gun emplacement.

PATTON 1987c.

JER 28. Beauport Cromlech. 573 479 Cl.1f.

Ruined megalithic site. Original excavations in 1877 suggested that the site had been a megalithic cist. The monument was re-excavated in 1972 by David Johnston, who interpreted it as a passage grave. Finds included flat-based Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic pottery.

(see Ch.IV,V).

CABLE 1877, JOHNSTON 1972.

JER 29. La Houque de Forêt (La Moie Cromlech). 573 480 Cl.6.

Tumulus, excavated in 1877, but found to be ruined.

Four uprights were found, and one possible displaced capstone, as well as slabs that were interpreted as disturbed paving. The only finds were flint flakes and chips.

BELLIS & CABLE 1880.

JER 30. Les Cinq Pierres. 596 484 Cl.1f.

Megalithic site, largely ruined by quarrying prior to excavation in 1874. In the centre of the mound were found 5 stones; of these, 2 were in situ uprights, a third was probably a fallen upright, and the other two were apparently parts of a broken capstone. Remains of paving were also found. The stones were surrounded by a rubble wall, 6-8 feet in width and with an external diameter of over 60 feet. Finds included disarticulated human remains and fragments of Middle Neolithic pottery.

(see Ch.IV).

BELLIS & CABLE 1875.

JER 31. La Houque de Vinde. 608 472 Cl.1f.

Circular tumulus, excavated in 1881 and again in 1913. A circular setting of stones was found, surrounded by a rubble wall. The only prehistoric finds were hammerstones and flint flakes.

BELLIS & CABLE 1882, MARETT & DeGRUCHY 1914.

JER 32. Field 575, Beauport. 576 479 Cl.5.

Field, close to JER 28. Fieldwork by La Société Jersiaise has revealed a flint scatter, (material collected from ploughsoil).

(see appendix i).

Parish of Saint Ouen.

JER 33. Le Pinacle. 544 555 Cl.2/4.

Multi-phase site. The earliest deposits date to the Early Neolithic. Apart from a substantial quantity of Cerny style pottery, a considerable number of stone tools were found in this level, including a unique series of dolerite picks and several unfinished stone axes. It seems likely that this represents an axe-production centre (see Ch.III/appendix ii). Overlying the Early Neolithic layer was an earth platform retained by a rubble bank; this was associated with an important

Chalcolithic assemblage, including Bell-Beaker sherds, a copper axe, and knives and arrowheads of Grand Pressigny flint. This probably represents an open air ceremonial site, (see Ch.V). Later deposits on the site range from Bronze Age through Iron Age and Gallo-Roman.

GODFRAY & BURDO 1949, 1950.

JER 34. Grantez Dolmen. 567 537 Cl.1b.

Passage grave with asymmetrical chamber and external side-chamber. Excavation in 1912 revealed 7 articulated skeletons in the main chamber and another skeleton buried in a seated position in the passage. The skeletons were accompanied by limpet shells, animal bones and small caches of colorful pebbles. Pottery was found, including vase-support fragments, carinated and hemispherical bowls, all of Middle Neolithic date.

(see Ch.IV).

NICOLLE et al. 1913.

JER 35. La Houque des Géonnais. 573 558 Cl.1b.

Passage grave, badly damaged by quarrying prior to excavation in 1929. Recent re-excavation by Sinclair Forrest & Stéphane Rault has shown that the chamber is of unusual form, probably rectangular, and was almost certainly open. A quantity of Middle Neolithic pottery has been found in the chamber, and an important deposition of Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic pottery was found in association with the passage blocking.

(see Ch.IV,V).

BAAL & GODFRAY 1930.

JER 36. Grosnez Houque. 552 565 Cl.1f.

Circular mound, 15 M in diameter, with ruined megalithic structure. Three stones were found at the centre of the mound, and a fourth was found on the Northern edge; this arrangement suggests possibly a cist in circle. Finds include fragments from globular pottery vessels and vases-supports, all of Middle Neolithic date, and a polished axe.

(see Ch.IV).

RYBOT 1924.

JER 37. Les Houques de Millais. 55 54 C1.1f.

19th Century reports suggest that a number of tumuli were destroyed in this area between 1860 and 1880. These records are, on the whole, confused and ambiguous. One of the mounds is described as having a drystone chamber, 18 feet in length, and covered by 5 capstones. One of the mounds produced a strap-handled vase of Armorican Tumulus B type (Early Bronze Age).

(see Ch.V,VI).

HAWKES 1937.

JER 38. Plémont. 56 56 C1.5.

Flint scatter site: material collected on footpaths.
No precise location.

(see appendix i).

JER 39. Grosnez Common. 55 56 C1.5.

Flint scatter site: material collected on footpaths.
No precise location.

(see appendix i).

JER 40. Les Landes. 54 55 C1.5.

Flint scatter site: material collected on footpaths.
No precise location.

(see appendix i).

JER 41. Grosnez Hurel. 553 564 C1.6.

Loess mound, probably natural, but associated with an important Mesolithic flint assemblage.

(see Ch.III/appendix i).

JER 42. Grand Canal du Squez (North). 547 557 C1.5.

Flint scatter: material collected on footpaths.
Reliable collection by Brian Phillipps.

(see Ch.III/appendix i).

JER 43. Grand Canal du Squez (South). 547 555 C1.5.

Flint scatter: material collected on footpaths.
Reliable collection by Brian Phillipps. Important Mesolithic assemblage.

(see Ch.III/appendix i).

Parish of Saint Mary.

JER 44. La Houque Mauger. 602 552 C1.2.

Mound, 17 m in diameter. No trace of a central chamber

was found, only a single small slab. 22 querns were found, all but three of which had been deliberately broken. An important deposition of Late Neolithic pottery was found under the Southern edge of the mound.

(see Ch.V).

BAAL & SINEL 1915b.

JER 45. Col de la Rocque. 59 55 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: material collected from ploughsoil and from footpaths. No precise location. Assemblage includes characteristic Mesolithic artifacts.

(see Ch.III/appendix i).

JER 46. Le Marionneux. 600 560 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: material collected from footpaths. Reliable collection by Brian Phillipps.

(see appendix i).

Parish of Saint John.

JER 47. La Houque Boëte. 624 548 Cl.1f.

Much eroded mound, 4.5 m in height. Excavation in 1911 revealed a massive rectangular cist. The excavation report is confused: human remains, horse remains and pottery were found, as well as a stone axe fragment. The published description of the pottery suggests an Early or Middle Neolithic date, whereas the pottery in the museum collection is Gallo-Roman. The form of the chamber and the size of the mound suggests a connection with the Grands Tumulus series of Southern Brittany.

(see Ch.IV).

DEYROLLE & MAUGER 1912.

Parish of Trinity.

JER 48. La Houque des Platons. 656 556 Cl.1d.

Circular mound, 8 m in diameter, covering a small cist surrounded by a circle of blocks and drystone walling. The cist contained 2 S.O.M. type pots, one of which contained cremated remains, apparently of an adult and child.

(see Ch.V).

BAAL & SINEL 1915a.

JER 49. L'Etaquerel. 68 54 Cl.5.

Flint scatter site: no precise location.

(see appendix i).

JER 50. Le Catel de Rozel. 69 54 Cl.5.

Flint scatter within area of Iron Age promontory fort.
No precise location.

(see appendix i).

Parish of Saint Martin.

JER 51. La Pouquelaye de Faldouet. 710 507 Cl.1b.

Passage grave with double chamber. The first chamber and the passage appear to have been open. A series of side-chambers are arranged around the first chamber. The second chamber is covered by a single massive capstone. Human remains were found in the side-chambers, and finds from the chamber included vase-supports and globular vessels, all of Middle Neolithic date.

(see Ch.IV).

NICOLLE & SINEL 1914b, RYBOT 1932, HAWKES 1937.

JER 52. Le Couperon. 703 542 Cl.1c.

Gallery grave within rectangular enclosure of upright stones. Excavated and restored in 1868 by Rev.F.Porter. He reported having found coarse sherds, flints and '3 Gaulish coins of brass'. Some prehistoric coarseware sherds are preserved in the Guernsey Museum. An interesting feature of the site is the porthole slab, incorrectly placed at the eastern end of the chamber during restorations in 1919.

(see Ch.V).

HAWKES 1937.

JER 53. St.Martins main road. 67 50/68 51 Cl.5

Collection of flints in Museum of La Société Jersiaise; includes some unusual retouched blades. Location of site unknown, except that it was on St.Martins main road.

(see appendix i).

Parish of Grouville.

JER 54. La Hougue Bie. 682 504 Cl.1b.

One of the finest passage graves in Europe, with a cruciform plan and terminal cell. The chamber is covered by a mound, 54 m in diameter and 12 m in height. Finds included vase-support fragments, beads, and

disarticulated human remains (representing at least 2 individuals)¹.

(see Ch.IV).

BAAL et al. 1925.

Parish of Saint Clement.

JER 55. La Motte. 675 461 Cl.2/3.

La Motte is now a small islet, accessible only at low tide, but records suggest that it was a peninsula as recently as the 17th Century. Excavations on the islet have revealed 3 separate elements:

- i) a cairn of unknown date.
- ii) midden remains associated with Middle Neolithic and Chalcolithic material.
- iii) a series of cist burials, possibly of Early Bronze Age date.

(see Ch.IV,V,VI).

NICOLLE & SINEL 1912,1914a, WARTON 1913.

JER 56. Icho Islet. 694 445 Cl.2.

Another small islet lying off the South-East coast of Jersey. Excavations revealed the burial of a single person associated with horse bones and Early Bronze Age pottery.

(see Ch.VI).

RYBOT 1930.

JER 57. Le Mont Ubé. 677 475 Cl.1b.

Passage grave, originally with internal cells. Human remains were found, as well as pottery of Middle Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age date. Unfortunately the site was emptied by quarrymen before F.C.Lukis was able to record it, so that most of the finds are effectively without context.

(see Ch.IV,V,VI).

HAWKES 1937.

¹ According to the original report by H. Maret-Tims, the bones represent a single individual. Sir Arthur Keith, in his additional notes, considers the remains to represent at least 8 individuals. The basis of Keith's claim is questionable, but he does identify 3 tibiae, so that at least 2 individuals must be represented.

JER 58. La Dame Blanche.

677 468

Cl.1e.

Menhir, 3.5 m in height, recently vandalised by the farmer of the land on which it stands. Excavations in 1933 revealed that the menhir was standing in a deep pit, packed with stones. A shallow pit was found 3.6 m to the South-West, filled with limpet shells.

(see Ch.V).

RYBOT 1934.

JER 59. Le Dicq.

66 47

Cl.1f.

Destroyed megalith. Records suggest that there were 3 capstones resting on uprights. The site was destroyed at some time before 1830.

HAWKES 1937.

Parish of Saint Saviour.

JER 60. Bagatelle Farm.

66 49

Cl.5.

Collection of flints, including some unusual retouched blades.

No precise location.

(see appendix i).

ISLAND OF GUERNSEY.

Parish of Vale.

GUE 1. Le Déhus.

358 831

Cl.1b.

Fine passage grave with side-chambers opening onto the passage. One of the capstones bears a unique anthropomorphic carving. Human remains were found, both in the chamber and in the side-chambers, and a large quantity of pottery was found, ranging in date from Middle Neolithic to Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic. The mound has a facade of large blocks.

(see Ch.IV,V).

COLLUM 1933, KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 2. La Varde.

337 836

Cl.1b.

Passage grave with a single small side-cell. Excavations by F.C.Lukis revealed quantities of human bone, associated with pottery fragments representing at least 150 vessels, ranging in date from Middle Neolithic to Early Bronze Age.

(see Ch.IV,V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 3. La Platte Mare.

336 837 Cl.1d.

Cist in circle. One of the uprights bears a series of 12 cupmarks. Finds included pottery of Chalcolithic date, 2 polished axes, and a barbed and tanged arrowhead.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 4. La Mare ès Mauves.

339 834 Cl.1d.

Cist in circle. Excavation by F.C. Lukis produced only flint flakes and a few sherds of prehistoric coarseware which cannot be dated with any precision.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 5. Cist near Martello Tower no.7.

341 835 Cl.1d.

Ruined cist in circle. Excavation by F.C. Lukis produced only flint flakes and a few sherds of prehistoric coarseware.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 6. La Roque Qui Sonne.

350 824 Cl.1f.

Destroyed megalith: only 2 uprights and a displaced capstone remain. Lukis examined the site some years after the destruction of the monument. Finds included fragments of 2 Bell-Beakers and an Early Bronze Age handled cup. The monument originally had 9 capstones and must have been a large megalith, either a passage grave or gallery grave.

(see Ch.IV,V,VI).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 7. Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin.

35 83 Cl.1d.

Ruined cist in circle, excavated by F.C.Lukis in 1837, and totally destroyed some time after 1872. The cist appears to have been cleared out at some stage before Lukis' excavation, as all of the finds were from the area outside the cist itself. Fragments of human bone were found, as well as an important assemblage of Middle Neolithic pottery and a polished axe.

(see Ch.IV).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 8. Cist near Rousse Tower.

325 832 Cl.1d.

Double cist in circle below high-tide mark on the beach near Rousse Tower. Between the two cists was a tiny circle of stones, "about 2 feet in diameter". The only finds were flint flakes, decayed bone and a few sherds of prehistoric coarseware.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 9. Les Fouaillages.

335 830 Cl.1a/1f/3

Multi-phase site, excavated by Ian Kinnes 1979-81. The first phase consists of an axe-shaped enclosure of upright stones, with two rectangular chambers, a cairn and a platform: this phase was associated with Cerny style pottery. The first phase monument was covered by a long mound, on which was constructed, at a later date, a unique monument with 2 wooden uprights surrounded by 2 concentric circles of boulders: this phase was associated with Late Neolithic pottery and barbed and tanged arrowheads. Evidence for Chalcolithic settlement was found in the area to the South of the mound.

(see Ch.III,V).

KINNES 1982, KINNES & GRANT 1983.

GUE 10. Banque à Barque.

348 838 Cl.6.

Site of unknown status, essentially unstratified, recently excavated by Mike Hill. The site produced an important assemblage of Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery, with associated flint.

(see Ch.V,VI).

GUE 11. Pembroke Point.

33 84 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: no precise location.

(see appendix i).

Parish of Castel.

GUE 12. Statue-Menhir.

311 788 Cl.1e.

Menhir with breasts, necklace and head-dress carved in haut-relief. Comparable to Late Neolithic examples from Northern France. The menhir was discovered beneath the floor of the chancel in Castel Church, and has now been re-erected in the churchyard.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 13. Les Grandes Rocques. 301 818 Cl.6.

A quantity of flint and a few sherds of Chalcolithic pottery were found in a layer underlying the recently excavated Medieval site at Les Grandes Rocques.

(see Ch.V,appendix i).

GUE 14. Albecq. 28 80 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: no precise location.

(see appendix i).

Parish of Saint Pierre du Bois.

GUE 15. Le Creux ès Faies. 251 784 Cl.1b.

Simple passage grave. Excavations by F.C.Lukis in 1840 revealed an important Chalcolithic assemblage, including Bell-Beakers and barbed and tanged arrowheads.

(see Ch.IV,V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 16. Le Creux des Fées. 26 77 Cl.1f.

Conical tumulus, sketched by F.C.Lukis, but destroyed before he was able to excavate. Lukis records that the mound covered a chamber, 10.5 feet long and 2 feet wide, of drystone construction, roofed with capstones.

(see Ch.V,VI).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 17. L'Erée. 24 78/25 78 Cl.3.

Unexcavated site: material collected following coastal erosion suggests an extensive settlement site. There appear to be 2 distinct strata: the uppermost has produced an important Early Bronze Age assemblage, whilst the lower level may be of Early Neolithic date.

(see Ch.III,VI,appendix i).

GUE 18. Lihou Islet. 24 78/24 79 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: no precise location.

(see appendix i).

GUE 19. La Longue Rocque. 265 772 Cl.1e.

The tallest surviving menhir in Guernsey, 3.5 m in height.

Parish of Forest.

GUE 20. Crève Coeur. 28 75 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: no precise location.

(see appendix i).

GUE 21. La Corbière. 28 74 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: no precise location.

(see appendix i).

Parish of Saint Martin.

GUE 22. La Gran'mère du Chimiquière. 324 765 Cl.1e.

Statue-menhir of Late Neolithic type, similar to GUE 12, but substantially altered during the Gallo-Roman period.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 23. Jerbourg. 33 74 Cl.3.

Recently excavated promontory fort. The main period of occupation is Middle Bronze Age, but evidence for Late Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age activity was also found.

(see Ch.V,VI).

BURNS 1988.

Parish of Saint Peter-Port.

GUE 24. La Petite Longue Roque des Granges. 326 785 Cl.1e.

Menhir, 1.4 m in height, recently discovered and re-erected.

(see Ch.V).

KINNES & GRANT 1983.

Parish of Saint Sampson.

GUE 25. Delancey Park. 346 810 Cl.1f.

Ruined megalith, excavated in 1919. Finds included hammerstones, flint chips and fragments of prehistoric coarseware.

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 26. Chateau des Marais. 337 803 Cl.6.

Medieval fortification. The lower levels produced a quantity of worked flint, a number of prehistoric coarseware sherds and a fragment of a stone ring.

(see Ch.III,IV,appendix i).

BARTON 1980.

GUE 27. Sandy Lane. 329 822 Cl.1f.

Small chamber, consisting of 3 uprights and a single

capstone. No recorded finds.

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 28. Route St.Clair Menhir. 339 812 Cl.1e.

Menhir, 1.2 m in height.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 29. La Chaise au Prêtre. 33 81 Cl.1e.

Destroyed menhir, which had a smaller square block set at its base. 2 Polished axes were found at the base of the menhir.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 30. La Roque Pointue. 34 81 Cl.1e.

Destroyed menhir.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 31. L'Islet. 331 822 Cl.1d.

Large cist in circle complex, with one central monument and four smaller monuments attached. Excavation in 1912 produced only a small quantity of material, all suggesting a Late Neolithic date.

(see Ch.V).

CAREY-CURTIS 1912.

Parish of Saint Saviour.

GUE 32. Le Trépied. 260 789 Cl.1b.

Passage grave, with most of passage destroyed. Excavations by F.C.Lukis produced an important Chalcolithic assemblage, including barbed and tanged arrowheads and Bell-Beakers.

(see Ch.IV,V).

KENDRICK 1928.

GUE 33. La Longue Pierre/Le Crocq Menhirs. 271 797
Cl.1e.

Two menhirs, standing 23 m apart. La Longue Pierre is 3 M in height, Le Crocq 2.1 m.

GUE 34. Field E482, Rue des Prévosts. 283 773 Cl.1.5.

Flint scatter: material collected from ploughsoil during recent fieldwork by La Société Guernesiaise.

(see appendix i).

Parish of Saint Andrew.

GUE 35. Ruette des Norgiots. 303 767 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: material collected from ploughsoil during recent fieldwork by La Société Guernesiaise.

(see appendix i).

ISLAND OF ALDERNEY.

ALD 1. Tourgis Dolmen. 564 076 Cl.1f.

Small cist in earth mound. No evidence for a circle, but the monument is probably related to the Channel Island cists in circles. "Urns and other articles" were found during the 19th Century, but these have been lost.

(see Ch.V).

JOHNSTON 1974.

ALD 2. Les Pourciaux North. 603 086 Cl.1f.

Rectangular megalithic chamber, excavated by Francis du Bois Lukis in 1853. Lukis' plan suggests that the monument was 8 m in length and 1.5 m in width, with parallel sides. Kendrick's plan of 1921, however, suggests a wedge-shaped monument. The site was largely destroyed by the construction of a WWII gun emplacement. A series of tiny cists along the western wall of the chamber contained human remains.

(see Ch.IV,V).

KENDRICK 1928.

ALD 3. Les Pourciaux South. 603 085 Cl.1b.

Passage grave, excavated by Francis du Bois Lukis. The monument was destroyed by the construction of a WWII gun emplacement. There are no surviving finds.

(see Ch.IV).

JOHNSTON 1973.

ALD 4. Mannez Enclosure. 60 08 Cl.3.

Large unexcavated enclosure, the construction of which is essentially similar to that of the North-West enclosure at the Early Bronze Age site of La Moye I, Jersey. A quantity of worked flint has been found within the enclosed area.

(see Ch.VI).

KENDRICK 1928.

ALD 5. Peter Fourneau's cottage. 595 083 Cl.1f.

Destroyed megalith, possibly a cist in circle complex similar to L'Islet, Guernsey. The site was destroyed by Fourneau in building his cottage, and he described the monument to Francis du Bois Lukis. Finds included pottery, stone axes and human bones.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

ALD 6. Sylt. 564 063 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: material collected in the course of recent fieldwork by the Alderney Society.

(see appendix i).

ALD 7. L'Emauve. 566 061 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: material collected in the course of recent fieldwork by the Alderney Society.

(see appendix i).

ALD 8. Les Pourciaux/Mannez. 59 08/60 08 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: material collected in the course of recent fieldwork by the Alderney Society.

(see appendix i).

ALD 9. Le Plat Cotil. 571 063 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: material collected in the course of recent fieldwork by the Alderney Society.

(see appendix i).

ALD 10. Rond But. 578 069 Cl.5.

Flint scatter: material collected in the course of recent fieldwork by the Alderney Society.

ALD 11. Raz peat-bed. 60 08 Cl.6.

Peat-bed, has produced flints and other artifacts, including a possible wooden spear.

ISLAND OF HERM.

HER 1. Le Petit Monceau a. 396 809 Cl.1f.

Small chamber, examined by J.W.Lukis, who records the total length as being 13 feet. A quantity of human remains was found, and a vase of Late Neolithic type.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 2. Le Petit Monceau b. 396 809 Cl.1d.

Cist in circle, examined in 1839 and 1841. A number of

skulls were found, and a quantity of pottery, including a fragment of Jersey Bowl.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 3. Le Petit Monceau c. 396 808 Cl.1d.

Circle of stones with a broken slab at its centre, probably representing the capstone of a central cist. Examination by W.C.Lukis revealed the remains of a single person, with limpet shells, pebbles and 2 pottery sherds (now lost).

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 4. Le Petit Monceau d. 395 809 Cl.1d.

Cist in circle, the central cist of which has been destroyed. Excavated in 1841, but the only find was one small sherd.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 5. Le Petit Monceau e. 396 810 Cl.1f.

Destroyed cist. A quantity of limpet shells was found, but no bones or artifacts.

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 6. Le Petit Monceau f. 395 808 Cl.1b.

Destroyed passage grave, 21 feet in length. Human bones were found.

(see Ch.IV).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 7. Le Grand Monceau a. 398 807 Cl.1d.

A circular enclosure, with a cist which had already been looted prior to examination by W.C.Lukis in 1840. Lukis' excavations revealed a quantity of human remains, (he estimated 20-30 individuals), associated with a mass of limpet shells.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 8. Le Grand Monceau b. 397 807 Cl.1f.

Apparently rectangular cist. Pottery was found, including 2 plain Bell-Beakers.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 9. Le Grand Monceau c. 397 807 Cl.1f.

Unexcavated monument, apparently a cist.

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 10. Le Grand Monceau d. 399 809 Cl.1f.

Ruined monument, unexcavated.

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 11. Le Monceau. 398 806 Cl.1d.

Cist in circle. The cist was destroyed during the 19th Century, and J.W.Lukis collected human bones, (including at least 2 skulls), pottery and limpet shells from the debris left by the quarrymen. None of these finds can now be traced.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 12. Roberts Cross. 397 808 Cl.1b.

Passage grave excavated in 1841. Human bones were found, including at least 3 skulls, and pottery, including a decorated Bell-Beaker.

(see Ch.IV,V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 13. Structure to North-West of HER 12. 397 808 Cl.1b.

Destroyed passage grave. Human bones were found, with pottery including a Middle Neolithic globular bowl, and a great quantity of limpet shells.

(see Ch.IV,V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 14. Cist between Le Petit Monceau and Le Grand Monceau. 39 80 Cl.1f.

Small cist, possibly associated with an alignment of stones. Explored by J.W.Lukis in 1853, but no account of his work is known, nor any finds from the site.

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 15. Sandy Plain. 397 812 Cl.1d.

Cist in circle excavated by J.W.Lukis. A "Large coarse vessel" was found in the cist, but this cannot be identified. The cist was associated with an alignment of stones; also associated with the alignment was a

"fireplace" covered by a bed of quartz pebbles.

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 16. Le Petit Monceau g. 39 80 Cl.1d.

Cist in circle. Plan exists in Lukis collection, but no description or reference to excavation. (Herm 2a in Kendrick's list).

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

HER 17. Le Petit Monceau h. 39 80 Cl.1d.

Cist in circle. Excavated in 1838. No record of any finds. (Herm 4a in Kendrick's list).

(see Ch.V).

KENDRICK 1928.

LES ECREHOUS.

ECR 1. Maître Ile. Cl.6.

Recent excavations by Dr. Warwick Rodwell, on the site of the Medieval priory of Saint Mary on Maître Ile have revealed evidence for Neolithic activity. An interesting disarticulated burial found beneath the chapel has parallels in the Middle Neolithic of Normandy. Close to the burial, 2 large stones were found, which may represent broken menhirs.

(see Ch.IV).

CHAUSSEY.

CHA 1. La Maison des Morts. Cl.1f.

Small megalithic structure of uncertain form, never scientifically examined.

DASTUGUE 1971.

CHA 2. Dolmen de la Chapelle. Cl.1f.

Small megalithic structure of uncertain form, never scientifically examined.

DASTUGUE 1971.

LIST OF DOUBTFUL AND DESTROYED SITES EXCLUDED FROM INVENTORY.

JERSEY.

- 1) "Menhir" East of Atlantic Hotel (KINNES & HIBBS 1988).

- 2) "Fallen Menhir" near Le Dicq Rock (HAWKES 1937).
- 3) La Roche a la Fee, Trinity (HAWKES 1937).
- 4) La Rogodaine (HAWKES 1937).
- 5) Forest Hill "dolmen" (HAWKES 1937).
- 6) Chestnut Farm "barrow" (KINNES & HIBBS 1988).
- 7) Meadow Bank, St.Lawrence (HAWKES 1937).
- 8) Le Bequi (HAWKES 1937).
- 9) Hautlieu (HAWKES 1937).
- 10) Tete du Fief de la Houquette (HAWKES 1937)
- 11) Archirondel (HAWKES 1937).
- 12) La Pierre aux Crabes, Le Hocq (HAWKES 1937).
- 13) Blanche Pierre, La Croiserie (HAWKES 1937).
- 14) Pierre de la Fetelle, St.Saviour (HAWKES 1937).
- 15) "Fallen menhir" beside Fishermens' Chapel (RODWELL 1987).
- 16) "Menhir" to West of Mermaid Hotel (PATTON 1987a).

GUERNSEY.

- 1) Gibet des Faies (KENDRICK 1928).
- 2) Fontenelle Bay (KENDRICK 1928).
- 3) "Weather Stone", La Moye (KENDRICK 1928).
- 4) La Hougue Ricard (KENDRICK 1928).
- 5) La Grosse Hougue (KENDRICK 1928).
- 6) La Grande Marche (KENDRICK 1928).
- 7) La Pierre de l'Hyvreuse (KENDRICK 1928).
- 8) La Roque Graine (KENDRICK 1928).
- 9) La Roque des Faies (KENDRICK 1928).
- 10) Ronceval (KENDRICK 1928).
- 11) Les Terres du Dis (KENDRICK 1928).
- 12) La Masse du Moulin (KENDRICK 1928).
- 13) La Hougue Hatennai (KENDRICK 1928).
- 14) Les Trepieds, St.Andrew (KENDRICK 1928).
- 15) Le Perron du Roi (KENDRICK 1928).
- 16) Pleinmont (KENDRICK 1928).
- 17) Le Trepied at L'Eree (KENDRICK 1928).
- 18) Les Gigonds "menhir" (KENDRICK 1928).

HERM.

- 1) Oyster Point (JOHNSTON 1981).

SARK.

- 1) La Vaurocque (JOHNSTON 1981).

- 2) Clouet Bay (JOHNSTON 1981).
- 3) La Vermandaye (JOHNSTON 1981).

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Abbreviations used.

- ABSJ. Annual Bulletin La Société Jersiaise.
BAR. British Archaeological reports.
BSAF. Bulletin de La Société Archéologique du Finistère.
BSPF. Bulletin de La Société Préhistorique Française.
BSPM. Bulletin de La Société Polymathique du Morbihan.
MSAN. Mémoires de La Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.
PPS. Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
RTSG. Report and Transactions of La Société Guernsiaisie.
RAO. Revue Archéologique de l'Ouest.

- J ABERCROMBY 1912. A study of the Bronze Age pottery of Great Britain and Ireland. Private Publication. Oxford.
- J-P AHIER 1852. Les 12 Tableaux Historiques de la civilisation à Jersey. C. Le Lievre, Jersey.
- J ALEXANDER 1980. "The 'frontier' concept in prehistory: the end of the moving frontier". pp 25-40 in Megaw (ed) 1980.
- ANON. 1876. "Fouilles d'un tumulus près du Bourg de Pleyben (Finistère)". BSAF III: pp129-133.
- P ASHBEE 1983. "Halangy Porth, St. Mary's, Isles of Scilly: excavations 1975-76". Cornish Archaeology 22: pp3-47.
- M AUDOUARD 1986. "L'occupation Mésolithique au Rozel (Manche): la station 56." RAO 3: pp5-21.
- H J BAAL 1920. "Archaeology Section report for 1919". ABSJ 9: p162.
- H J BAAL 1921. "Archaeology Section report for 1920". ABSJ 9: p272.
- H J BAAL, A D B GODFRAY, E T NICOLLE & N V L RYBOT 1925.

- "La Hougue Bie". ABSJ 10: pp178-236.
- H J BAAL & A D B GODFRAY 1930. "Report on the excavation of the Dolmen des Géonnais at Vinchelez de Bas". ABSJ 11: pp229-231.
- H J BAAL & J SINEL 1915a. "The exploration of a tumulus at Les Platons, Trinity." ABSJ 8: pp55-57.
- H J BAAL & J SINEL 1915b. "Exploration of La Hougue Mauger". ABSJ 8: pp58-61.
- G BAILLOUD 1964. Le Néolithique dans le Bassin Parisien. I^{le} supplément à Gallia Préhistoire.
- G BAILLOUD 1975. "Les ceramiques cannelées du Néolithique Morbihannais". BSPF 72: pp343-367.
- G BAILLOUD & C BURNEZ 1962. "Le Bronze Ancien dans le Centre-Ouest de la France". BSPF 59: pp515-524.
- K J BARTON 1980. "Excavations at the Chateau des Marais (Ivy Castle), Guernsey". RTSG XX: pp657-702.
- K J BARTON 1984. "Excavations in the middle ward, Mont Orgueil, Jersey". Archaeological Journal 141: pp216-242.
- R BELLIS & E K CABLE 1875. "Report on the excavation of the cromlech 'Les Cinq Pierres', Jersey". ABSJ 1: pp6-10.
- R BELLIS & E K CABLE 1880. "Memorandum of report of excavation of 'La Moie cromlech' in the parish of St. Brelade, Jersey". ABSJ 1: pp89-95.
- R BELLIS & E K CABLE 1882. "Memorandum of excavation of the hougue at Noirmont Warren in the parish of St. Brelade, Jersey". ABSJ 1: pp324-326.
- R BELLIS & E K CABLE 1884. "Mont Cochon cromlech". ABSJ 1: pp422-435.
- B BENDER 1968. The Neolithic cultures of North-West

- 327
- France. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. University of London.
- B BENDER 1978. "Gatherer-hunter to farmer: a social perspective". World Archaeology 10: pp203-222.
- B BENDER 1985. "Prehistoric developments in the American mid-continent and in Brittany, North-West France". pp21-57 in Douglas-Price & Brown (eds) 1985.
- B BENDER 1986. The archaeology of Brittany, Normandy and the Channel Islands. Faber & Faber.
- L R BINFORD 1962. "Archaeology as Anthropology". American Antiquity 28: pp217-225.
- L R BINFORD 1965. "Archaeological syatematics and the study of culture process". American Antiquity 31: pp203-210.
- A C BISHOP & A R WOOLLEY 1978. "A note on some jade implements from Jersey". ABSJ 22: pp160-162.
- A C BISHOP, A R WOOLLEY, I A KINNES & R HARRISON 1978. "Jadeite axes in Europe and the British Isles: an interim study". Archaeologia Atlantica 2: pp1-8.
- J-C BLANCHET 1984. Les premiers metallurgistes en Picardie et dans le Nord de la France. Memoires de La Société Préhistorique Francaise. Tome 17.
- M E BONIFAY 1967. "Circonscription de Haute et Basse Normandie". Gallia Préhistoire 10: pp317-331.
- P BOURDIEU 1977. Outline of a theory of practice. Cambridge University Press.
- J BRIARD 1958. "A propos des relations de la Bretagne et de la Normandie au Bronze Ancien". BSPF 55: pp20-22.
- J BRIARD 1965. Les depots Bretons et l'Age du Bronze Atlantique. Travaux du Laboratoire d'Anthropologie, Université de Rennes

I.

- J BRIARD 1984. Les Tumulus d'Armorique. Picard, Paris.
- J BRIARD & J L'HELGOUACH 1957. Chalcolithique, Néolithique secondaire: survivances Néolithiques à L'Age du Bronze Ancien en Armorique. Travaux du Laboratoire d'Anthropologie, Université de Rennes I.
- A BURL 1976. The stone circles of the British Isles. Yale University Press.
- R BURNS 1988. Excavations at Jerbourg, Guernsey. Guernsey Museum.
- E K CABLE 1877. "Report of the excavation of 'Beauport cromlech', Jersey, under the direction of the archaeological committee of La Société Jersiaise". ABSJ 1: pp89-95.
- R CAILLAUD & E LAGNEL 1972. "Le cairn et le crématoire Néolithique de La Hoguette à Fontenay-Le-Marmion (Calvados)". Gallia Préhistoire 15: pp137-185.
- P CALLOW & J M CORNFORD (eds) 1986. La Cotte de Saint Brelade 1961-78: excavations by C B M McBurney. Geo Books.
- S F CAMPBELL 1983. "Kula in Vakuta: the mechanics of Keda". pp201-227 in Leach & Leach (eds) 1983.
- W CAMPBELL-SMITH 1965. "The distribution of jade axes in Europe". PPS 31: pp25-33.
- S CAREY-CURTIS 1912. "An account of the discovery and examination of a cist or dolmen of a type novel to Guernsey in October and November 1912". Transactions of the Guernsey Society for Natural Science and Local research IV: pp400-414.
- H CASE 1969. "Neolithic Explanations". Antiquity 43: pp176-187.
- J C CHAPMAN 1983. "The secondary products revolution and

- the limitations of the Neolithic".
Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology 19: pp107-122.
- J CHERRY 1981. "Pattern and process in the earliest colonisation of the Mediterranean islands". PPS 41: pp41-68.
- V G CHILDE 1951. Social Evolution. Watts, London.
- V G CHILDE 1958. The prehistory of European society. Penguin.
- W CHMIELEWSKI 1952. Zagadnienie Grobowcow Kujawawisch W swietcie ostatnich Badan. Lodz.
- D L CLARKE (ed) 1972. Models in Archaeology. Methuen.
- M CLOUGH & W A CUMMINS (eds) 1979. Stone axe studies. C.B.A. Research Report No.23.
- J CLUTTON-BROCK 1981. Domesticated animals from early times. British Museum (Natural History).
- G COFFEY 1913. The Bronze Age in Ireland. Dublin.
- J COGNE & P-R GIOT 1952. "Etude petrographique des haches polies en Bretagne". BSPF 49: pp388-395.
- J COLES, F HIBBERT & B ORME 1973. "Prehistoric roads and trackways in Somerset, England: 3. The Sweet Track". PPS 39: pp256-293.
- J COLES, B ORME, A C BISHOP & A R WOOLLEY 1974. "A jade axe from the Somerset Levels". Antiquity 48: pp216-217.
- V C C COLLUM 1933. The re-excavation of the Déhus chambered mound at Paradis, Vale, Guernsey. R. Mond (private publication).
- C CONSTANTIN 1985. Fin du Rubané, ceramique du Limbourg et post-Rubané: le Néolithique le plus ancien en Bassin Parisien et en Hainaut. BAR (International Series) 273.
- L COUTIL 1896. "Inventaire des monuments mégalithiques du département de la Manche". Annales des cinq

- départements de la Normandie LXII: pp195-226.
- L COUTIL 1907. "Les monuments mégalithiques de la Normandie". Congrès Préhistorique de France (Autun). pp481-500.
- L COUTIL 1918. "Le tumulus de La Hogue à Fontenay-Le-Marmion (Calvados). Etude des tumulus Néolithiques du Calvados et de l'Orne". BSPF XV: pp65-138.
- L COUTIL 1929. "L'Allée Couverte du Catillon, Commune de Rocheville, Canton de Briquebec (Manche)". BSPF 26: pp261-264.
- G E DANIEL 1960. The prehistoric chamber tombs of France. Thames & Hudson.
- G E DANIEL 1967. "Northmen and Southmen". Antiquity XLI: pp313-317.
- J DARRELL HILL 1924. "Report on the discovery of a Neolithic ossuary at St. Brelade, Jersey". ABSJ 10: pp79-89.
- J DASTUGUE 1969. "Circonscription de Haute et Basse Normandie". Gallia Préhistoire 12: pp417-437.
- J DASTUGUE 1971. "Circonscription de Haute et Basse Normandie". Gallia Préhistoire 14: pp325-338.
- J DASTUGUE, S TORRE & L BUCHET 1973. "Néolithiques de Basse Normandie. Le deuxième tumulus de Fontenay-Le-Marmion (Etude anthropologique)". L'Anthropologie 77: pp579-620.
- S P De ATLEY & F J FINDLOW (eds) 1984. Exploring the limits: frontiers and boundaries in prehistory. BAR (International series) 223.
- G De CLOSMADÉUC 1885. "Fouilles et découvertes nouvelles dans l'île de Gavrinis (Morbihan)". BSPM 1885: pp134-145.
- C DEDAVE 1978. Ceramique Omaliennne des collections d'archéologie préhistorique de

- l'Université de Liège. Etudes et recherches archéologiques de l'Université de Liège, series A No.6.
- T W M De GUERIN 1921. "List of dolmens, menhirs and sacred rocks compiled from Guernsey place-names with legends etc". RTSG 9: pp30-64.
- S J De LAET (ed) 1976. Acculturation and continuity in Atlantic Europe. Papers presented at 4th Atlantic Colloquium, Ghent. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses Vol.XVI.
- J-P DEMOULE & J GUILAINE (eds) 1986. Le Néolithique de la France. Hommage à G. Bailloud. Picard.
- R DENNELL 1984. "The expansion of exogenous-based economies across Europe: the Balkans and Central Europe". pp93-115 in De Atley & Findlow (eds) 1984.
- A DESHAYES 1833. "Rapport sur les fouilles du tumulus de Fontenay-Le-Marmion". MSAN VI: pp275-318.
- J DESLOGES 1986. "Fouille de mines à silex sur le site Néolithique de Bretteville-Le-Rabet (Calvados)". RAO supplement No.1: pp73-101.
- E DEYROLLE & G MAUGER 1912. "Note sur le dolmen sous tumulus à La Teste du Fief de La Hougue Boête, Jersey". Bulletin et Memoires de La Société d'Anthropologie de Paris Mai 1912: pp165-172.
- S DIAMOND (ed) 1979. Toward a Marxist Anthropology. Mouton.
- H DUDAY & C MASSET (eds) 1987. Anthropologie physique et archéologie: méthodes d'étude des sépultures. Editions du C.N.R.S. Bourdeaux.
- R J DUNCAN, F R HODSON, C R ORTON, P A TYERS & A VIKARIA 1988. Data analysis for archaeologists: the

- Institute of Archaeology programmes.
Institute of Archaeology, University
College London.
- A DUNLOP 1913. "Remarks on the excavations at La Motte". ABSI 7: pp295-300.
- G H DURY 1952. "Some land-use statistics for Jersey in the late 18th Century". ABSI 15: pp439-444.
- G H DURY 1953. "Some land-use statistics for Guernsey in the late 18th Century". RTSG 18: pp331-351.
- T K EARLE & R W PREUCEL 1987. "Processual archaeology and the radical critique". Current Anthropology 28: pp501-538.
- B EDEINE 1961. "Puits Néolithiques d'extraction du silex dans le Calvados". BSPF 58: pp467-470.
- B EDEINE 1971. "L'Allée Couverte du Bois de la Plesse à Lithaire (Manche)". BSPF 68: pp20-25.
- H ELHAI 1963. La Normandie occidentale, entre la Seine et le Golfe Normand-Breton: etude morphologique. Imprimerie Bière.
- F ENGELS 1934. Dialectics of Nature. Progress Publishers, Moscow.
- F ENGELS 1972. The origins of the family, private property and the state. International Publishing House.
- J D EVANS 1973. "Islands as laboratories for the study of culture process". pp517-520 in Renfrew (ed) 1973.
- J D EVANS 1977. "Island archaeology in the Mediterranean: problems and opportunities". World Archaeology 9: pp12-26.
- E E EVANS-PRITCHARD 1940. The Nuer. Clarendon Press.
- P FALLE 1734. Caesarea. St. Helier, Jersey.
- L'Abbé FAVRET et Cmdt. BENARD 1924. "Les Nécropoles du Finistère". Revue Archéologique Sième

- serie 19: pp179-194.
- P FEYERABEND 1975. Against method. New Left Books.
- K V FLANNERY 1968. "Archaeological systems theory and early Mesoamerica". pp67-87 in Meggers (ed) 1968.
- A FLEMING 1973. "Tombs for the living". Man 8: pp177-193.
- A FONTES 1881. "Fouille à Carnac: Tombe circulaire". BSPM 1881: pp121-123.
- B FORESTIER, B LASNIER & J L'HELGOUACH 1973. "A propos de la 'callaïs': découverte d'un gisement de variscite à Pannecé (Loire Atlantique). Analyses de quelques 'perles vertes' Néolithiques". BSPF 70: pp173-180.
- G FOSSE, A CHANCEREL & M-A LOCARD 1986. "Le substrat Mésolithique en Normandie". RAO Supplement No.1: pp25-29.
- M FOUCAULT 1970. The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences. Tavistock.
- A FOUQUET 1874. "Cromlech-Tombeau découvert près de La Haye en Saint-Gravé". BSPM 1874: pp122-124.
- J FRIEDMAN 1974. "Marxism, structuralism and vulgar materialism". Man 9: pp444-469.
- J FRIEDMAN & M J ROWLANDS 1977. "Notes towards an epigenetic model for the evolution of civilisation". pp201-276 in Friedman & Rowlands (eds) 1977.
- J FRIEDMAN & M J ROWLANDS (eds) 1977. The evolution of social systems. Duckworth.
- F GAILLARD 1883. "Fouilles des dolmens de Port-Blanc (Saint-Pierre-Quiberon)". Bulletin de La Société d'Anthropologie de Paris VI: pp292-316.
- F GAILLARD 1892. "Le dolmen de La Pointe de Conguel à Quiberon". Bulletin de La Société d'Anthropologie de Paris XV: pp37-47.
- F GALERON 1835. "Description du tumulus de Condé-Sur-

- Laizon". MSAN IX: pp149-164.
- R GALLES 1863. "Mané-er-H'roëk: dolmen découvert sous un tumulus à Locmariaquer". BSPM 2: pp18-31.
- G.E.E.M. 1975. "Epipalaeolithique-Mésolithique: l'outillage du fonds commun. Grattoirs-éclats retouchés-burins-percoirs". BSPF 72: pp319-332.
- S GERLOFF 1975. The Early Bronze Age daggers in Great Britain and a reconsideration of the Wessex Culture. Prähistorische Bronzefunde Abteilung VI, Band 2.
- A GIDDENS 1979. Central problems in social theory. Macmillan.
- P-R GIOT 1959. "La répartition, la matière et la morphologie des anneaux-disques". BSPF 56: pp45-48.
- P-R GIOT 1960. "Circonscription de Rennes". Gallia Préhistoire 3: pp155-171.
- P-R GIOT 1962. "Circonscription de Rennes". Gallia Préhistoire 5: pp187-201.
- P-R GIOT (ed) 1963. Les civilisations Atlantiques du Néolithique à l'Age du Fer. Actes du 1er Colloque Atlantique. Laboratoire d'Anthropologie, Rennes.
- P-R GIOT 1965. "Circonscription de Rennes". Gallia Préhistoire 8: pp33-50.
- P-R GIOT 1967. "Circonscription de Bretagne et des Pays de la Loire". Gallia Préhistoire 10: pp333-364.
- P-R GIOT 1969. "Circonscription de Bretagne et des Pays de la Loire". Gallia Préhistoire 12: pp439-463.
- P-R GIOT 1973. "Circonscription de Bretagne". Gallia Préhistoire 16: pp401-426.
- P-R GIOT 1983. "Chronique de préhistoire et de protohistoire Finistériennes pour 1983". BSAF CXII: pp9-16.
- P-R GIOT 1987. Barnenez, Guennoc, Carn. Travaux du

Laboratoire d'Anthropologie,
Université de Rennes I.

- P-R GIOT & J COGNE 1948. "4ième Circonscription Préhistorique". Gallia 6: pp194-197.
- P-R GIOT & J L'HELGOUACH 1957. "Le cairn méridional de Barnenez en Plouézoc'h, (Finistère). Campagne de fouilles de 1956". BSPF 54: pp358-366.
- P-R GIOT, J L'HELGOUACH & J BRIARD 1965. "Le site du Curnic en Guissény (Finistère)". Annales de Bretagne 72: pp49-70.
- P-R GIOT, J L'HELGOUACH & J-L MONNIER 1979. Préhistoire de la Bretagne. Ouest-France.
- M GODELIER 1964. "La Notion de MPA et les schémas Marxistes d'évolution des sociétés". Cahier spécial du CERM Editions sociales.
- M GODELIER 1966. Rationalité et irrationalité en économie. Maspéro.
- M GODELIER 1978. "Infrastructures, society and history". Current Anthropology 19: pp763-771.
- M GODELIER & A DELUZ 1967. "A propos de deux textes d'Anthropologie Economique". L'Homme 7: pp78-91.
- A D B GODFRAY 1929. "Archaeological researches at the Minquiers, July 1928". ABSJ 11: p193.
- A D B GODFRAY & C BURDO 1949. "Excavations at the Pinnacle, Parish of St. Ouen, Jersey, 1930-36". ABSJ 15: pp21-100.
- A D B GODFRAY & C BURDO 1950. "Excavations at the Pinnacle, Parish of St. Ouen, Jersey, 1930-36". ABSJ 15: pp165-238.
- A W GOULDNER 1980. The two Marxisms. Macmillan.
- M GRAINDOR 1959. "Circonscription de Caen". Gallia Préhistoire 2: pp82-90.
- J GUILAINE (ed) 1976. La Préhistoire Française. Vol II: Les Civilisations Néolithiques et Protohistoriques. CNRS.

- M HARRIS 1969. The rise of anthropological theory. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- J HAWKES 1937. The archaeology of the Channel Islands. Vol.II: The Bailiwick of Jersey. La Société Jersiaise.
- J W HEDGES 1983. Isbister: a chambered tomb in Orkney. BAR (British Series) 115.
- J W HEDGES 1984. Tomb of the eagles: a window on stone age tribal Britain. J Murray.
- J L HIBBS 1983. "The Neolithic of Brittany and Normandy". pp271-323 in Scarre (ed) 1983.
- J L HIBBS 1985. "Little Master Stonehenge: a study of the megalithic monument from Le Mont de la Ville, Saint Helier". ABSJ 24: pp49-74.
- J L HIBBS 1986. "Post-depositional transforms and the megalithic distributions of the Channel Islands". pp207-224 in Johnston (ed) 1986.
- J L HIBBS & D SHUTE 1984. "A re-examination of the La Sergenté passage grave, St. Brelade, Jersey". ABSJ 23: pp525-531.
- B HINDESS & P Q HIRST 1975. Pre-capitalist modes of production. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- I HODDER 1982. Symbols in Action. Cambridge University Press.
- I HODDER (ed) 1982. Symbolic and structural archaeology. Cambridge University Press.
- I HODDER 1984. "Burials, houses, women and men in the European Neolithic". pp51-68 in Miller & Tilley (eds) 1984.
- I HODDER & C MALONE 1984. "Intensive survey of prehistoric sites in the Stilo region, Calabria". PFS 50: pp121-150.
- J HOWELL 1983. "The Late Neolithic of the Paris Basin". pp62-91 in Scarre (ed) 1983.
- C JEUNESSE 1986. "Rapports avec le Néolithique Ancien

d'Alsace de la ceramique 'Danubienne'
de La Hoguette (à Fontenay-Le-Marmion,
Calvados)". RAQ Supplement No.1: pp41-
50.

- D E JOHNSTON 1972. "The re-excavation of the Beauport Dolmen". ABSJ 20: pp405-417.
- D E JOHNSTON 1973. "The dolmen of Les Pourciaux South, Alderney". RTSG XIX: pp301-306.
- D E JOHNSTON 1974. "The re-excavation of the Tourgis Dolmen, Alderney". RTSG XIX: pp462-468.
- D E JOHNSTON 1981. The Channel Islands, an archaeological guide. Phillimore.
- P JOHNSTON (ed) 1986. The archaeology of the Channel Islands. Phillimore.
- P JOHNSTONE 1980. The sea-craft of prehistory. Routledge.
- R L JONES, D H KEEN, J F BIRNIE & D T HOLYOAK 1987. "Holocene sea-level changes on Jersey". Progress in Oceanography 18: pp177-204.
- R L JONES, D H KEEN, J F BIRNIE & P V WATON 1989. The past landscapes of Jersey: changes over the last ten thousand years. La Société Jersiaise.
- V JONES, A C BISHOP & A R WOOLLEY 1977. "Third supplement to the catalogue of jade axes from sites in the British Isles". PPS 43: pp287-293.
- R JOUSSAUME 1976. "Les civilisations Néolithiques dans le Centre-Ouest". pp351-364 in Guilaine (ed) 1976.
- J S KAHN 1981. "Marxist anthropology and segmentary societies: a review of the literature". pp57-88 in Kahn & Llobera (eds) 1981.
- J S KAHN & J R LLOBERA (eds) 1981. The anthropology of pre-capitalist societies. Macmillan.

- S KAPLAN 1976. "Ethnological and biogeographical significance of pottery sherds from Nissan Island, Papua New Guinea". Fieldiana: Anthropology. Vol.66. Chicago Field Museum of Natural History.
- O KAYSER 1984. "Autour du Mésolithique en Bretagne". RAQ 1: pp7-13.
- T D KENDRICK 1928. The Archaeology of the Channel Islands. Vol I: the Bailiwick of Guernsey. Methuen.
- I KINNES 1980. "The art of the exceptional: the statues-menhir of Guernsey in context". Archaeologia Atlantica 3: pp9-23.
- I KINNES 1982. "Les Fouaillages and megalithic origins". Antiquity 56: pp24-30.
- I KINNES 1986. "La Néolithisation des Iles Anglo-Normandes". RAQ Supplement No.1: pp9-12.
- I KINNES & J A GRANT 1983. Les Fouaillages and the megalithic monuments of Guernsey. Ampersand.
- I KINNES & J L HIBBS 1988. The dolmens of Jersey. La Haule Books/Channel Television.
- P V KIRCH 1986. "Exchange systems and inter-island contact in the transformation of an island society: the Tikopia case". pp33-41 in Kirch (ed) 1986.
- P V KIRCH (ed) 1986. Island societies: approaches to evolution and transformation. Cambridge University Press.
- K KRISTIANSEN 1978. "The consumption of wealth in Bronze Age Denmark. A study in the dynamics of economic process in tribal societies". pp158-190 in Kristiansen & Paludan-Muller (eds) 1978.
- K KRISTIANSEN 1984. "Ideology and material culture: an archaeological perspective". pp72-

- 100 in Spriggs (ed) 1984.
- K KRISTIANSEN & C PALUDAN-MULLER (eds) 1978. New directions in Scandinavian archaeology. National Museum of Denmark.
- P LANGLOIS 1879. "Découverte d'un menhir au Mont Cochon". ABSJ 1: pp146-148.
- B LASNIER 1970. Le métamorphisme régional des gabbros d'après la littérature internationale: les gabbros coronitiques du Massif Armoricaïn et du Massif des Maures (France). Thèse du 3e Cycle, Université de Nantes.
- J W LEACH & E LEACH (eds) 1983. The Kula: New perspectives on Massim exchange. Cambridge University Press.
- J LECLERC 1987. "Procédures de condamnation dans les sépultures collectives Seine-Oise-Marne". pp73-88 in Duday & Masset (eds) 1987.
- J LECORNEC 1972. "La sépulture mégalithique de Lost-er-Lenn, Grandchamp (Morbihan)". Annales de Bretagne 79: pp21-33.
- J LECORNEC 1973. "Le site à enclos de Kerlande à Brandivy (Morbihan)". Annales de Bretagne 80: pp61-70.
- L LEPAGE 1969. "Grand hache trouvée à Donville (Manche)". BSPF 66: pp23-24.
- F LE PROVOST, P-R GIOT & Y ONNEE 1972. "Prospections sur les collines de Saint-Nicholas-du-Pelem (Côtes-du-Nord) du Chalcolithique à la protohistoire". Annales de Bretagne 79: pp39-48.
- C-T LE ROUX 1970. Chronique de préhistoire et de protohistoire des Côtes-du-Nord 1970. Une fabrique de haches polies en Bretagne: les ateliers d'extraction de la 'dolerite A' à Seledin en Plussulien. Travaux du Laboratoire

d'Anthropologie, Rennes.

- C-T LE ROUX 1977. "Circonscription de Bretagne". Gallia Préhistoire 20: pp407-432.
- C-T LE ROUX 1978. "Le mobilier du dolmen de Cruguellic en Ploemeur (Morbihan)". BSPF 75: pp281-285.
- C-T LE ROUX 1979a. "Stone axes of Brittany and the Marches". pp49-56 in Clough & Cummins (eds) 1979.
- C-T LE ROUX 1979b. "Circonscription de Bretagne". Gallia Préhistoire 22: pp525-556.
- C-T LE ROUX 1981. "Circonscription de Bretagne". Gallia Préhistoire 24: pp395-423.
- C-T LE ROUX 1983. "Circonscription de Bretagne". Gallia Préhistoire 26: pp309-333.
- C-T LE ROUX 1984a. "A propos des fouilles de Gavrinis (Morbihan): nouvelles données sur l'art mégalithique Armoricaïn". BSPF 81: pp240-245.
- C-T LE ROUX 1984b. "L'Implantation Néolithique en Bretagne Centrale". RAO 1: pp34-54.
- C-T LE ROUX & Y LECERF 1971. "Découverte d'anneaux-disques à Gevézé (Ille-et-Vilaine)". Annales de Bretagne 78: pp13-21.
- C-T LE ROUX & Y LECERF 1980. "Le cairn de Ty-Floch à Saint-Thois: fouilles de 1978-79". BSAF CVIII: pp28-54.
- C-T LE ROUX & J L'HELGOUACH 1967. "Le cairn mégalithique avec sépultures à chambres compartimentées de Kerleven, Commune de La Forêt-Fouesnant (Finistère)". Annales de Bretagne 74: pp17-51.
- Z LE ROUZIC 1901. "Carnac: fouilles faites dans la région (1899 et 1901)". BSPM 1901: pp157-166.
- Z LE ROUZIC 1911. "Carnac: fouilles faites dans la région. Dolmen à galerie et à grand dallage de Mané-Lud". BSPM 1911: pp225-232.

- Z LE ROUZIC 1927a. Carnac: fouilles faites dans la region. Dolmen à galerie sous tumulus de Kercado. Vannes.
- Z LE ROUZIC 1927b. "Depôts rituels de haches en pierre polie découvert dans la region de Carnac". BSPF 24: pp156-160.
- Z LE ROUZIC 1930a. Carnac: restaurations faites dans la region. Les cromlechs de Er Lannic, Commune de Arzon de 1923 à 1926. Vannes.
- Z LE ROUZIC 1930b. Carnac: fouilles faites dans la region. Ilot d'Er Yoh (Le Mulon), Commune de Houat, 1924-25. Vannes.
- Z LE ROUZIC 1930c. Carnac: bijoux en or découverts dans les dolmens du Morbihan. Revue des Musées: fouilles et découvertes archéologiques. No.30. Dijon.
- Z LE ROUZIC 1932. Carnac: fouilles faites dans la region. Le tumulus du Mont-Saint-Michel, 1900-1906. Vannes.
- Z LE ROUZIC 1933. "Morphologie et chronologie des sépultures préhistoriques du Morbihan". L'Anthropologie 43: pp225-265.
- Z LE ROUZIC 1935. "Carnac: restaurations faites dans la region (1934-1935). Tumulus de Tumiach". BSPM 1935: pp6-17.
- Z LE ROUZIC, S-J PEQUART & M PEQUART 1923. Carnac: fouilles faites dans la region, Campagne 1922. Tumulus de Crucun; Tertre du Manio; Tertre du Castellic. Paris.
- C LEVI-STRAUSS 1955. Tristes Tropiques. Harmondsworth.
- J L'HELGOUACH 1963. "La ceramique campaniforme: repartition, formes, decors". pp57-85 in Giot (ed) 1963.
- J L'HELGOUACH 1965. Les sépultures mégalithiques en Armorique. Travaux du Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Préhistorique, Rennes.

- J L'HELGOUACH 1967. "La sépulture mégalithique à entrée latérale de Crec'h Quillé en Saint-Quay-Perros (Côtes-du-Nord)". BSPF 64: pp659-698.
- J L'HELGOUACH 1977. "Les vases à pied creux du Néolithique Armoricaïn". Archaeologica Atlantica 2: pp9-19.
- J L'HELGOUACH 1983. "Les idoles qu'on abat". BSPM 1983: pp57-68.
- J L'HELGOUACH & J LECORNEC 1968. "Fouilles de la sépulture mégalithique de Mein-Goarec à Plaudren (Morbihan)". Annales de Bretagne 75: pp27-51.
- J L'HELGOUACH & C-T LE ROUX 1965. "La sépulture mégalithique de Champ-Grosset en Quessoy (Côtes-du-Nord)". Annales de Bretagne 72: pp5-31.
- L'Abbé LUCO 1883. "Exploration de trois monuments quadrilatères par James Miln". BSPM 1883: pp36-42.
- F C LUKIS 1846. "Cromlech of Du Tus" Journal of the British Archaeological Association I: pp25-29.
- F C LUKIS 1849. "On the sepulchral character of cromlechs in the Channel Islands". Journal of the British Archaeological Association IV: pp323-337.
- R MacARTHUR & E WILSON 1967. The Theory of Island Biogeography. Princetown University Press.
- B MALINOWSKI 1922. Argonauts of the Western Pacific. Routledge.
- R R MARETT 1912. "Further observations on prehistoric Man in Jersey". Archaeologia 63: pp203-236.
- R R MARETT & G F B DeGRUCHY 1914. "Excavation of a barrow called La Hougue de Vinde, situated at Noirmont, Jersey". Man 14: pp50-52.

- H MARICHAL, P M VERMEERSCH & M VANDERHOEVEN 1987.
Vlijtingen, Kayberg (Belgian Limburg).
 Provinciaal Gallo-Romeins Museum
 Tongeren.
- L MARSILLE 1923. "Le dolmen de Plaisance en Saint-Avé
 (Morbihan)". BSPM 1923: pp100-107.
- L MARSILLE 1927. "Anneaux disques du Morbihan". BSPM
 1927: pp90-98.
- A MARTIN 1898. "Exploration archéologique dans le
 Morbihan: tumulus et dolmen à chambre
 circulaire de Nelhouët en Caudan".
Révue Archéologique XXXIII: pp201-214.
- A MARTIN 1900. "Le tumulus de Tossen-ar-Run en Yvias
 (Côtes-du-Nord)". Memoires de La
Société d'Emulation des Côtes-du-Nord
 XXXVIII: p24.
- A MARTIN 1911. "Le tumulus à dolmen de Kermaric à
 Languidic (Morbihan)" BSAF 38: pp88-
 118.
- K MARX 1898. The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.
 International Publishing House.
- K MARX 1965. Pre-capitalist economic formations
 (Formen). International Publishing House.
- K MARX 1970. Contribution to the critique of political
economy. Progress Publishers, Moscow.
- J V S MEGAW (ed) 1980. Hunters, gatherers and first
farmers beyond Europe. Leicester University
 Press.
- B MEGGERS (ed) 1968. Anthropological archaeology in
the Americas. Anthropological Society
 of Washington.
- C MEILLASSOUX 1960. "Essai d'interpretation du
 phénomène économique dans les sociétés
 traditionnelles d'autosubsistance".
Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines 4: pp36-
 67.
- C MEILLASSOUX 1964. Anthropologie économique des
Gouro de Côte d'Ivoire. Mouton.
- C MEILLASSOUX 1967. "Recherche d'un niveau de

- determination dans la société
cynégétique". L'Homme et la Société 6.
- C MEILLASSOUX 1972. "From reproduction to
production". Economy and Society 1:
pp93-105.
- D MILLER & C TILLEY 1984. "Ideology, power and
prehistory: an introduction". pp1-15
in Miller & Tilley (eds) 1984.
- D MILLER & C TILLEY (eds) 1984. Ideology, power and
prehistory. Cambridge University
Press.
- J MILN 1881. "Dolmens Er Pointe de Saint-Philibert en
Locmariaquer". BSPM 1881: pp71-76.
- Y MILON & P-R GIOT 1947. "Ive Circonscription".
Gallia V: pp162-176.
- Y MILON & P-R GIOT 1949. "Ive Circonscription".
Gallia VII: pp252-256.
- R S MINOT 1958. "Sur les ossements d'animaux dans les
mégalithes du Morbihan". BSPM 1958:
pp81-87.
- J MOLESWORTH 1787. "Description of the Druid Temple
lately discovered on the top of the
hill near St. Hillary in Jersey".
Archaeologia VIII: pp384-388.
- L H MORGAN 1877. Ancient society or researches in the
line of human progress from savagery
through barbarism to civilisation.
Kerr, Chicago.
- M-T MORZADÉC-KERFOURN 1969. "Variations de la ligne de
rivage au cours du post-glaciaire le
long de la Côte Nord du Finistère:
analyses polliniques de tourbes et de
dépôts organiques littoraux".
Bulletin de l'Association Française
pour l'Etude du Quaternaire 21: pp283-
318.
- M-T MORZADÉC-KERFOURN 1974. "Variations de la ligne de
rivage Armoricaire au Quaternaire.
Analyses polliniques de dépôts

organiques littoraux". Memoires de La Société Géologique et Minéralogique de Bretagne 17.

- M-T MORZADEC-KERFOURN 1976. "L'évolution de la végétation en Armorique à partir du Néolithique". pp88-94 in Guilaine (ed) 1976.
- A E MOURANT 1933. "Dolmen de La Hougue Bie: nature and provenance of materials". ABSJ 12: pp217-220.
- A E MOURANT 1937. Notes on petrology in Hawkes 1937.
- A E MOURANT 1963. "The stones of the Mont de la Ville passage grave, Jersey". ABSJ 18: pp317-325.
- A E MOURANT 1977. "The use of Fort Regent granite in megalithic monuments in Jersey". ABSJ 22: pp41-49.
- A E MOURANT 1985. "Some ancient monuments in the Jersey Bailiwick needing excavation and conservation". ABSJ 24: pp81-84.
- E T NICOLLE 1924. "The discovery of a beehive hut at La Sergenté, St. Brelade". ABSJ 10: pp67-71.
- E T NICOLLE & J SINEL 1912. "Archaeological researches at La Motte". ABSJ 7: pp241-245.
- E T NICOLLE & J SINEL 1914a. "Archaeological researches at La Motte". ABSJ 7: pp450-451.
- E T NICOLLE & J SINEL 1914b. "Report on the work done at the dolmen of La Pouquelaie, Faldouet, St. Martin, Jersey, July 1910". ABSJ 7: pp67-68.
- E T NICOLLE, R G WARTON & J SINEL 1913. "Report on the exploration of the dolmen at Les Monts Grantex". ABSJ 7: pp314-325.
- S P OLIVER 1870. "Report on the present state and condition of prehistoric remains in the Channel Islands". Journal of the Ethnological Society NS2, April 1870: pp46-73.

- S-P O'RIORDAIN 1936. "The halberd in Bronze Age Europe". Archaeologia 86: pp195-321.
- J ROUSSOT-LARROQUE 1986. "Artenac vingt ans après". pp391-417 in Demoule & Guilaine (eds) 1986.
- M A PATTON 1984. "Excavation of a Bronze Age enclosure system at La Moye". ABSJ 23: pp532-538.
- M A PATTON 1987a. Jersey in Prehistory. La Haule Books.
- M A PATTON 1987b. "Questioning the fundamentals: the epistemological basis of a social archaeology". Paper presented at World Archaeological Congress reprinted in Journal of Social Studies (Dacca) 36: pp1-18.
- M A PATTON 1987c. "La Moye II, Jersey. Excavations in 1981 and 1984-5". ABSJ 24: pp387-392.
- M A PATTON 1987d. "General Pitt-Rivers, Captain Lukis and Channel Island prehistory". Antiquity 61: pp466-468.
- M A PATTON 1988a. "The Bronze Age settlement of La Moye I, Jersey. Excavations 1981-85". ABSJ 24: pp543-566.
- M A PATTON 1988b. "Les enclos protohistoriques de La Moye à Jersey". Bulletin du Groupe Vendéen d'Etudes Préhistoriques 19: pp20-30.
- G W PEARSON 1987. "How to cope with calibration". Antiquity 61: pp98-103.
- G W PEARSON, J R PILCHER, M G L BAILLIE, D M CORBETT & F QUA 1986. "High precision 14C measurement of Irish oaks to show the natural 14C variations from AD 1840-5210 BC". Radiocarbon 28 (2B) pp911-934.
- M PEQUART & S-J PEQUART 1954. Hoëdic: deuxième station-nécropole du Mésolithique cotier Armoricaïn. De Sikkel, Antwerp.
- M PEQUART, S-J PEQUART, M BOULE & H VALLOIS 1937. Téviec: station-nécropole Mésolithique

- du Morbihan. Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine. Mem.18.
- E A PIGEON 1885. "Le tumulus des Biards". BSAN XIII: pp448-455.
- S PIGGOTT 1937. "The long barrow in Brittany". Antiquity. pp441-455.
- J POINGDESTRE 1682. Caesarea, or a discourse of the Island of Jersey. W Nicolle, Jersey.
- K POPPER 1959. The logic of scientific discovery. Hutchinson.
- K POPPER 1966. The open society and its enemies. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- K RANDSBORG 1973. "Wealth and social structure as reflected in Bronze Age burials: a quantitative approach". pp565-570 in Renfrew (ed) 1973).
- S-J RAULT 1984. The megalithic monuments of Jersey. Unpublished scholarship dissertation, Corpus Christi College Cambridge.
- S-J RAULT 1987. Breton passage grave art: a reappraisal. Unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Cambridge.
- A C RENFREW 1972. The emergence of civilisation. The Cyclades and the Aegean in the 3rd Millenium BC. Methuen.
- A C RENFREW 1973. "Monuments, mobilisation and social organisation in Neolithic Wessex". pp539-558 in Renfrew (ed) 1973.
- A C RENFREW (ed) 1973. The explanation of cultural change: models in prehistory. Duckworth.
- A C RENFREW 1976. "Megaliths, territories and populations". pp198-220 in De Laet (ed) 1976.
- A C RENFREW 1979. Investigations in Orkney. Society of Antiquaries of London. Research Report No.38.
- A C RENFREW 1982. "Explanation revisited". pp5-23 in Renfrew et al. (eds) 1982.

- A C RENFREW, M J ROWLANDS & B A SEGRAVE (eds) 1982.
Theory and explanation in archaeology.
Academic Press.
- J RENOUF & J URRY 1976. The first farmers in the Channel Islands: the 'Neolithic' in an insular environment. States of Jersey Education Department.
- J RENOUF & J URRY 1986. "The Channel Islands during the Neolithic: sea-level changes and patterns of exploitation". RAO Supplement No.1: pp13-23.
- W RODWELL 1987. "St. Brelades, Jersey". Current Archaeology 107: pp369-372.
- M J ROWLANDS 1984. "Objectivity and subjectivity in archaeology". pp108-113 in Spriggs (ed) 1984.
- M J ROWLANDS 1987. "Core & periphery: a review of a concept". pp1-11 in Rowlands et al (eds) 1987.
- M J ROWLANDS, M LARSEN & K KRISTIANSEN (eds) 1987.
Core and periphery in the ancient world. Cambridge University Press.
- J ROZOY 1978. Les derniers chasseurs. Bulletin de La Société Archéologique Champenoise: Numéro spécial (3 volumes).
- N V L RYBOT 1924. "Grosnez Hougue" ABSJ 10: pp72-74.
- N V L RYBOT 1930. "Excavations on Icho Islet, July 1929". ABSJ 11: pp226-228.
- N V L RYBOT 1932. "The dolmen of Faldouet". ABSJ 12: pp73-79.
- N V L RYBOT 1934. "The surviving menhirs of Jersey". ABSJ 12: pp337-345.
- M D SAHLINS 1963. "Poor man, rich man, big man, chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia". Comparative studies in society and history 5: pp285-303.
- J-P SARTRE 1943. L'Etre et le Néant. Editions Gallimard.
- J-P SARTRE 1976. Critique of Dialectical Reason. Verso.

- C SCARRE (ed) 1983. Ancient France. Edinburgh University Press.
- B SCHOLTE 1979. "From discourse to silence: the structuralist impasse". pp31-63 in Diamond (ed) 1979.
- G M G SCODITTI & J W LEACH 1983. "Kula on Kitava". pp249-273 in Leach & Leach (eds) 1983.
- M SHANKS & C TILLEY 1982. "Ideology, symbolic power and ritual communication: a re-interpretation of Neolithic mortuary practices". pp129-154 in Hodder (ed) 1982.
- M SHANKS & C TILLEY 1987a. Reconstructing Archaeology. Cambridge University Press.
- M SHANKS & C TILLEY 1987b. Social Theory and Archaeology. University of New Mexico Press.
- E SHEE-TWOHIG 1981. The megalithic art of Western Europe. Clarendon Press.
- A G SHERRATT 1972. "Socio-economic and demographic models for the Neolithic and Bronze Age of Europe". pp477-542 in Clarke (ed) 1972.
- A G SHERRATT 1973. "The interpretation of change in European prehistory". pp419-428 in Renfrew (ed) 1973.
- A G SHERRATT 1983. "The secondary exploitation of animals in the Old World". World Archaeology 15: pp90-104.
- A G SHERRATT 1987. "Wool, wheels and ploughmarks: local developments or outside introductions in Neolithic Europe?". Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, London 23: pp1-15.
- J SINEL 1913. "Note on the relative ages of the two Neolithic horizons at La Motte". ABSJ 7: pp301-305.
- J SINEL 1916. "The Neolithic horizon of Les Mielles in St. Ouen Bay". ABSJ 8: pp137-146.

- 247
- M SPRIGGS (ed) 1984. Marxist perspectives in archaeology. Cambridge University Press.
- E TERRAY 1969. Le Marxisme devant les sociétés primitives. Maspéro.
- J TERRELL 1977. "Human biogeography in the Solomon Islands". Fieldiana: Anthropology Vol.68, No.1. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
- J TERRELL 1986. Prehistory in the Pacific Islands. Cambridge University Press.
- M TERS 1973. "Les variations du niveau marin depuis 10000 ans le long du littoral Atlantique Français". in Le Quaternaire géodynamique, stratigraphie et environnement: travaux Français récents. IX Congrès International INQUA. Christ Church, New Zealand.
- J THOMAS 1988. "Neolithic explanations revisited: the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition in Britain and South Scandinavia". FPS 54: pp59-66.
- J THOMAS & A WHITTLE 1986. "Anatomy of a tomb: West Kennett revisited". Oxford Journal of Archaeology 5: pp129-153.
- J J THOMASSET 1927. "Les poteries ornées du Camp de Chassey". L'Anthropologie 37: pp459-472.
- C TILLEY 1984. "Ideology and the legitimation of power in Southern Sweden". pp111-146 in Miller & Tilley (eds) 1984.
- J TROELS-SMITH 1967. "The Ertebolle Culture and its background". Palaeohistoria XII: pp505-528.
- P-L VAN BERG 1988. Le poinçon, la peigne et le code: essai sur la structure du décor céramique dans le Rubané Récent du Nord-Ouest. Thèse de doctorat, Université de Liège.
- G VERRON 1973. "Circonscription de Haute et Basse

- Normandie". Gallia Préhistoire 16: pp361-399.
- G VERRON 1975. "Circonscription de Haute et Basse Normandie". Gallia Préhistoire 18: pp471-510.
- G VERRON 1976. "Les civilisations Néolithiques en Normandie". pp387-401 in Guilaine (ed) 1976.
- G VERRON 1977. "Circonscription de Haute et Basse Normandie". Gallia Préhistoire 20: pp357-406.
- G VERRON 1979. "Circonscription de Haute et Basse Normandie". Gallia Préhistoire 22: pp471-523.
- G VERRON 1981. "Circonscription de Haute et Basse Normandie". Gallia Préhistoire 24: pp365-394.
- R G WARTON 1913. "Report on exploration work carried on at La Motte (Green Island) in the month of April 1912". ABSJ 7: pp289-294.
- W WEDGEWOOD & A E MOURANT 1954. "The megalithic structures at the Jersey Gasworks". ABSJ 16: pp148-160.
- A B WEINER 1976. Women of value, men of renown: New perspectives in Trobriand exchange. Austin, Texas.
- F J WILLY 1967. "Excavations at La Pouclée, St. Helier, 1966". ABSJ 19: pp233-237.
- K WILSON 1983. "Excavation of an Iron Age 'A' site at Les Huguettes, Alderney". RTSG 21: pp393-427.
- M A WYLIE 1982. "Epistemological issues raised by a structuralist archaeology". pp39-46 in Hodder (ed) 1982.
- M ZVELEBIL 1986. "Mesolithic prelude and Neolithic revolution". pp5-15 in Zvelebil (ed) 1986.
- M ZVELEBIL (ed) 1986. Hunters in transition: Mesolithic

societies in temperate Eurasia and
their transition to farming. Cambridge
University Press.

M ZVELEBIL & P ROWLEY-CONWAY 1984. "Transition to farming
in Northern Europe: a hunter-gatherer
perspective". Norwegian Archaeological
Review 17: pp104-128.